

VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 3 • JUNE 1999

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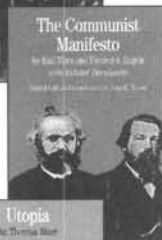
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SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Journal Services, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

Our editorial e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, \$150 annually; for incomes over \$70,000, \$123; over \$55,000, \$103; over \$45,000, \$92; over \$35,000, \$77; over \$20,000, \$66; under \$20,000, \$36; for students, \$31; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN), \$66; for K-12 with the *Review*, \$92; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$36; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$46; a life membership is \$2,600. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 104: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States \$90.00, foreign \$102.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—I(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

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Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.



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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum Essay*, and a review essay. The articles assess the recent autobiographical impulse among professional historians, changing notions of physical comfort among eighteenth-century Anglo-Americans, and the place of gender in an African colonial labor conflict. The *Forum Essay* uses the emergence of borderlands to raise questions about the character of intercultural relations in colonial North America and their implications for colonial regimes in other times and places. It is the second of a new series we call *Forum Essays*. Instead of commissioning comments on an essay, as is our usual practice with *Forums*, we are opening up the commentary process to readers by soliciting their reactions. We will send all of the comments we receive to the author and will print the three or four that seem the most trenchant and compelling along with an author's response in the forthcoming October issue. Details can be found in the *Forum* introduction. The article section concludes with a comprehensive review essay that examines the emerging multinational literature on the "Rape of Nanjing." In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Jeremy D. Popkin notes that, although historians have traditionally been critical of autobiographies as sources, the past two decades have seen a flood of historians' memoirs, especially in France and the United States. He contends that this development forces us to take a new look at this way of narrating the past. Popkin argues that the new interest in autobiography among historians has been produced by larger changes in our understanding of history: a greater openness to its subjective elements and a greater appreciation of the importance of individual experiences. Through an analysis of what historians' autobiographies say about two common experiences of twentieth-century life—the impact of war and of ideological commitment—he tries to define what these texts add to our understanding of both history and the possibilities of autobiography. Popkin's thoughtful analysis raises questions about the practices of historians that cut across the entire discipline.

John E. Crowley analyzes eighteenth-century Anglo-Americans' material culture and political economy to ask the question, how natural is the desire for physical

comfort? He argues that their standards of comfort are a historical problem precisely because they seem so similar to those in America and Britain subsequent to the eighteenth century. Crowley found that physical comfort—self-conscious satisfaction with the relationship between one’s body and its immediate physical environment—was an innovative aspect of Anglo-American culture. The term “comfort” was increasingly applied to improved standards of living and provided meaning to the eighteenth-century consumer revolution. But Crowley questions a prevailing assumption in the historiography of that revolution: comfort was a natural motive for new consumption patterns. He shows that items people might have wanted for their comfort were initially desirable chiefly for their contributions to gentility and health. Political economy made comfort a legitimizing motive for popular consumption patterns. The imperatives of physical comfort then focused scientific and technological expertise on more amenable designs of the domestic environment. Crowley concludes that by the 1790s the ideal of physical comfort had sufficient ideological force for humanitarians to incorporate it in their appeals for social justice toward the poor, the incarcerated, and the enslaved. In this way, he maintains, the culture of sensibility had naturalized the phenomenon of discomfort and made it susceptible to rational improvement. Crowley’s essay convincingly demonstrates the analytical significance of examining the relationship between material culture and intellectual history at particular moments in the past.

Lisa A. Lindsay portrays a large-scale general strike in colonial Nigeria as a moment in which gendered assumptions about work and citizenship, held by British colonizers and their African subjects, were expressly articulated. She points out that, during the 1945 strike, male workers demanded wage increases and even family allowances on the basis of their status as breadwinners, yet they survived the work stoppage largely because of the economic independence of their wives and the importance of market women to local economies. In the post-strike debate over family allowances, trade unionists used gendered language and claims about respectability to talk about racial equality within the colonial order and to constitute the colonial worker and citizen as a male household head. But colonial officials argued that African families were too different from those of Europeans to justify commensurate entitlements for wage earners. Thus Lindsay contends that both British administrators and Nigerian trade unionists confronted tensions between universalist discourse about gender, labor, and citizenship and the particularities of African domestic life. In the end, she concludes, in spite of the active participation of Nigerian women in politics and the economy, the male breadwinner ideal came to stand for respectability and rights in the colony as in the metropole. Lindsay’s essay brings together insights from studies of gender and wage labor in Europe and those of the colonial state in Africa. Her compelling analysis highlights colonialism’s effects on African domestic relations as well as the importance of gender in the political strategies of the colonized.

AHR Forum Essay

Jeremy Adelman and **Stephen Aron** continue a new *AHR* format with a provocative essay about the meaning of borders and borderlands in the past. Taking up Herbert Bolton's six-decade-old call for a comparative and common history of the Americas, they synthesize recent literature to connect the colonial and national histories of Canada, the United States, and Mexico. They offer a framework that seeks to explain the diverse patterns of intercultural relations that characterized various North American frontiers. Challenging historians who ascribe the differences in frontiers solely to the original purposes of European colonizers, Adelman and Aron argue that the appearance of borderlands—a term reserved for contested zones between colonial domains—decisively shaped the character of intercultural relations. Critically, they assert, in borderlands born of colonial rivalries, frontiers tended to produce more inclusive intercultural relations. Analyzing developments on both sides of the North Atlantic, Adelman and Aron detail how imperial competition between Britain, France, and Spain enabled Indian peoples in the Great Lakes, the lower Missouri Valley, and the greater Rio Grande region to deflect colonial powers from their initial projects (and projections). Within these borderlands, Indian “peoples in between” fashioned economic, diplomatic, and personal relations that rested, if not entirely on indigenous ground, at least on more common ground. The Age of Revolution, however, ushered in the emergence of nation-states that turned eighteenth-century borderlands into nineteenth-century *bordered* lands. And as national borders supplanted colonial borderlands, inclusive intercultural relations yielded to more exclusive occupations. Adelman and Aron make a significant contribution to discussions about the nature of colonial encounters and rivalries in North America as well as other places. Rather than commission commentators for this *Forum*, we invite interested readers to send us their responses to Adelman and Aron's argument. We will print the three or four most instructive in the October 1999 issue along with a response from the two authors. Details can be found in the introduction to the *Forum*.

Review Essay

Daqing Yang begins his essay by explaining that, to many observers, the Rape of Nanjing represents an emotionally charged and highly politicized subject and a symbol of East Asia's “unmastered past.” However, he argues that over the past decade a convergence has emerged among professional historians on several important issues related to the event. In an analysis of influential studies recently published in Japan, China, and the United States, Yang demonstrates the existence of major areas of interpretative convergence as a result of intellectual debate, fresh evidence, and a renewed emphasis on scholarship. For example, he maintains that the fact that Japanese troops committed a variety of atrocities on a massive scale some sixty years ago is beyond doubt, even though works denying the massacre are still being published. Indeed, he notes that Japanese historians, in particular, increasingly portray the atrocities as the outcomes of the brutalization of war in

China and deep-rooted tendencies in the pre-war Japanese military. Yang also reports that Chinese historians have come to acknowledge that grave tactical errors and utter confusion on the part of the Chinese defense contributed to the staggering loss of Chinese life in Nanjing. And he insists that, even if the analytical convergence about the event remains limited—for instance, considerable differences remain over estimates of the number of Chinese deaths—the historiographical implications of the narrowing debate are quite significant. Without underestimating the epistemological and political pitfalls involved in giving controversial events a past, Yang concludes that the recent assessments of the Rape of Nanjing demonstrate that historians can and should strive for a strategy of intersubjective judgment to overcome the contradiction between truth and subjectivity inherent in all historical inquiry.



Historians on the Autobiographical Frontier

JEREMY D. POPKIN

BROWSING IN A BOOKSTORE IN 1991, at the start of a sabbatical year in Europe, I came across a volume entitled *Essais d'ego-histoire*, a collection of autobiographical essays by several leading contemporary French historians.¹ Perhaps because my sabbatical was providing me with a chance to ponder the direction of my own career, this discovery piqued my curiosity. Informally, we academic historians spend a great deal of time reliving high and low points of our professional lives and speculating about the connection between work and personal experiences in the lives of our colleagues, but I had not previously encountered a contemporary historical scholar's personal memoir. To be sure, I knew of the existence of Edward Gibbon's *Memoirs*, and I had once read *The Education of Henry Adams*. But those two texts belong to another age. Their authors were independent men of letters, rather than modern professionals employed, as most of us are, in large bureaucratic institutions. Their autobiographies have long been part of the canon of literary classics, their status so lofty that it deters imitation rather than encouraging it. What had inspired these contemporary historians to write about their lives? Did their memoirs have any broader implications for the understanding of the past, or for the understanding of the art of autobiography itself?

It did not take me long to discover that the appearance of *Essais d'ego-histoire* was not an isolated phenomenon. By the mid-1990s, new examples of autobiographical writing by historians were appearing faster than I could read them. I also learned, however, that these texts enjoy a dubious status in our profession. Such publications are rarely reviewed in scholarly journals, for example. In some ways, this dismissive attitude is curious. Autobiography obviously bears a strong resemblance to history: both are reconstructions of past events, usually in the form of a chronological narrative. The similarities between autobiography and history run deeper than this, however. Not only do autobiographers and historians both claim to give factually accurate reconstructions of the past, they also share the retrospective double vision

I would like to thank the eight anonymous readers for the *AHR* and the audiences at the 1997 American Historical Association, the European University Institute, the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, and the history departments at Vanderbilt University and Mills College for many helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay. I am also grateful to several of the authors whose works are discussed here for their responses to my questions, particularly Henry May, Gabriel Jackson, Hans Schmitt, Peter Kenez, and the late George Mosse. Thanks also to Paul John Eakin and Philippe Lejeune for encouraging a historian's venture into terrain more often explored by members of their discipline.

¹ Pierre Nora, introduction to Nora, ed., *Essais d'ego-histoire* (Paris, 1987), 5–7. The contributors were Maurice Agulhon, Pierre Chaunu, Georges Duby, Raoul Girardet, Jacques Le Goff, Michelle Perrot, and René Rémond.

that comes from knowing what the actors in the past thought they were doing and what actually happened as a result of their actions. Like historians, autobiographers implicitly or explicitly suggest causal connections, underline discrepancies between intentions and results, and point out ironies that are only recognizable with the benefit of hindsight.

Another important feature published autobiographies share with works of history is that authors of both have made a deliberate decision to share their stories with readers they do not know. Historians doing research on others' lives often lump autobiographies together with other forms of personal writing, such as letters and diaries, but in fact these genres are quite different. Not only do letters and diaries lack the element of retrospection, but their authors need not be constrained by many concerns that necessarily preoccupy autobiographers. When they decide to write for publication, authors have to decide where the boundary between public and private should be; like historians, they must make conscious decisions on what to include and what to omit. They also know that they are inviting readers to challenge their veracity, even on highly personal matters: to publish one's life story is to make it public property and to invite scrutiny and criticism, just as when one publishes a monograph. And even the humblest historian-autobiographers know they are creating texts that will be compared with the "existing literature in the field," the acknowledged masterpieces of the autobiographical genre: Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Elie Wiesel's *Night*. They must face questions of style and structure, just as they do in writing history.

It is precisely because history and autobiography are so closely related that historians who decide to cross the line from one to the other find themselves uneasy about what they are doing. Autobiography may sometimes seem like history, but any autobiographer obviously has what Dominick LaCapra calls emotionally charged "transferential relations" with his or her own life story,² relations that make it impossible to maintain the pretense that an autobiography can achieve scholarly objectivity. Historians have long recognized this fact when using other people's autobiographies as historical sources. Standard manuals for students caution them against reliance on these "least convincing of all personal records,"³ and the critical treatment we routinely mete out to the autobiographical literature we use as source material ought to be enough to deter any historical scholar from risking such a project. René Rémond, one of the contributors to *Essais d'ego-histoire*, has well summarized the epistemological reasons why most modern historical scholars find autobiographical writing difficult. The historian's whole training, rather than making the writing of personal history seem natural, raises barriers to it.

A long tradition has taught [historians] to be on their guard against subjectivity, their own as much as others'. They know from experience the precariousness of recollection, the unreliability of first-person testimony. Their professional training has taught them that everyone has an unconscious tendency to introduce a factitious coherence into the path of his life. They have no reason to believe that they are better armed against these distortions.

² Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 45.

³ G. Kitson Clark, *The Critical Historian* (New York, 1967), 67.

They have no reason to think that they have any better chance to avoid the tricks of memory that they have learned to spy out in others.⁴

Implicit in Rémond's remarks is the fear that an autobiographical project may destabilize the professional historian's hard-won authority as a reconstructor of the past. If the trained historical scholar is at risk of introducing a "factitious coherence" into his or her personal history, is he or she not at equal risk of having done so in recounting collective history? If an autobiography shows a close connection between the scholar's personal passions and his or her academic work, it risks functioning as a subversive "supplement" to its author's historical scholarship, suggesting that some essential element was left out or concealed in the original scholarly project. French historian Annie Kriegel's revelation of her passionate involvement with and subsequent painful break from the French Communist Party, the subject of her later historical scholarship, inevitably raises questions about her ability to describe objectively a phenomenon in which she had such a strong personal investment.⁵ Joel Williamson's recent attempt to relate his changing understanding of race and gender issues in southern history to his personal experience, on the other hand, has led some critics to charge that a historian with such a background should not have been so obtuse about the significance of an activity like lynching.⁶

The fear of exposing personal involvements that could undermine the authority of their scholarship is not the only obstacle deterring most historians from writing about themselves. They are often acutely conscious that their own stories complicate or contradict the generalizations they and their colleagues have painstakingly elaborated, the "grand narratives" in which the discipline has encoded collective experience. In his memoir of the Holocaust, Saul Friedländer asks, "Can experience as personal, as contradictory as mine rouse an echo here? Isn't the way out for me to attach myself to the necessary order, the inescapable simplification forced upon one by the passage of time and one's vision of history, to adopt the gaze of the historian?"⁷ English social historian Carolyn Steedman sees the "usefulness" of her account of her own childhood "in the challenge it may offer to much of our conventional understanding of childhood, working-class childhood, and little-girlhood."⁸ The historian who uses his or her own case to question the possibility of generalization about collective experience, however, undermines one of the fundamental bases of our discipline.

Autobiographies are also a challenge to history because they privilege a temporal framework based on the individual author's lifespan, whereas historical narrative takes place in collective time. The time of individual experience in autobiography is both arbitrary and concrete, determined by the accident of the narrator's birth: it is unrelated to the larger watersheds of shared experience. The emphasis on personal time in historians' autobiographies sometimes seems to subvert the

⁴ Rémond, in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 294.

⁵ Annie Kriegel, *Ce que j'ai cru comprendre* (Paris, 1991).

⁶ Joel Williamson, "Wounds Not Scars: Lynching, the National Conscience, and the American Historian," *Journal of American History* 83 (1997): 1221–53, followed by the comments of seven reviewers.

⁷ Saul Friedländer, *When Memory Comes*, Helen R. Lane, trans. (New York, 1980), 144.

⁸ Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (London, 1986), 7.

meanings assigned to events in historical narratives. The often critical reactions to Paul Fussell's *Doing Battle*, with its insistence that the damage done to the author's body and psyche during World War II overshadows any broader significance of the conflict, demonstrate the tension such clashes of perspective can cause.⁹

In addition to these methodological concerns, historian-autobiographers face the possibility that their texts will come back to embarrass them in personal ways. The reviewer who greeted Gabriel Jackson's *Historian's Quest* by asking, "Who cares about the confessional outpourings of an academic historian whose horizon is bounded by grants-in-aid, tenure anxieties, and scholarly articles?"¹⁰ raised a question that doubtless haunts most of those who might contemplate such a project. Philippe Lejeune, the leading contemporary French critic of autobiographical literature, has remarked, apropos of intellectual autobiography in general, "I am often confused by the naïveté and the simplicity of mind that takes hold of people who are nevertheless intellectually gifted, and who have acquired a reputation in literary, psychological, or philosophical areas, when they take it into their heads to talk about their own life. Not only does critical sense vanish, and they no longer estimate very well what might interest other people . . . but it especially surprises me that they themselves might be interested in what they are relating."¹¹ If the historian's recollections are not dismissed as trivial, they are likely to be found awkward. Do we really want to know at what age and under what conditions certain distinguished scholars had their first sexual experiences, details related in a surprising number of these texts?

Since the dangers facing historian-autobiographers are so clear, what impulses have moved scholars who can hardly be suspected of having wanted to undermine the historical discipline, such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie in France and John King Fairbank in the United States, to engage in such an activity? It is true that our popular culture is one of self-advertisement, but most commercially published confessional works have been inspired by marketing considerations, whereas there have not yet been any bidding wars among publishers for the rights to a historian's memoir. Vanity is no doubt as common among historians as among any other group, but few of these texts are self-satisfied celebrations of their authors' accomplishments. Surely the most powerful impetus promoting published autobiographical writing among historians is a sea change in the practices of our discipline itself, one that has involved both a new definition of the proper domain of history and a new judgment about the persuasiveness of arguments based on individual experience versus those derived from generalization. This change can be seen most clearly in the development of social history over the past thirty years, as it has shifted from an emphasis on the public manifestations of collective life to various forms of microhistory, the history of everyday life—is it an accident that four of the five principal editors of that series (Paul Veyne, Georges Duby, Philippe Ariès, and Michelle Perrot) have published personal memoirs?¹²—and the "history of mem-

⁹ Paul Fussell, *Doing Battle: The Making of a Skeptic* (Boston, 1996).

¹⁰ Cecil Eby, *Book World*, October 19, 1969, cited in *Book Review Digest* (1969): 650.

¹¹ Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, Katherine Leary, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1989), 235.

¹² Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols., Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1987–92).

ory," all of which have provided new justifications for historians who undertake autobiographical projects.

Thirty years ago, social history usually implied the study of anonymous masses, often reduced to statistics, but more recently it has been dominated by case studies, often built around first-person narratives left behind by obscure individuals in the past, such as the eighteenth-century French glass-fitter Jacques Ménétra.¹³ Practitioners of microhistory, such as Jonathan Spence, have shown that apparently trivial events, such as the death of an utterly unknown Chinese woman of the seventeenth century, can provide important insights into historical processes.¹⁴ Fascinating as such studies of single lives often are, however, they often leave historians frustrated: the evidence is never complete and conclusive enough to answer all our questions about life in the past. Autobiography written by a professionally trained scholar holds out the lure of fully realizing the promise of microhistory. Historians' autobiographies seem to promise us case studies written by experts who know the broader context surrounding their subjects' life stories and who know all the right questions to ask. In an era in which generalizations about the collective experience of any group have come under suspicion, autobiography sometimes seems like the only genre with a convincing claim to credibility.

In the light of these developments, historian-autobiographers need not be inhibited any longer by the fear that what they lived through was too inconsequential to be worth sharing with others. The challenge for historian-autobiographers now is to demonstrate the interconnections between their micro-historical experiences and some theme of broader significance; the possibilities are limited only by the narrator's skill and historical imagination, not by the objective dimensions of the event itself. The death of Jill Ker Conway's father during a drought in remote New South Wales was not of obvious importance except to his family, but his daughter uses it to illustrate the consequences of the importation of European agriculture to a climate unsuited to it.¹⁵ Martin Duberman justifies his narration of his love affairs and his unhappy experiences with a succession of therapists on the grounds that they illustrate how repressive mechanisms against homosexuals operated in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶

The current historiographical climate is thus particularly propitious for autobiographical enterprises. This is not because historians have embraced the more radical forms of postmodernism, however. At the same time as historians have been finding increased interest in the record of individual experience, contemporary literary theorists have been determinedly engaged in what one of them has called a "Long March of autobiography and its critics away from facts, history, and the referential function of language."¹⁷ Recent critical contributions to this literature

¹³ Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, Daniel Roche, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York, 1986).

¹⁴ Jonathan Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (New York, 1978).

¹⁵ Jill Ker Conway, *The Road from Coorain* (New York, 1990), 82.

¹⁶ Martin Duberman, *Cures* (New York, 1991), 37, 67, 122.

¹⁷ Albert E. Stone, "Modern American Autobiography: Texts and Transactions," in *American Autobiography: Texts and Transactions*, Paul John Eakin, ed. (Madison, Wis., 1991), 108. Other important contributions to recent theorizing about the genre are Paul de Man, "Autobiography as De-facement," *Modern Language Notes* 94 (1979): 919–30; Lejeune, *On Autobiography*; James Olney, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton, N.J., 1972); Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in*

bear titles such as *Fictions in Autobiography* and *Telling Lies in Modern American Autobiography*, and frequently conclude that autobiographers, like novelists, “communicate vital truths through falsifications,”¹⁸ which is not something historians would be likely to want said about their own autobiographies. Historians who have turned to autobiography have been happily oblivious to this scholarship, and their writings make it clear that they do not accept the claim that all writing about the self is necessarily fictional.

REGARDLESS OF THE THEORETICAL ISSUES INVOLVED, contemporary historians have now produced a large and rapidly growing body of memoirs and autobiography, even though many of them assert that what they have written should not be given such labels. To be sure, not every comment historians publish about themselves deserves to be called autobiography. In the United States, it is increasingly common for scholars to make at least some brief comment on their relationship to the subject of their research. This trend is a significant development in its own right, but these self-reflexive comments are not the same thing as autobiography. Indeed, proponents of self-reflexive scholarship in which the emphasis is on the author’s relationship to his or her research have argued that “few autobiographies are truly reflexive” because what they say about the author’s self tends to be “merely narcissistic or accidentally revealing.”¹⁹ The texts discussed here are ones in which the author’s own life is the principal subject, because these are the texts in which the parallels between autobiography and history appear most clearly. I have included a number of writings that seem to fit in this category but whose authors have disclaimed any intention of writing an autobiography; these assertions are more often evidence of historians’ discomfort with the genre than accurate descriptions of what they have written. This analysis is also deliberately limited to *published* texts. These are doubtless outnumbered by unpublished memoirs, diaries, letters, and other personal papers, which can be intensely revealing for the study of their authors’ lives and the development of the discipline, as Peter Novick has demonstrated in his history of the American historical profession.²⁰ As I have already suggested, however, these informal and usually unpublished texts do not have the same relationship to historical writing as published ones.

The loosening of inhibitions against historians’ autobiographies in the past few decades has been most evident in France and the United States. Important examples of the genre have been published by historical scholars elsewhere, including England, Israel, and Italy, but they have been significantly less numerous

Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention (Princeton, 1985); Eakin, *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography* (Princeton, 1992); and Susanna Egan, *Patterns of Experience in Autobiography* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984).

¹⁸ Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 310.

¹⁹ Barbara Myerhoff and Jay Ruby, “Introduction,” in *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*, Jay Ruby, ed. (Philadelphia, 1982), 5–6.

²⁰ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

than those published in these two countries.²¹ And there are countries with well-developed historical professions, notably Germany, where such texts remain rare. France and the United States are two countries where debates about traditional notions of historical objectivity have been especially intense in recent decades, a fact that may help explain why their historical communities have been more receptive to autobiographical texts than others, but there are also specific reasons for the development of the genre in these two different historical communities. Furthermore, the differences between the historians' autobiographies published in the two countries reveal how deeply affected their authors are by their surrounding cultures.

In France, strategically located members of the historical profession have deliberately promoted autobiographical publications. Pierre Nora, best known in the United States as the editor of the seven-volume collection *Les lieux de mémoire*, has been the key figure in this development.²² At the same time that he was defining the "history of memory" exemplified in that work, Nora also persuaded several of his French colleagues to contribute to the collective volume of historians' memoirs I encountered in 1991, for which he invented a label—*ego-histoire*—that has been successful enough to enter the everyday French vocabulary. *Essais d'ego-histoire*, which appeared in 1987, was not the first modern autobiographical publication by a French historian. Philippe Ariès' *Un historien du dimanche* had attracted considerable attention when it appeared in 1980, and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie published a memoir in 1982.²³ But Nora's initiative converted such enterprises from individual initiatives into a collective movement.

Furthermore, Nora provided the genre with an intellectual justification. In his view, having historians examine their own personal history was a way to make the profession come to terms with the "shaking of the classic foundations of historical objectivity," which, Nora claimed, required historians to abandon the tradition that had taught them to "let their work speak for them, to hide their personality behind their erudition . . . , to flee from themselves into another era, to express themselves only through others."²⁴ In the introduction to the first volume of *Les lieux de mémoire*, Nora argued that the shift to a history of memory that abandoned the notion of an objectively knowable past also required historians to adopt a new self-conception: "A new personage emerges from the upsurge of history conceived as memory, one ready, unlike his predecessors, to acknowledge the close, intimate, personal liaison he maintains with his subject. Even more, to proclaim it, to meditate on it, to make it, not the obstacle, but the means of his understanding."²⁵ If the historian's personal experience was essential to understanding his or her

²¹ For England, see the previously cited work of Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, and the long series of volumes of personal reminiscences published by Richard Cobb; from Israel, Jacob Katz, *With My Own Eyes: The Autobiography of an Historian*, Ann Brenner and Zipora Brody, trans. (Hanover, N.H., 1995); from Italy, Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation*, Lisa Erdberg, trans. (Hanover, 1996).

²² Paris, 1984–92. About a third of this massive work has now been translated into English under the title of *Realms of Memory*, Lawrence D. Kritzman, ed. (New York, 1996–98).

²³ Philippe Ariès, *Un historien du dimanche* (Paris, 1980); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Paris-Montpellier P.C.-P.S.U. 1945–1963* (Paris, 1982).

²⁴ Pierre Nora, introduction to *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 5.

²⁵ Pierre Nora, "Entre mémoire et histoire," in *Les lieux de mémoire: 1. La république*, xxxiii.

work, then it was logical to encourage historians to explicate the course of their own lives. *Essais d'ego-histoire* was thus the natural complement to *Les lieux de mémoire*, and *ego-histoire*, according to its promoter, "a new genre, for a new age of historical consciousness."²⁶ The Nora volume gave a cachet of legitimacy to historians' memoirs in France, stimulating longer and more revealing individual publications both by several of his own contributors and by other prominent scholars, many of whom referred explicitly to the Nora volume in justifying their projects.²⁷ A good part of the French profession's elite has now joined the movement, producing a sort of collective self-portrait, a body of texts that refer extensively to one another, justifying Alain Besançon's decision to entitle his memoir *Une génération*.²⁸ For the cohort of historians contemporary with Nora's contributors, publication of a memoir has in fact become a way of consecrating this elite status.

Unlike the French *ego-historiens*, American historian-autobiographers have usually been unaware of each other's publications, and they do not refer to any common theoretical framework. Nor does publication of a memoir in this country represent or confer special status in the profession. Such motives are less necessary in the United States, where writing about oneself has long been what one critic calls a "characteristically American activity,"²⁹ and where academic autobiography is currently a fashion that cuts across disciplines, in contrast to France, where historians seem markedly more prone to it than their colleagues. American historians' memoirs are more diverse than the French. Some members of the discipline's elite, such as John King Fairbank, William L. Langer, H. Stuart Hughes, Henry May, C. Vann Woodward, and Michael Kammen, have written about themselves, in texts that approximate the French *ego-histoires*.³⁰ A second category consists of memoirs of immigrant scholars, such as Jill Ker Conway, Hans Schmitt, Raul Hilberg, Peter Kenez, and Peter Gay, usually focusing on their childhood experiences outside the United States and sometimes on their integration into American life. Many of the texts in this group are by writers who escaped the Nazis.³¹ The memoirs of self-proclaimed radical historians, such as the contributors to the collective volume *Visions of History*, put out by the Radical Historians'

²⁶ Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 5.

²⁷ Raoul Girardet, *Singulièrement libre* (Paris, 1990); other subsequent memoirs by Nora's contributors include Georges Duby, *History Continues*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1994); and Jacques Le Goff, *Une vie pour l'histoire* (Paris, 1996).

²⁸ Alain Besançon, *Une génération* (Paris, 1987). For a more detailed overview and listing of these French publications, see Jeremy D. Popkin, "Ego-histoire and Beyond: Contemporary French Historian-Autobiographers," *French Historical Studies* 19 (1996): 1139–67.

²⁹ Albert E. Stone, *Autobiographical Occasions and Original Acts* (Philadelphia, 1982), 2.

³⁰ John King Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York, 1982); William L. Langer, *Up from the Ranks* (n.p., 1975); H. Stuart Hughes, *Gentleman Rebel: The Memoirs of H. Stuart Hughes* (New York, 1990); C. Vann Woodward, *Looking Back: The Perils of Writing History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986); Henry F. May, *Coming to Terms: A Study in Memory and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and Michael Kammen, "Michael Kammen," in *Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series*, Shelly Andrews, ed., vol. 23 (1996), 133–63. One could also include in this category shorter texts such as the contributions of Carl Schorske (1987), John Hope Franklin (1988), and Natalie Zemon Davis (1997) to the ACLS "A Life of Learning" series.

³¹ Conway, *Road from Coorain*; Jill Ker Conway, *True North* (New York, 1994); Hans Schmitt, *Lucky Victim* (Baton Rouge, La., 1989); Raul Hilberg, *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian* (Chicago, 1996); Peter Kenez, *Varieties of Fear: Growing Up Jewish under Nazism and Communism* (Washington, D.C., 1995); Peter Gay, *My German Question: Growing Up in Nazi Berlin* (New Haven, Conn., 1998).

Organization in 1984, Howard Zinn, *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train*, and James W. Silver, *Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi*, form a third group, often more concerned with their authors' political activities than with their lives as historians.³² Finally, there is a group of texts that is still small but no doubt destined to grow in the years ahead: the memoirs of historians who identify themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender. This group includes short essays by several African-American historians, some Jewish scholars, and Martin Duberman's *Cures*.³³ The distinctions between these categories are not rigid, however. For instance, the radical historians interviewed in *Visions of History* include several, such as Natalie Zemon Davis and David Montgomery, who have held senior positions at the country's most elite universities. Furthermore, there are certain texts, such as those of Gabriel Jackson and Lucy Dawidowicz, that do not fit into any of these categories.³⁴

The autobiographical texts considered here take many different forms. Some are traditional examples of the genre: leisurely retrospectives in which the authors have given themselves room to consider all aspects of their lives, from the time of their birth to the time of writing, in books that are truly their authors' own, devoted solely to their personal stories. Other authors have chosen to describe only one phase of their lives, most frequently childhood and youth, but in some cases an episode seen as possessing a historical significance absent in the rest of the author's career, as in Louis Harlan's *All at Sea: Coming of Age in World War II*, or Lucy Dawidowicz's account of the year she spent in Lithuania just prior to the Holocaust and its impact on her life when she returned to the United States.³⁵ Along with these texts, whose shape appears to have been chosen largely at the author's discretion,³⁶ there are others in which authors have agreed to describe their own lives under pre-set conditions, often as one essay in a collaborative volume. Rather than appearing to be forcing their stories on readers, contributors to such volumes can leave the responsibility for the project to an editor or interviewer, who often also sets limits on the subjects to be discussed and thus relieves them from having to decide for

³² Henry Abelove, et al., eds., *Visions of History* (New York, 1984); Howard Zinn, *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train* (Boston, 1994); James W. Silver, *Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss., 1984).

³³ For African-American historians, in addition to John Hope Franklin's essay (see n. 30), see C. Eric Lincoln, *Coming through the Fire: Surviving Race and Place in America* (Durham, N.C., 1996); Vincent Harding, in Abelove, *Visions of History*; Darlene Clark Hine and David Levering Lewis, in the collective volume *Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Writing of History*, Paul A. Cimbala and Robert F. Himmelberg, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1996). Several American Jewish historians are represented in *People of the Book: Thirty Jewish Scholars Reflect on their Jewish Identity*, Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin, eds. (Madison, Wis., 1996).

³⁴ Gabriel Jackson, *Historian's Quest* (New York, 1969); Lucy Dawidowicz, *From That Place and Time: A Memoir, 1938-1947* (New York, 1989).

³⁵ Louis R. Harlan, *All at Sea: Coming of Age in World War II* (Urbana, Ill., 1996); Dawidowicz, *From That Place and Time*.

³⁶ This is, of course, not necessarily the case. Few autobiographers are either reckless enough or privileged enough to publish their texts without submitting them to some kind of editorial process. Gabriel Jackson has been kind enough to share with me the text of several chapters omitted from the English-language version of his memoir, *Historian's Quest*, at the insistence of his editor, but later included in the Spanish edition of his book. The American editor wanted Jackson's book to focus on a historian's personal encounter with the reality of the foreign culture he was studying; as a result, the book omitted, among other things, a chapter describing the impact of McCarthyism on Jackson's career.

themselves how self-revelatory to be. Numerous historians' memoirs have taken the form of published interviews, a procedure in which the interviewee at least appears to surrender much of the autonomy that the author of an autobiography traditionally enjoys; the interview form usually militates against discussion of intimate personal experiences. So does the format of the American Council of Learned Society's series "A Life of Learning," to which several distinguished historians have contributed. These texts, originally delivered as public lectures, often tell much of interest about their authors' background, education, and political engagements, but it is not surprising that they omit many of the personal details that one finds in other kinds of autobiographical publication.

REGARDLESS OF HOW THEY CAME INTO EXISTENCE, most of these texts give indications of having been carefully thought out and of having considerable significance for their authors. Most of these authors suggest that the decision to become autobiographers represents a conscious break with their existing professional identity. In some cases, particularly for elderly authors, the break is virtually definitive: the autobiographical project represents a farewell to active involvement in the discipline, if not to life altogether. After recounting the celebration of his retirement in his autobiography, John King Fairbank observed, "I was moving on from Chinese studies by Fairbank to Fairbank studies *tout court*, as in this present volume. Retirement had its opportunities." He also included in his memoir a circular letter that he had sent to friends describing the serious heart attack he had suffered a few years previously, an unmistakable intimation of mortality.³⁷ Even if the writer is young and healthy enough to anticipate doing other work, an autobiography is a venture into new areas that may end up changing the direction of its author's energies. Martin Duberman used his autobiography to proclaim a radical break with his earlier condemnation of confessional writing. "It's perhaps ironic—and may yet bring fitting retribution down on my head—that here I am, twenty-five years later, writing a comparably explicit, personal book and doing so in the absolute conviction, which I could never have entertained back then, that we all *must* tell our secrets, must come out of our 'shameful' closets if a more humane, genuinely diverse culture is ever to emerge," he announced.³⁸ A surprising number of historian-autobiographers have become recidivists, with the English historian of France Richard Cobb probably holding the record for volumes drawn from his personal memories.³⁹ Jill Ker Conway, after completing two volumes of autobiography, has joined the ranks of commentators on the genre with her recent volume, *When Memory Speaks*.⁴⁰

Although some historian-autobiographers clearly enjoy changing genres, most profess to find writing autobiography an uncomfortable experience or else claim that what they are writing does not really belong in that category. Peter Gay claims

³⁷ Fairbank, *Chinabound*, 450, 451–54.

³⁸ Duberman, *Cures*, 80.

³⁹ A bibliography circulated at a memorial session in Cobb's honor in 1997 listed eight volumes of autobiographical material written after his well-known essay, "A Second Identity," was published in 1969.

⁴⁰ Jill Ker Conway, *When Memory Speaks* (New York, 1998).

that writing about himself “proved the least exhilarating assignment I have ever given myself or received from others.” Like many of these authors, he rejects the label of autobiography for his work, because, he claims, “this memoir of enduring a hell in the making necessarily has a melancholy tone that, taken by itself, distorts my personal history.”⁴¹ His attitude is similar to that of C. Eric Lincoln, who uses his memories to show how young African Americans in the segregated South learned the boundaries of their condition but emphasizes that he has recorded only “selected experiences,” which are “not the *sum* of my life.”⁴² Gay’s and Lincoln’s protests express a notion that “true” autobiography should emphasize the author’s individual autonomy rather than the weight of historical circumstances in determining the course of his or her life.

This desire to maintain a safe distance from conventional autobiography is also evident in Nora’s definition of *ego-histoire*. In France, Rousseau’s *Confessions*, with its radical exposure of its author’s innermost secrets, stands at the origins of the modern tradition of personal writing, serving as a model that few respectable academics want to imitate. To overcome his collaborators’ inhibitions, Nora explicitly forbade them to follow in Rousseau’s footsteps: “No falsely literary autobiography, or unnecessarily intimate confessions, no abstract profession of principles, no attempt at amateur psychoanalysis.”⁴³ Furthermore, by collecting several such essays and printing them side by side in a single volume, Nora turned them into something analogous to the serial data on which historians from the Annales school, prominently represented among his contributors, had learned to rely. The interest of these narratives, Nora insisted, would come more from the collective portrait they would offer than from the idiosyncracies of the individual stories told.

Having nevertheless decided to write about themselves, historian-autobiographers face questions about style, documentation, and narrative structure. Usually, the writing of an autobiography involves imagining a new kind of audience, one more diverse than the community of fellow historical specialists and students academic historians usually write for, and inventing a new authorial voice to address it. For some, the experience is liberating: “For a scholar it is a marvelous release to be able to write sentence after sentence, and page after page, without stopping for footnotes,” Hans Schmitt writes, echoing W. K. Hancock’s remark, “I am letting myself ramble and finding it a pleasure, because rambling is an indulgence I have never before permitted myself in writing a book.”⁴⁴ But this freedom to write in a non-academic style comes at the price of abandoning scholarly conventions about documentation, a departure that causes some authors evident anxiety. To overcome this, they cite letters and diaries, describe consultations with relatives and old friends undertaken to confirm their personal memories, and even recount pilgrimages undertaken to childhood homes and sites of important life episodes. The French historian Annie Kriegel went to the extreme of footnoting her 800-page memoir with references to the cartons of her personal papers, labeled and arranged

⁴¹ Gay, *My German Question*, 207, x.

⁴² Lincoln, *Coming through the Fire*, 7.

⁴³ Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 7.

⁴⁴ Schmitt, *Lucky Victim*, 242; W. K. Hancock, *Country and Calling* (London, 1954), 41.

in different series in imitation of the government documents in the French national archives. The need for credibility is also behind the candor that these authors strive for, which often leads them to describe episodes, particularly sexual ones, that they would undoubtedly not normally share with others.

Most historian-autobiographers have followed conventional patterns in their stories, like the English historian Charles Petrie, who wrote, "There would appear to be no valid reason why I should not commence a book that is mainly about myself . . . in any different manner from that which I am in the habit of adopting when I write about others, and that is to say why I should not start at the beginning, and proceed with my narrative, as far as possible, chronologically."⁴⁵ Such a framework, beginning with parents or the author's birth, may seem unproblematic in the context of autobiographical literature, but it often represents a substantial departure for historians. The shift to autobiography requires emphasizing narrative over analysis and concrete detail over generalization. The autobiographer has to exercise talents more often associated with the writing of fiction than with the writing of modern academic history, such as the creation of convincing portraits of individuals and the (re)construction of believable dialogue. In place of the adults who occupy center stage in most works of history, the historian-autobiographer, at least in his or her early chapters, usually has a child for a protagonist, and the success of the project requires the ability to convey how the world looked from that perspective. H. Stuart Hughes evoking the terror he felt at age eight when he was taken to visit wax models of medieval prisoners in Mont-Saint-Michel or Peter Kenez describing his overwhelming, uncritical love for the Russian soldiers who liberated his family in Budapest when he was seven are good examples of what the genre requires.⁴⁶

Autobiography has long since freed itself from the limits of conventional chronological narrative, but few historian-autobiographers show any awareness of the more radical experiments, such as the French critic Roland Barthes's *Roland Barthes par Roland Barthes*, with its alphabetically arranged mini-essays, which have enlarged the limits of the genre in the past few decades and even, in the view of some critics, rejuvenated a form of literature that was in danger of becoming stale and repetitive.⁴⁷ The historians' memoirs that do break from the usual pattern, such as Saul Friedländer's *When Memory Comes*, Carolyn Steedman's *Landscape for a Good Woman*, and Luisa Passerini's *Autobiography of a Generation*, raise important questions, however, and it is not surprising that they have been among the few such texts to inspire serious critical commentary. All three fracture chronology, jumping forward and backward through their subjects' lives and thus rejecting the standard autobiographical portrayal of a coherent personality developing over time. All three also emphasize the creative power of memory, which does not simply record past experience but reshapes it into what Steedman calls "the stories we make for ourselves."⁴⁸ Steedman and Passerini, by intertwining their own stories with those of others—Steedman with a reconstructed biography of her mother, Passerini with oral histories of other Italian radicals of her generation—challenge the notion of

⁴⁵ Charles Petrie, *A Historian Looks at His World* (London, 1972), 3.

⁴⁶ Hughes, *Gentleman Rebel*, 20; Kenez, *Varieties of Fear*, 36.

⁴⁷ Michael Sheringham, *French Autobiography: Devices and Desires; Rousseau to Perec* (Oxford, 1993), 327.

⁴⁸ Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, 5.

the isolated, autonomous self; Passerini claims that “if I had not heard the life stories of the generation of ’68, I would not have been able to write about myself; those stories have nourished mine, giving it the strength to get to its feet and to speak.”⁴⁹ Friedländer, by emphasizing how the Holocaust imposed on him a completely new identity and initially left him unable to reconnect with his Jewish origins, undermines the notion of the unified and autonomous ego from another direction, dramatizing what one critic has called a “dispersed sense of self.”⁵⁰

EVEN THE CONVENTIONALLY STRUCTURED NARRATIVES that form the majority of historians’ memoirs nevertheless challenge the normal professional boundary between the public and private. Given the evident discomfort many historian-autobiographers experience in writing about themselves, what is striking is the degree of intimate detail in many of these publications. Historians as diverse as H. Stuart Hughes, Luisa Passerini, William Langer, and Martin Duberman discuss in considerable detail their experiences in psychoanalysis and other forms of therapy, sometimes giving extended excerpts from sessions they found important. Annie Kriegel, Gabriel Jackson, Hughes, and Langer provide accounts of the break-ups of their first marriages, and Jill Ker Conway tries to convey the anguish of life with a beloved husband who suffered from manic-depression. In spite of the double justification that such personal experiences are the traditional stuff of autobiographies and that contemporary historical science finds social relevance in such private matters, these confessional texts have frequently been met with ridicule or outright hostility. One reviewer of Hughes’s *Gentleman Rebel* complained that “this autobiography is all ‘auto,’ reporting only the memories of an intensely narcissistic author.”⁵¹ The fact that any historian-autobiographers have chosen to leave themselves open to this kind of attack testifies to the importance that this kind of candor has for them.

More than academic autobiographers from other disciplines, however, historians tend to put these private events in the context of the wars, political movements, and economic changes that were going on around them. This connection of individual experience to the framework of history that the discipline has produced through its collective efforts serves, among other things, to bolster the credibility of what these authors have to say about their personal lives and helps to explain why the question of factual accuracy, which preoccupies historians when they use autobiographies as sources, does not appear to be a major issue in the evaluation of historians’ own memoirs. Historians are certainly not immune to error or distortion when they write about themselves, but they are most likely to make questionable statements about private relations, and the issues of whether autobiographers have been fair to ex-spouses or have unjustifiably exaggerated their concern for their students only interests a small group of readers who knew the author personally. In the end, autobiographies succeed or fail either because they give a convincing portrayal of

⁴⁹ Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation*, 124.

⁵⁰ John Burt Foster, “Cultural Multiplicity in Two Modern Autobiographies: Friedländer’s *When Memory Comes* and Dinesen’s *Out of Africa*,” *Southern Humanities Review* 29 (1995): 210.

⁵¹ *Choice*, March 1991, cited in *Book Review Digest* (1991): 207.

now-vanished times and places or because they draw us into their author's thoughts and feelings. Their training gives historians the tools to do the former, and their success at the latter is not measurable by comparison with testimony provided by others.

Although historians' memoirs are often more candid than one might expect about their authors' personal lives, they also have their characteristic zones of shadow. One topic that is often scanted in these publications is the actual work that professional historians perform. Teaching is hardly ever mentioned; historian-autobiographers seem to sense the danger of appearing vain and of appearing to speak for those voiceless subalterns who sat in their classrooms. Henry Adams wrote eloquently on the subject in his autobiography, but those who cite his famous assertion that "a teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops" rarely mention that it appears in a chapter entitled "Failure," in which he portrays himself as having accomplished nothing as an educator.⁵² Historian-autobiographers also usually say less about their personal scholarly accomplishments than do colleagues in many other disciplines. With a few exceptions, notably C. Vann Woodward and Georges Duby, who have deliberately chosen to limit themselves to this topic, these authors tend to make at best passing reference even to their major research projects and publications. Unlike many scientists' memoirs, historians' reminiscences are usually neither testimonials to their authors' special genius nor weapons in disputes about priority and credit. The image of the historical discipline implicit in these memoirs is one of a form of knowledge that develops without spectacular breakthroughs of the "double helix" variety to which an individual could lay claim.

With a few exceptions, historians' memoirs also give a fairly bland portrait of colleagues and of faculty relations. In France, where the academic world is small and concentrated and the same major figures influenced the careers of so many *ego-historiens*, the brief comments in this collection of texts can add up to a sort of collective portrait. The almost unanimous praise for the unassuming Ernest Labrousse, dissertation director for many of the future autobiographers, contrasts sharply with the many critical comments about Fernand Braudel, who dominated the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales throughout most of their careers.⁵³ In the more dispersed academic culture of the United States, historian-autobiographers realize that their readers will not recognize the names of even their most distinguished colleagues or take much interest in their interactions with them. Some of these writers say enough to make it clear that they bear deep scars from professional fights, but the issues in these quarrels are difficult to explain to non-academic readers, and the authors who emphasize them tend to sound shrill or self-pitying.⁵⁴

⁵² Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Ernest Samuels, ed. (1918; rpt. edn., Boston, 1973), 300.

⁵³ On Labrousse, see Kriegel, *Ce que j'ai cru comprendre*, 304–05, 616–18; Michelle Perrot, "L'air du temps," in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 276–77; Pierre Goubert, *Un parcours d'historien* (Paris, 1996), 135–42; on Braudel, Goubert, 159–66; Le Goff, *Une vie pour l'histoire*, 49–50, 161–63, 180n; Le Roy Ladurie, *Paris-Montpellier*, 223, 227.

⁵⁴ Examples are Raul Hilberg's complaints about the reception of his work and about rivals in the field (Hilberg, *Politics of Memory*, 127, 142–46), even though some of his remarks about the discipline's disdain for Holocaust scholarship in the 1950s and 1960s contain more than a kernel of truth, and H.

The one episode in contemporary academic life that inspires relatively extensive commentary in the autobiographies of virtually every historian who lived through it, regardless of country, is the group of campus movements summed up by the date "1968." This was the one point in the lives of these authors when public and academic life intersected, and when they were confronted in their classrooms with challenges whose significance they can make clear to all their readers. Many of these authors were by then in positions of campus leadership, which gave them, as the Israeli historian Jacob Katz puts it, "the opportunity to experience at first hand the weight of responsibility and leadership so familiar in abstract terms."⁵⁵ Indeed, for a number of these authors, what Henry May calls the "learning and self-searching" forced on them in the 1960s had a clear connection with their later decision to write a memoir, even if the events of those years wound up occupying only a minor part of it.⁵⁶ Among the generation who were already professors, reactions to the 1960s movements ran the gamut from Annie Kriegel's violent hostility to what she saw as "an aggression, as brutal as a bolt of lightning, that annihilated [the university]"⁵⁷ to the wary enthusiasm of those, such as Maurice Agulhon in France and Carl Schorske in the United States, who initially hoped that a new kind of pedagogy might emerge from temporary chaos. All seemed to realize that the student movements posed at least a potential danger to the very existence of the academic world in which they had invested their lives, however. George Mosse liked to think that he managed to express his sympathy for the students even while getting them to think more critically about the consequences of some of their actions.⁵⁸ H. Stuart Hughes, who had been active in the movement against the Vietnam War since the early 1960s, felt himself "outflanked" by radical students who "wanted the university, as an institution, to take a stand against the war" and who rejected Hughes's attempt to distinguish between his role as citizen and his role as professor.⁵⁹ On the other side of the generational divide, 1968 was the year that, in Luisa Passerini's opinion, formed the identity of her entire generation, "a worldwide phenomenon that changed and will change the course of our lives, within a process that is not yet completed and is thus difficult to grasp." The student movement's tie to "the everyday, to subjectivity, less separated from life," was also a tie to the values of autobiography.⁶⁰

THIS LITERATURE'S VARIED COMMENTS ON the significance of the 1960s shows that historians' autobiographies make their greatest contribution, not to an internal history of the discipline but to an understanding of "what it means to be living in

Stuart Hughes's denunciation of his second wife's rejection for tenure at Harvard (Hughes, *Gentleman Rebel*, 296–98).

⁵⁵ Katz, *With My Own Eyes*, 164.

⁵⁶ May, *Coming to Terms*, 308.

⁵⁷ Kriegel, *Ce que j'ai cru comprendre*, 706.

⁵⁸ George Mosse, "Ich bleibe Emigrant": *Gespräche mit George L. Mosse*, Irene Runge and Uwe Stelbrink, eds. (Berlin, 1991), 62. Mosse was working on an English-language autobiography before his death in January 1999.

⁵⁹ Hughes, *Gentleman Rebel*, 284–85.

⁶⁰ Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation*, 60, 96.

history,” as the literary critic Paul John Eakin puts it: what it means to be an individual reflecting on his or her own personal experience while simultaneously being aware—as he or she may not have been at the time—of the larger historical currents that the discipline has subsequently charted.⁶¹ Indeed, another student of autobiography has suggested that this is the special contribution historians turned autobiographers can offer: “Don’t some people manage somehow to acquire a consciousness of history? Don’t they become aware—more aware than others, at any rate—of the ways in which they have been determined . . . ?”⁶² It would be gratifying to conclude that historians’ training means that their autobiographies always contain insights beyond those normally found in such texts, but it is by no means certain this is the case. An examination of how contemporary American and French historians have dealt with two major themes, the experience of living amid the large-scale crises that have shaped so much of twentieth-century life, and the classic autobiographical theme of sin and redemption, shows that historians’ autobiographies complicate the issues they deal with as much as they clarify them.

When contemporary historians recall their experience of war, they are wittingly or unwittingly echoing Edward Gibbon and Henry Adams. Gibbon drew positive lessons from his service in the militia during the Seven Years’ War. It had been “an active scene which bears no affinity to any other period of my studious and social life,” and he reported that the “experience forced me to feel the characters of our leading men, the state of parties, the forms of office and the operation of our civil and military system.”⁶³ Adams also learned from his service as secretary in the American embassy in London during the Civil War, but the lesson was a negative one: subsequent revelations showed that the young diplomat had completely misunderstood the situation he found himself in, and he concluded that witnessing events firsthand taught nothing at all. “One’s diplomatic education was a long mistake.”⁶⁴ Contemporary scholars’ memoirs show a range of reactions to the experience of war, but they lean toward Adams’s sense of irony and frustration more than to Gibbon’s pragmatic optimism.

The generation of scholars who published end-of-career memoirs after 1980 was made up of men and women born during or shortly after World War I and who experienced its sequel as adolescents or young adults. Regardless of what kind of history they subsequently wrote, when they look back, these future historians recognize that the Great War shaped both their lives and their sense of what history was. As a child, Jacques Le Goff recalls, “I lived in a world where . . . the memory of the war obsessed everyone,” and Raoul Girardet speaks for all his French contemporaries when he writes that “the time of my childhood was when the monuments to the fallen were still new.”⁶⁵ Henry May also grew up on war stories: “To children the Great War and all wars seemed part of the past—terrible but romantic. Sometimes we wondered whether anything as exciting would ever happen

⁶¹ Eakin, *Touching the World*, 145.

⁶² Mark Freeman, *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative* (London, 1993), 186. Freeman is referring specifically to Jill Ker Conway, *The Road from Coorain*.

⁶³ Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, Georges A. Bonnard, ed. (New York, 1966), 107, 117.

⁶⁴ Adams, *Education*, 162.

⁶⁵ Le Goff, *Une vie pour l'histoire*, 7; Girardet, in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 139.

again.”⁶⁶ From childhood on, these memoirists were aware that this event separated their lives from a dimly understood era before 1914 when everything had been different. For this generation, a sense of the possibility of sudden and radical historical change was almost unavoidable; so was a recognition that they would have to reconstruct the past truly to understand themselves and their own time.

This generation were young adults and thus necessarily participant-observers when World War II broke out. Not surprisingly, it looms large in their narratives. Curiously, however, this collection of historians' memoirs includes few accounts of battlefield experiences. Paul Fussell's *Doing Battle* is the only one of these texts that narrates a personal trauma of an intensity comparable to that which so many of these writers imagine as having characterized World War I.⁶⁷ Most of Fussell's contemporaries, both American and French, instead tell stories that emphasize the discrepancy between the immensity of the issues at stake and their relatively trivial or sometimes absurd experiences; only the group of future historians who were caught up in the Holocaust because of their Jewishness truly experienced the event's full measure of brutality. Future French historians such as Philippe Ariès, Raoul Girardet, Pierre Goubert, and René Rémond were in the army during the defeat of 1940, but none remembers it with the burning anger and frustration that characterizes that first-person philippic by a historian from an older generation, Marc Bloch's *Strange Defeat*. In some cases, personal experience was totally at odds with the obvious collective meaning of what was happening. René Rémond, a young officer candidate, recalls enjoying the taste of adult responsibility his post provided, in spite of the circumstances; he left it in 1941 “with a certain amount of regret.”⁶⁸ The future French historians who lived through the war as civilians often continued their studies almost without disruption. Pierre Chaunu recounts his annoyance at being chased out of the Bibliothèque Nationale in August 1944 by librarians trying to safeguard the books during the liberation of Paris.⁶⁹ Alfred Grosser, a German-born Jew who faced the threat of having his French citizenship revoked, managed to pass the exam for a teaching certificate in June of 1943. “In the middle of the war? In defeated France? Under the Vichy regime which had enacted the *statut des juifs*? Looking back, it still astonishes me,” he writes.⁷⁰

American historian-memoirist contemporaries of these French *ego-historiens* were more likely to have performed extended military service, but they, too, remember their experiences in terms that separate it sharply from the collective result it achieved. Louis Harlan, a naval officer whose ship was part of the D-Day flotilla, suggests that serving in the military was likely to provide very little insight into the macro-historical processes at work. “Our engrossment in our own little corner of the global war, and our very limited engagement with the enemy, had left me woefully ignorant of the strategy and geopolitics of the war. The folks back

⁶⁶ May, *Coming to Terms*, 12.

⁶⁷ See also Charles P. Roland, “A Citizen-Soldier Remembers World War II,” in *Military Leadership and Command: The John Biggs Cincinnati Lectures, 1987* (Lexington, Va., 1987), 101–18. Roland's talk, originally given as a faculty seminar in my own department at the University of Kentucky, was one of the first stimuli to my interest in this subject.

⁶⁸ Rémond, in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 297.

⁶⁹ Chaunu, in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 74.

⁷⁰ Alfred Grosser, *Une vie de français* (Paris, 1997), 32.

home actually had a clearer view than we on the scene," he writes.⁷¹ Perhaps the most striking confrontations between individual experience and the shaping of collective history are those recounted by the several American historians who served in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during the war and have subsequently written memoirs about it. Unlike Harlan, these men found themselves thrust into positions where they could try to use their historical knowledge to make history as well as occupying a vantage point offering an unparalleled view of how it was made. A disproportionate number of American historian-autobiographers come from this remarkable group: William Langer, John King Fairbank, H. Stuart Hughes, and Carl Schorske.

The OSS historian-autobiographers did, in general, have "good" wars. Unlike Fussell, none were wounded; none even suffered the long stretches of boredom that characterize the war memories of many of their contemporaries, such as May and Harlan. All were able to resume their studies or academic careers afterward, usually in better positions than those they had left. All remember their OSS experience as intellectually stimulating, "a second graduate school," as Schorske puts it,⁷² and enormously important for their future understanding of their academic subject fields. Looking back, however, what they remember is not a sense of having been able to understand or influence what was happening around them, but quite the opposite. Hughes ended up thoroughly disillusioned. He had been unable to diminish official U.S. hostility to Charles de Gaulle, who he had recognized as the true representative of French patriotism, and he was equally unsuccessful in encouraging the unity of French democratic forces he thought essential to protect that country's future. In retrospect, his wartime experience "had been . . . an extended education that had ended in weariness and dread," and the OSS activities mostly a "futile waste."⁷³ By the end of the war, Fairbank realized that he and other Americans who had hoped to help promote a genuine liberal democracy in China had failed. The forces opposing such an outcome were too powerful, and the bases for an American-style political system did not exist.⁷⁴ In the McCarthy era that followed the war, both Hughes and Fairbank, as well as a number of the other future historian-autobiographers, suffered the additional absurdity of being accused of Communist sympathies by politicians who had none of the firsthand experience of having seen history in the making that they did.

The portrayal these historians' memoirs give of the experience of "living in history" is thus a thoroughly disabused one. Historical training and the special opportunity of working for the OSS were insufficient to allow these intelligent young men to exert any real influence on events, or even to grasp the direction in which they were actually going. In hindsight, it is possible for memoirists like Hughes and Fairbank to see what aspects of the situations in France, China, and Washington they did not understand and to give some account of why history worked out as it did. Hindsight also shows them, however, that even they, from what should have been their privileged observation points, were whirled about by forces

⁷¹ Harlan, *All at Sea*, 122.

⁷² Carl E. Schorske, *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture, April 23, 1987* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 8.

⁷³ Hughes, *Gentleman Rebel*, 146, 179, 184.

⁷⁴ Fairbank, *Chinabound*, 312.

they did not comprehend and could not control. At a fundamental level, these memoirs thus raise a serious question about the way in which historians describe the behavior of historical actors in the past. These historically trained autobiographers suggest that the human condition is to be overwhelmed by circumstances and to arrive at results entirely different from those intended. If these are first-person examples of "history from the bottom up," they more often portray ineffectuality and incomprehension than the empowering sense of agency microhistorians usually attribute to their subjects.

Just as they grapple with the historical problem of the individual confronted with the collective force of events, so historian-memoirists bring their special perspective to vital issues in the construction of autobiography, such as the question of the causes and consequences of ideological commitment. Whether it is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie describing his involvement with the French Communist Party or Martin Duberman tracing his development into a gay activist, this issue dominates many of these texts. On this issue, there does seem to be a clear difference between the experiences of future historian-autobiographers in the two societies that have given rise to the largest numbers of these memoirs, France and the United States. Ideological involvements provide much of the drama in the French memoirs: French authors feel themselves defined in good part by the commitments they made and renounced. American historian-autobiographers give the impression of having been much less torn by their beliefs; compared to their French contemporaries, hardly any attach the same sense of sinfulness to any of their earlier faiths.

The most striking examples of the French version of this story are the memoirs of historians who were members of the Communist Party in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Looking back, French ex-Communist historians such as Alain Besançon and Le Roy Ladurie are unsparing both with themselves and their former movement, even though the worst outrages they were personally involved in usually concerned the treatment of fellow French party members suspected of ideological deviations. "At some level, one realizes that we played a part in the worst the century produced, in a vast enterprise of evil," Besançon writes.⁷⁵ The ways in which these memoirists explain their attraction to Communism tend to be complex and to suggest both the over-determination of such decisions and the element of uncertainty that remains in any such analysis. There were public reasons—the prestige the party gained from its role in the wartime resistance, the sense that Communism was history's winning side—and private ones. For Le Roy Ladurie, joining the party was a way of rebelling against his father, who had been a minister under Philippe Pétain, and of asserting his individual identity;⁷⁶ for Maurice Agulhon, party activity compensated for a certain emotional immaturity. "I broke the records for discipline, devotion and obsessive scrupulosity, sacrificing my private life," Agulhon writes, "less . . . from a spirit of true sacrifice than out of a deep incapacity to take on a private life."⁷⁷ Only the Jewish Annie Kriegel, who entered the party during the Occupation as a way of fighting back against Nazism, finds her decision essentially unproblematic, seeing it as both "unavoidable and, at the time,

⁷⁵ Besançon, *Une génération*, 325.

⁷⁶ Le Roy Ladurie, *Paris-Montpellier*, 36–37.

⁷⁷ Agulhon, in Nora, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, 24.

honorable.”⁷⁸ She is also the only writer in this group who conveys any sense of familiarity with the social injustices that drove so many French workers to support the party. To the other memoirists, the problem of explaining their motives remains a puzzle, which one of them considers characteristic of historical explanation in general: “history always offers mystery alongside explanation, and often it is born out of the explanation itself.”⁷⁹

In the tradition of Augustine’s *Confessions*, these ex-Communist historians also wrestle with an issue that is less common in historical writing than in autobiography: the question of how they freed themselves from the grip of error. The faith that redeemed them, they claim, was history, which plays a larger role in their personal narratives than in those of most other historian-autobiographers. Events such as the death of Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev’s “secret speech” of 1956 helped precipitate their detachment from the party, but it was their growing attachment to historical professionalism and their consequent sensitivity to the ways in which the party distorted the past that gave them a new basis for understanding the world. Le Roy Ladurie writes of his shock when he realized that a disgraced French Communist leader had been removed from a historical photograph in a party publication: “formed by university training, he knew what such tampering implied.”⁸⁰ Kriegel began the research that culminated in her massive dissertation on the origins of French Communism just at the time when she was beginning to loosen her ties with the party. Her autobiography makes clear both the intense personal meaning the topic had for her and the way in which the painstaking procedures of historical research, which she evokes in loving detail, provided her with a new ground for certainty that replaced her previous ideological commitment.⁸¹

Historical research was especially suited to play this role for these ex-Communists because it enabled them to defeat the party on its own ground. Communist ideology insisted that the evidence of history justified the party’s claims; disproving the Communist version of history struck at the heart of that ideology’s appeal. Marxism also taught that labor was the source of all human accomplishment, and historical research was nothing if not work: as the massive monographs on which their professional careers rest demonstrate, Kriegel and Le Roy Ladurie remained Stakhanovites even when they became ex-Communists. Finally, the Marxist tradition taught its adepts to place historical evidence in a theoretical framework. Here, the ex-Communists join hands with the French historian-autobiographers, such as Philippe Ariès and Raoul Girardet, who had been members of the right-wing Action Française. Girardet regrets some of his earlier political decisions, particularly his acceptance without protest of Vichy’s anti-Semitic measures, but he considers that his devotion to Charles Maurras’s movement had its intellectual benefits: “At least it taught [me] to apply a certain logic to political matters.”⁸²

Is it paradoxical that these ex-Communist historians, for whom objectively

⁷⁸ Kriegel, *Ce que j’ai cru comprendre*, 195.

⁷⁹ Besançon, *Une génération*, 315.

⁸⁰ Le Roy Ladurie, *Paris-Montpellier*, 164.

⁸¹ Kriegel, *Ce que j’ai cru comprendre*, 616–17, 621, 676–77.

⁸² Girardet, *Singulièrement libre*, 34, 43. Alexsey Stakhanov was a Soviet “model worker” in the 1930s, celebrated for overfulfilling his work assignments.

verifiable historical truth served as the antidote to ideology, should be among those who have now turned to the inherently subjective genre of autobiography? By themselves exposing the intense link between their Communist experience and their subsequent investment in history, they invite the question of whether history, too, is an ideological system that attracts individuals with a strong need for a set of beliefs that makes sense of the world. All of these writers make it clear that their autobiographies are not merely exercises in self-exploration, they are explicitly meant to be partisan acts in a continuing campaign against Communism and totalitarianism. If there is a resolution to this paradox, it lies in the fact that these texts achieve their purpose by claiming to translate to the individual level the demand for honesty and willingness to look unpleasant facts in the face that these authors claim to have found in history itself. By making the public self-criticism that the Communist movement, especially in its French avatar, so consistently refused to undertake, Kriegel, Le Roy Ladurie, and Besançon give force to the moral lesson they want their life stories to teach.

By putting the classic autobiographical theme of sin and redemption in the specific historical context of Fourth Republic France, these authors show that autobiography can be faithful to the details of modern life while still linking itself to the great themes of its own tradition. These narratives have an emotional intensity that is often lacking in the stories American historians tell about their own commitments. This is not because American historians had no interest in political causes; indeed, the large number of self-proclaimed radicals among American historian-memoirists means that the ideologically committed are, if anything, over-represented in this literature. Nor is it because the political activities of American historian-autobiographers were unimportant. John Hope Franklin's and C. Vann Woodward's participation in preparing the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's briefs for the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* school-desegregation case and James Silver's and Howard Zinn's roles in the southern civil rights movements of the 1960s demonstrate the contrary. American historian-memoirists remember their ideological commitments differently than their French colleagues do because they rarely see them as occasions for self-criticism. Even when they later changed their views, as in the case of the historians who were pacifists in the 1930s but eventually supported American entry into World War II, these writers do not see their earlier ideas as a problem requiring analysis or moral judgment. The French historian-autobiographers often convey a sense of having learned a painful lesson on historical responsibility from their ideological adventures. Their American counterparts seem, by contrast, largely unscathed by their equivalent experiences and unconcerned about any possible tension between them and the essential values of academic life.

Ironically, one reason for this difference in tone is that American historian-autobiographers, much more than their French contemporaries, suffered for their commitments. Any sense of guilt they might have harbored for sins of political misjudgment is overshadowed by what they see as the unjustified treatment they themselves endured. At a time when a number of their French contemporaries were participating actively in a Communist Party without suffering any career repercus-

sions—"perhaps even the contrary," according to Alain Besançon⁸³—H. Stuart Hughes, John King Fairbank, and Gabriel Jackson faced groundless accusations of Communist sympathies. Natalie Zemon Davis's passport was confiscated because of her husband's association with the Communist Party. In the 1960s, long after the fall of Senator Joseph McCarthy, political activism still carried risks. Howard Zinn was fired from his job at Spelman College because of his civil-rights activism, and state legislators drove James Silver out of Mississippi. In the same period, French historians François Bluche and Raoul Girardet report being arrested on suspicion of involvement in assassination plots against de Gaulle without any consequences to their careers.

When American historian-autobiographers grapple with the problem of evil in their lives, they usually write about pervasive social attitudes they may have shared, particularly anti-Semitism and prejudice toward blacks, rather than about explicit political choices they made. Anti-Semitism often seems to stand out in their recollections as the strongest instance of moral evil that they had to confront on a personal basis, in part because it pervaded academic life during their student years to such an extent that even John Hope Franklin writes that "the most traumatic social experience I had [at Harvard] was not racist but anti-Semitic."⁸⁴ Unlike joining the Communist Party, sharing the prejudices of one's era was not an individual decision and overcoming them not the result of a dramatic conversion. For the American historian-memoirists who highlight the issue, the reference to anti-Semitism serves to show the evolution of American attitudes in general and to underline the difference between past and present, rather than to reveal something special about their own characters. The gradual evolution in attitudes implied in the harsh judgment these writers now make on the past rarely required the kind of conscious, intellectual reflection or the same acceptance of personal responsibility that led French scholars out of the Communist Party. Nor did a commitment to historical research play the same redemptory role in their lives as it did for their French contemporaries.

HISTORIAN-AUTOBIOGRAPHERS' RECOLLECTIONS of their wartime experiences and their reflections on personal commitments and their consequences show that these texts do offer genuine insights, both for historians and for students of autobiography. On both sides of the Atlantic, the ways these historically trained witnesses recall the era of the world wars challenge standard historical reconstructions and the clichés of popular culture. Their first-person accounts carry a degree of conviction missing in many other memoirs of the period because their training makes them aware of the larger historical context in which their own stories unfolded. At the same time, these publications also expand our understanding of how historians' sensitivity to the impact of events develops out of the circumstances of their own lives. Similarly, when they describe changes in their personal commitments and values, historian-autobiographers at times succeed in enriching a

⁸³ Besançon, *Une génération*, 325.

⁸⁴ John Hope Franklin, *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture* (New York, 1988), 8.

type of narrative that dates back to Augustine with a complex understanding of how external circumstances combine with personal motives. They also show how the practices of historical scholarship themselves can sometimes provide the necessary perspective to liberate its practitioners from ideology or prejudice. Furthermore, the contrast between typical French and American historians' memoirs illuminates significant differences between the two cultures.

Viewed as a whole, the corpus of contemporary historians' autobiographies is thus neither trivial in content nor an embarrassment to the profession, as its sterner critics have charged. It is true that none of these texts seems destined to take its place beside the works of Gibbon or Henry Adams. Contemporary authors' concern to make their stories into case studies and to define as precisely as possible where their experiences parallel or diverge from those of larger groups militates against their achieving the monumental individuality of those two classics. By being more careful historians, today's historian-autobiographers are perhaps inevitably less successful autobiographers. These earnest and well-documented life histories are also something less than the historiographical breakthrough that Pierre Nora, the French protagonist of the *ego-histoire* as a new genre, has called for. Historians' autobiographies do sometimes suggest new ways of viewing familiar historical questions, but historians who read them are apt to react to their most interesting passages, not by calling for more autobiography but by asking for more history: comparison of these first-person accounts with other available documentation. This is an outcome most of the recent historian-autobiographers would probably embrace. Few of them have set out to challenge the accepted canons of historical scholarship; more often, they testify to the importance that the relative certainty provided by that scholarship has had for them.

The relative caution of today's historian-autobiographers does not mean that their enterprises raise no fundamental questions for our discipline, however. Historians' autobiographies are still autobiographies, and autobiographies, as the theoretical debates on the subject among literary scholars have shown, are texts whose truth claims are inherently contestable. Ultimately, the theoreticians of autobiography themselves are forced to admit that their conviction that it can transmit truth rests on an act of faith. They fall back on paradoxical formulations such as Philippe Lejeune's: "In spite of the fact that autobiography is impossible, this in no way prevents it from existing."⁸⁵

The fact that only a small minority of professional historians is ever likely to publish such texts is no safeguard: the mere awareness that such a project is possible is sufficient to make it an issue for all historians. Are we then obligated to accept the equation between history, autobiography, and fiction that literary theorist James Olney, among others, has proposed?⁸⁶ I would argue instead for a more nuanced conclusion. Historians' autobiographies do remind us that history is written by human beings, all of whom have their own unique personal histories and their own individual reasons for finding meaning in the history they write. But history, for all its similarities to autobiography, has its own specificity. Even when, as in Luisa Passerini's case, autobiography and history are deliberately intermingled

⁸⁵ Philippe Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact (bis)," in Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, 131–32.

⁸⁶ Olney, *Metaphors of Self*, 36.

in a single text, history aspires to comprehend the experience of the Other, not merely that of the self. Olney's claim that "we go to history, as to philosophy to autobiography and poetry, to learn more not about other people and the past but about ourselves and the present"⁸⁷ is simply not accurate. The aspiration to know what other people are like and what they have experienced is itself important, even if it can never be completely realized. Historians' autobiographies demonstrate the value of this attempt to go beyond personal experience in the ways in which they incorporate the historical "big picture" into their reconstruction of their authors' lives, and thus give these self-portraits a richness of context often absent in the autobiographical genre. Occupying a liminal position on the frontier between autobiography, with its connections to literature, and history, with its aspirations to confirmable certainty, historians' autobiographies are uniquely suited, not to show that these genres are really one and the same but that they each can be enriched by an awareness of what the other has to offer. They also demonstrate that history can and should contest the literary theorists' bid to annex autobiography to the realm of fiction. Even as we learn from other disciplines, we have a right to insist that ours, too, has insights to offer from which others can benefit.

⁸⁷ Olney, *Metaphors of Self*, 36–37.

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The Sensibility of Comfort

JOHN E. CROWLEY

Whether real or imaginary, pain is pain and pleasure is pleasure.

Benjamin Franklin, "The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams," 1786.

There are two words in their language on which these people pride themselves, and which they say cannot be translated. *Home* is the one, by which an Englishman means his house . . . The other word is *comfort*; it means all the enjoyments and privileges of *home*; and here I must confess that these proud islanders have reason for their pride. In their social intercourse and their modes of life they have enjoyments which we never dream of.

Robert Southey, *Letters from England: By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella* (1807).¹

IN NOVEMBER 1795, UPON RETURNING to his Norfolk home from London, the Reverend James Woodforde noted: "We drank tea, supped and slept at our comfortable quiet, happy, thatched dwelling." Over the forty-five years he kept his diary, from 1758 to 1802, Woodforde carefully analyzed his physical comforts and discomforts. He assessed, for example, the quality of his sleep: "Very ill indeed today having had a very indifferent night of rest last night, owing to the night candle filling the room in being so long going out with intolerable smoke and stink." He not only recorded when he was too hot or too cold but also verified his subjective impressions with thermometer readings. He noted whether he used bedwarmers. The minutiae of his reporting on comfort included the use of an umbrella on numerous rainy days.²

Woodforde's attention to comfort poses a historical problem precisely because its standards seem so similar to those of Anglo-Americans since his time: how natural is the desire for physical comfort? His catalogue of basic physical comforts could

Research grants from Dalhousie University and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (410-95-1148) and a fellowship at the Huntington Library supported this research. Marian Binkley, Timothy Breen, Gordon Wood, Daniel Woolf, and referees for this journal provided helpful criticisms.

¹ Benjamin Franklin, "The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams" [1786]. *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Albert Henry Smyth, ed., 10 vols. (New York, 1905-07), 10: 132; Robert Southey, *Letters from England: By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, Translated from the Spanish*, 2 vols. (London, 1807), 1: 180, 182, emphasis mine.

² *The Diary of a Country Parson: The Reverend James Woodforde*, John Beresford, ed., 5 vols. (London, 1926-31), quoted 4: 245 (November 4, 1795); for examples of his comments on bedwarmers, fireplaces, smoky chimneys, and umbrellas, see also 1: 339 (December 26, 1781), 2: 300 (January 28, 1787), 3: 100 (April 27, 1789), 3: 386 (November 5, 1792), 5: 268 (August 2, 1800), 5: 405 (September 6, 1802). He noted almost daily what type of meat he ate for dinner.

confirm the commonsense retort to the claims of relativism, that people over time are basically similar. What, after all, could be more human than desires to be warm without stifling, to sleep soundly, to have fresh air, to be dry, and to have a cozy home? Yet if comfort were a specific response to material living conditions, we should be able to measure it. Why, then, have architects found it so difficult to specify, much less to design, a uniformly comfortable environment? According to one prominent architectural critic, architecture schools avoid the topic.³ Anthropologists expect people in different cultures and in the past to have varying ideas of what constitutes satisfactory relations of body, material culture, and environment. They have found that technology, social structures, and belief systems dictate widely varying designs in domestic environments.⁴

Physical comfort—self-conscious satisfaction with the relationship between one's body and its immediate physical environment—was an innovative aspect of Anglo-American culture,⁵ one that had to be taught and learned. During the eighteenth century, Anglo-Americans used the word "comfort" with increasing frequency to express their satisfaction and enjoyment with immediate physical circumstances. This usage indicated a disposition to criticize traditional material culture and to improve it. When Thomas Jefferson in 1785 described most Virginians' housing as "impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable," he was applying a set of values that his neighbors had apparently ignored or resisted.⁶ Similarly, a few years later, Jefferson's former compatriot, Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, recommended the technical virtues of his design for chimney fireplaces by appealing to "those who have feeling enough to be made miserable by anything careless, slovenly, and wasteful, which happens under their eyes, *who know what comfort is*."⁷ Jefferson's and Rumford's new emphasis on comfort anticipated a new material culture.

³ Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York, 1987), vii; see also *Not at Home: The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture*, Christopher Reed, ed. (London, 1996). For architectural efforts to measure comfort, see T. C. Angus, *The Control of Indoor Climate* (Oxford, 1968); Reyner Banham, *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment* (London, 1969); P. O. Fanger, *Thermal Comfort: Analysis and Applications of Environmental Engineering* (New York, 1970).

⁴ On variations in the imperatives of material culture, see Bernard Rudofsky, *Now I Lay Me Down to Eat: Notes and Footnotes on the Lost Art of Living* (New York, 1980); Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969); Brent C. Brolin, *The Failure of Modern Architecture* (New York, 1976); Paul Oliver, *Dwellings: The House across the World* (Austin, Tex., 1987); Susan B. Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Ronald G. Knapp, *The Chinese House: Craft, Symbol, and the Folk Tradition* (London, 1991). On the cultural constitution of needs, see Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, 1997); Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago, 1976).

⁵ "Anglo-American" refers here to the society of Great Britain and its colonies in the Americas.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1785], Thomas Perkins Abernethy, ed. (1861; rpt. edn., Gloucester, Mass., 1976), 145–47. Jefferson noted that most Virginians expressed a preference for wooden rather than stone or brick construction as a matter of health. On the applicability of Jefferson's comments, see Edward A. Chappell, "Housing a Nation: The Transformation of Living Standards in Early America," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1994), 221–22; Camille Wells, "The Eighteenth-Century Landscape of Virginia's Northern Neck," *Northern Neck of Virginia Magazine* 37 (1987): 4230–45.

⁷ Benjamin Thompson, "Of Chimney Fire-places" [1796], *Collected Works of Count Rumford*, Sanborn C. Brown, ed., 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1968–70), 2: 239. Such critical attention to the design

Earlier in the century, each of Woodforde's concerns—ample ventilation of sleeping quarters, the elimination of smoky chimneys, umbrellas for rainy weather, furnishing homes for domestic leisure—drew the attention of Anglo-American political economists, moral philosophers, scientists, humanitarian reformers, even novelists. These commentators sought to evaluate the relations of body, material culture, and environment in the name of physical comfort. They gave the term “comfort” a new physical emphasis as they reconceptualized values, redesigned material environments, and urged the relearning of behaviors. For centuries, “comfort” had primarily meant moral, emotional, spiritual, and political support in difficult circumstances. To be “comfortless” had meant being “without anything to allay misfortune,” and “discomfort” involved feelings of “sorrow,” “melancholy,” and “gloom” rather than physical irritability.⁸ In Ralph Josselin's diary, the most appropriate seventeenth-century document for comparison with Woodforde's diary, the word “comfort” appears every few days but almost invariably in reference to providential blessings—thoughts of love toward his late father, his wife's pregnancy, the delivery of a sermon, good weather.⁹

Language and concepts emphasizing a physical meaning of comfort developed initially in the nascent political economy around 1700, as it analyzed the differences between “luxury” and “necessity.” Luxury had long been the subject of political and social thought, but its defining antonym, necessity—luxury was what people desired beyond necessities—had been taken for granted as having a natural definition. When eighteenth-century political economists began to analyze necessity as well, they effectively deconstructed luxury by showing how luxury in one context could be necessity in another. Standards of living could improve. The term “comfort” increasingly applied to those standards, and assessed their fulfillment.

The argument that follows begins by relating this new emphasis on physical comfort to the eighteenth-century consumer revolution. It questions a prevailing assumption in the historiography of that revolution, that comfort was a natural motive for new consumption patterns. Items that people might have wanted for their comfort were more likely to be desirable for other reasons, especially to achieve gentility or good health. Having established that a high priority for comfort cannot be taken for granted, the argument then traces how theories of political

of the domestic environment provided themes for imaginative literature and visual art after 1760. In English genre painting, for example, domestic furnishings became subjects in their own right after 1760, as had occurred with landscapes earlier in the century; see Mario Praz, *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration from Pompeii to Art Nouveau*, William Weaver, trans. (1964; rpt. edn., London, 1982), 154–55; John Cornforth, *English Interiors, 1790–1848: The Quest for Comfort* (London, 1978), 13, 15–16; Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993), 215–27, 299, 302–05. For discussions of pleasure and happiness as diffuse aspirations in eighteenth-century British culture, see J. H. Plumb, *Georgian Delights* (Boston, 1980); *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts, eds. (New York, 1996).

⁸ “Comfort” in English derived from the medieval French *conforter/confort* (= *soutenir/encouragement*); A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français jusqu'au milieu du XIV^e*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1977), s.v. “conforter.” Before the middle of the eighteenth century, when used as a noun with physical reference, “comfort” usually had medicinal or nutritional connotations; *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1989), s.v. “comfort”; Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1785), s.v. “comfort,” “comfortless,” “discomfort.”

⁹ Josselin used the terms “convenient” and “refreshment” to assess his physical accommodation at home; *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683*, Alan MacFarlane, ed. (London, 1976), 3, 5, 138, 217–18.

economy in the first half of the eighteenth century made comfort a legitimizing motive for popular consumption patterns. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the imperatives of physical comfort had focused scientific and technological expertise on more amenable designs of the domestic environment. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, the ideal of physical comfort had sufficient ideological force for humanitarians to incorporate it in their appeals for social justice toward the poor, the incarcerated, and the enslaved, groups whose lack of comfort indicated the crucial need to remedy their circumstances. At the end of the eighteenth century, physical comfort could be asserted as a right of the unprivileged and a humanitarian responsibility of the propertied.

THE LANGUAGE OF COMFORT gave meaning to a consumer revolution in Anglo-American society, as more people had more money to spend on more goods.¹⁰ The increase of consumer spending went through two phases in the early modern period. The first, beginning in the mid-sixteenth century and running through the first decades of the eighteenth, saw consumers increase their spending on bedding, clothing, and pewter and brass for serving food and drink. In the second phase, which began in the third quarter of the seventeenth century and was widespread by the 1730s, fashion increasingly shaped demand. The propertied populace began to buy goods previously the exclusive province of the wealthy. People referred to their new consumer preferences as “conveniences” and “decencies”—amenities somewhere between necessity and luxury in the scale of wants and needs. Matching chairs and tables of carved walnut and other fine woods provided specialized furniture for socializing. The new drinks of tea, coffee, and chocolate required specific wares of glass and ceramics for preparation and serving. Looking glasses and clocks allowed luxurious display of technology. Tea and small dinners for guests became feasible domestic leisure activities.¹¹

¹⁰ Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of Consumer Society in Early Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1978); *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1982); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (London, 1988); Carole Shammas, *The Preindustrial Consumer in England and America* (London, 1990); *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds. (London, 1993); Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, *Of Consuming Interests*. Revisionists have argued that since the consumer “revolution” arguably began in the sixteenth century, it lacked the temporal crisis to be a revolution. On the periodization of consumer “revolutions,” see Carole Shammas, “Explaining Past Changes in Consumption and Consumer Behavior,” *Historical Methods* 22 (Spring 1989): 61–67; Peter N. Stearns, “Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization,” *Journal of Modern History* 69 (March 1997): 102–17.

¹¹ Cary Carson, “The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?” in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, *Of Consuming Interests*, 497; Neil McKendrick, “The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England,” in McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 9–33; Richard L. Bushman, “American High-Style and Vernacular Cultures,” in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 345–83; Gerard Brett, *Dinner Is Served: A History of Dining in England, 1400–1900* (Hamden, Conn., 1968), 85–108; Carole Shammas, “The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America,” *Journal of Social History* 14 (Fall 1980–81): 1–24; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, “Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary’s County, Maryland, 1658–1777,” *Historical Methods* 13 (Spring 1980): 87–96; Carr and Walsh, “Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake,” in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, *Of Consuming Interests*, 59–166; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton, N.J.,

Nearly all the most important studies of the eighteenth-century Anglo-American consumer revolution have referred to these goods' necessary desirability on the basis of their physical "comfort," but this factor in explaining demand has not been a major consideration.¹² Histories otherwise characterized by their imaginative use of sources and their conceptual and methodological rigor beg the questions of what people meant by "comfort" and why they wanted it. These studies assume the desire for comfort to be virtually a transhistorical feature of human nature that just happened to take recognizably modern form in the eighteenth century.¹³ Comfort has barely been studied, partly because its development seems a natural response to technological opportunity and partly because its appeal to consumers is often elided with their desires for gentility. I would argue instead that an understanding of the historical development of the values and material culture of comfort in eighteenth-century Anglo-American society deserves as much attention as other themes in the interpretation of consumption patterns, such as emulation, refinement, self-fashioning, conspicuous consumption, and romantic illusions. To what extent did people use the word "comfort" to explain their consumption patterns? Did they use other words more frequently to define their satisfactions from possessions? And if so, how does that usage qualify the explanation from comfort? Were the "conveniences" and "decencies" of the consumer revolution more comfortable?

Clothes were the most popular item for fashionable spending. Seventeenth-

1982), 176; Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 290–301; Shamma, *Preindustrial Consumer*, 181–85.

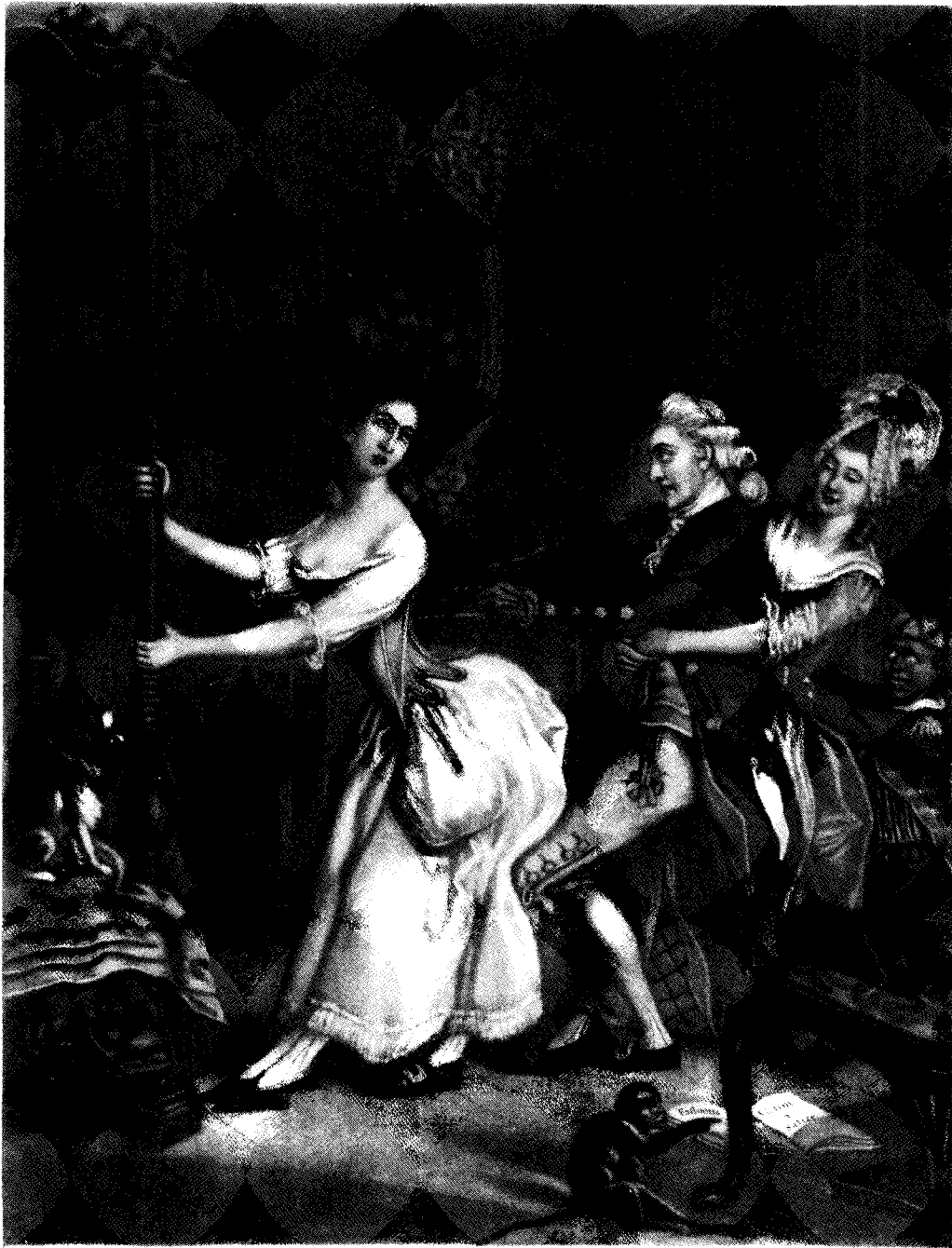
¹² Shamma, *Preindustrial Consumer*, 159; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and Their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984), 3, 114, 115, 118, 125; Carson, "Consumer Revolution," 562, 564, 619, 634; Carr and Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles," 64, 66, 67, 115. Many historians have made passing comment on the historical, social, and personal contingency of comfort, but only a few have elaborated on the topic. Among these exceptions are Rybczynski, *Home*; Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, 1994); Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 162–73; Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1948); Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850–1930* (Rochester, N.Y., 1988); Elizabeth Donaghy Garrett, *At Home: The American Family, 1750–1870* (New York, 1990), chap. 8; Colin Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character-Action Approach," Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 48, see also 52, 53. For an emphasis on the diversity of languages in consumer culture, see Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751–81," in Brewer and Porter, 274–301.

¹³ Historians of eighteenth-century material culture usually concur with Peter Thornton's statement that "the French" invented "true comfort" around 1620; Rybczynski, *Home*, 84–99, compare 121n; Carson, "Consumer Revolution," 619–20; Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven, Conn., 1978), 10. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the usual French term to assess satisfactory physical circumstance was *commodité*. Only in the early nineteenth century did French usage of the term *confort* take on such connotations, having borrowed the term back from English with a new meaning; Annik Pardaillhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime: 3,000 foyers parisiens XVII^{ème}–XVIII^{ème} siècles* (Paris, 1988), 331; *Le Grand Robert de la langue française: Dictionnaire alphabétique de la langue française*, Alain Rey, comp., 9 vols., 2d edn. (Paris, 1985), s.v. "confort"; Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 223. English visitors to stylish French *hôtels* in the seventeenth century expressed their admiration of interior design with such terms as "most precious moveables," "*luxe* and *excesse* Italy" (John Evelyn), "small but extremely neat" (Edward Browne reporting on Christopher Wren), "soe fine and magnificent" (William Hunter); as quoted in Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, 19–20. Unlike twentieth-century historians, these observers did not explicitly equate luxury with physical comfort.

century French courtiers introduced Europeans to a style of informality by replacing women's bodices and men's doublets with gowns and coats respectively. They preferred highly patterned clothes of silk and cotton to heavy, stiff materials of velvet, satin, brocaded silks, and embroidered wool. Relatively inexpensive printed and painted cottons, initially from the East Indies, enabled a larger proportion of the population to dress in clothes with the smooth surfaces, rich colors, and exotic ornament long associated with silk. The lightness of cotton—in fabrics such as calico, chintz, and muslin—lent it well to a proliferation of accessories and types of garments, such as petticoats, gowns, cravats, and handkerchiefs. People could dress in cleaner clothes because cotton could be washed more readily than wool or silk. Clean clothes marked a concern with hygiene as well as gentility: "Change of apparel greatly promotes the secretion of the skin, so necessary for health . . . Peasants are likewise extremely careless with respect to change of apparel, keeping their skins clean, etc. These are merely the effects of indolence and a dirty disposition. Habit may indeed render them less disagreeable; but no habit can ever make it salutary to wear dirty cloaths." Commentators attributed the appeal of the new styles and fabrics to their greater ornamentation and "neatness," not their easier wear.¹⁴

Men's and women's dress became more highly gendered in structure and fabric, as the bodiced gown was replaced by a mantua of light fabric and a pair of stays fashioned of stiffly resilient materials such as starched canvas or linen, leather, and whalebone. For the first time in England, women could legally make women's clothes for sale, but only the mantua; male tailors maintained their privileges by making stays. Stays wrapped a woman's torso from her bust to below her waist. To our modern, post-corset, imagination, stays seem inherently uncomfortable, and indeed eighteenth-century medical experts condemned them as potential menaces to health. Yet people did not often record complaints about their sheer discomforts before the second half of the eighteenth century, when they referred primarily to children's wear. The menace of stays for women lay in the tendency to lace them too tightly in order to achieve a slender waist (Figure 1). But every woman had to wear stays, for reasons of health and respectability as well as ideal body shape; loose stays signified impropriety. Stays provided William Hogarth his best example from everyday life to illustrate "the line of beauty," not "bulging too much in their curvature" as to become "gross and clumsy," nor so "straighten" as to be "mean and poor." Stays provided support for people supposed to have inherently weak

¹⁴ William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, The Family Physician* (Edinburgh, 1769), 88, 90–91; on more frequent changes of clothes as a "matter of neatness comparatively modern," see Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne*, Edward Jesse, ed. (1789; rpt. edn., London, 1854), 230. Although Margaret Spufford refers to chapmen bringing "materials to make an ampler wardrobe of more comfortable personal clothing, including underclothing, to the peasantry and to the laborers," she quotes no statements from contemporaries using such a term; Spufford, *Great Reclotting*, 111, 115, 119, 121. On preferences in clothing, see Patricia Trautman, "Dress in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge, Massachusetts: An Inventory-Based Reconstruction," in *Early American Probate Inventories*, Peter Benes, ed. (Boston, 1989), 55, 60, 70–71; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York, 1987), 261, 273–74, 294–95, 448; Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford, 1991), 6–7. Lemire begins and ends her crucial book on the demand for cotton clothing by referring to its comfort, but she does not present evidence showing that the explicit virtues of cotton included its comfort to wear; 10, 199.



TIGHT LACING, or FASHION before EASE

from the "Tight Lacing" by John Collet in the "Tight Lacing" by John Collet

FIGURE 1: Fashion. A husband tightens his wife's stays before they go out in Maccaroni outfits. Published by Bowles and Carver, after John Collet, *Tight Lacing, or Fashion before Ease* (London, 1770–75). Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

skeletons, namely women and young children. (The garments caused the condition they were supposed to alleviate, since they allowed stomach muscles to atrophy from disuse, which diminished capacity to support the spine.) Children's use of stays truly relaxed in the second half of the eighteenth century, but women's use did not ease until the late 1780s, when an avant-garde fashion temporarily dictated abandoning them in the name of neo-classical simplicity. Informal "undress" became fashionable as "natural elegance, in which the body is left to that freedom so congenial to common sense."¹⁵

Just as stays were not necessarily synonymous with discomfort, so an item's later association with comfort cannot be read back into the eighteenth century. Easy chairs, for example, were not for everyone's comfortable seating; rather, they were designed for people who could not move easily on their own—chronic invalids, women in the late stages of pregnancy or recovering from childbirth, and men with gout (Figure 2). Their recommended virtues were "ease and warm[th]."¹⁶ Their upholstery allowed long periods of sitting and provided insulation as well; some had reclining backs and adjustable leg supports to facilitate sleeping. These adjustable backs and leg supports derived from the sleeping chairs used in aristocratic "closets" since the seventeenth century, but for most of the eighteenth century these apparent anticipations of La-Z-Boy chairs remained unused for general seating. They were not used in parlors; instead, they were found in bedrooms and chambers, usually upstairs. Many of them had close stools (fitted chamber pots). Medical hygiene shaped the design of easy chairs, not physical comfort for everyone. When furniture advertisements did mention physical comfort, they typically had medical or hygienic references as well. Similarly, "go-chairs" for invalids promised "ease and comfort," and "hollow-seated chairs" made "sitting easy beyond expression."

General seating in the eighteenth century was not designed primarily for comfort; it was supposed to aid sitting with properly respectful and refined posture and to fit the clothes and wig of the sitter. Seating furniture provided a prop for the ordering of social status.¹⁷ The vocabulary that furniture makers used to recommend their

¹⁵ Geoffrey Squire, *Dress and Society, 1560–1970* (New York, 1974), 94–99, 124–32. On the need to wear stays, see Mrs. Delany to Mary Dewes Port, October 1, 1775, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, 2d ser., Lady Llanover, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1862), 2: 160; Walpole to Richard Bentley, March 6, 1755, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, W. S. Lewis, A. Dayle Wallace, and Robert A. Smith, eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1973), 35: 213; William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* [1753], Joseph Burke, ed. (Oxford, 1955), 65; William Cole, *A Journal of My Journey to Paris in the Year 1765*, Francis Griffin Stokes, ed. (London, 1931), 82. For criticisms of stays, see John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* [1693], John W. and Jean S. Yolton, eds. (Oxford, 1989), 90–91; William Cadogan, *An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children, from Their Birth to Three Years of Age* (London, 1748), 4, 11; Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 13–15; Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750–1820* (New Haven, 1995), 62–75, quoting William Barker, *A Treatise on the Principles of Hair-Dressing* [ca. 1780], 45; Anne Buck, *Clothes and the Child: A Handbook of Children's Dress in England, 1500–1900* (New York, 1996), 74–75, 114, 185–86, 192, 210–11; Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500–1914* (London, 1996), 191; Elizabeth Ham, *Elizabeth Ham by Herself 1783–1820*, Eric Gillett, ed. (London, 1945), 27. On the stylization of informality, see Squire, *Dress and Society*, 103–16; Erasmus Jones, *The Man of Manners*, 3d edn. (1737; rpt. edn., Sandy Hook, Conn., 1993), 12.

¹⁶ Prior to the eighteenth century, "ease" usually implied the absence of physical stress, rather than the positive imperatives that "comfort" would acquire; *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "ease." As comfort increasingly referred to physical satisfactions, ease became an attribute of genteel deportment.

¹⁷ William Lond, *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 10, 1785, and Richard Magrath's advertisement,



COMFORTS of BATH.
PL. I.

FIGURE 2: Hygiene. A man with gout sits in an easy chair, while others sit upright in less upholstered chairs. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Comforts of Bath* (London, 1798), plate 1. Courtesy of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

designs placed little emphasis on comfort. George Hepplewhite used terms such as “elegant,” “rich and splendid appearance,” “pleasing and striking effect to the eye,” “newest fashion,” “grandeur of ornament and gravity of appearance” or “lightness of appearance,” “great utility” (sideboard), “conveniencies,” and “universal utility” (knife case); while Thomas Chippendale promised “magnificence, proportion, and harmony,” “look very grand,” “will have a very good effect,” “will look extremely neat,” “an exceeding genteel and grand appearance,” and “handsome and elegant.”¹⁸ Furniture primarily represented taste.

As these terms suggest, much of the spending during the consumer revolution

South Carolina Gazette, July 9, 1772, as quoted in *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1721–1785: Gleanings from Newspapers*, Alfred Coxe Prime, ed. (n.p.: Walpole Society, 1929), 174–76. An advertisement for “Machine Chairs” described them as “stuffed and covered for sickly or weak people”; Thomas Elfe, *South Carolina Gazette*, January 7, 1751, as quoted in Prime, 166. On the design and use of easy chairs, see Robert F. Trent, “Mid-Atlantic Easy Chairs, 1770–1820: Old Questions and New Evidence,” *American Furniture 1993*, Luke Beckerdite, ed. (Hanover, N.H., 1993), 201–11. For too easy assertion of the easy chair’s establishing “our standards of comfort,” see John Gloag, *A Social History of Furniture Design from B.C. 1300 to A.D. 1960* (New York, 1966), 120; but see also on the relation of chairs to social status, 1, 63, 74, 93, 120, 127.

¹⁸ *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker’s Director: Being a Large Collection of the Most Elegant and Useful Designs of Household Furniture, in the Most Fashionable Taste* (London, 1754), 11; *Gentleman and Cabinet-maker’s Director*, 3d edn. (1762), 6, 17, 20; A. Hepplewhite and Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and*

attempted to express gentility, an explicit ideal of behavior since the Renaissance—as marked by its many cognates: *gentilezza*, *civilité*, *civilitas*, “civility,” and “refinement,” among others. Gentility was a specific set of manners that placed a premium on pleasing others in appearance, conversation, and social interaction. Its codes of graceful behavior found expression throughout material culture—in dress, in dining, in music and dance, in architecture and interior decoration. By using bodily restraint to establish social boundaries, persons of all social conditions could (in principle) learn gentility and then apply it to their social situations. By the eighteenth century, gentility had highly didactic representations in print, visual culture, the theater, and everyday examples (Figure 3). There were guidebooks such as *The Rudiments of Genteel Behavior*, with illustrations of the correct postures for women and men to stand, walk, give and receive gifts, and dance, in order to “be, and appear, easy, amiable, genteel and free in their person, mien, air and motions, [rather] than stiff, awkward, deform’d, and consequently, disagreeable.”¹⁹

People acquired goods more often to display such gentility than for purposes of personal comforts. A “modern index” of consumption identifies “ten items that most westerners now consider the basic household equipment needed to ensure a minimum of comfort and cleanliness: a mattress, a bedstead, some bed linen, a table, one or more chairs, pots for boiling food, other utensils for food preparation, some coarse ceramics, table forks, and some means of interior lighting.” In the seventeenth century, ownership of these different types of goods varied with wealth—as though they were luxuries—even though there were inexpensive versions of each item. Even among the wealthy, they were not necessities: many propertied families did without some of them. In the eighteenth century, ownership of these goods became more general, but more people bought more goods associated with elegance and gentility—notably, fashionable clothing, tea ware, table knives and forks, glassware, and mirrors—than they did goods assumed to increase comfort.²⁰ Most of the goods featured in the consumer revolution had crucial functions in sociability, most obviously clothing, but also items used in domestic settings, such as tableware, tea ware, seating furniture, and even bedding. Personal needs for comfort were apparently subordinate—with the exception of

Upholsterer's Guide; or, Repository of Designs for Every Article of Household Furniture, in the Newest and Most Approved Taste (London, 1788), preface, 1–24.

¹⁹ F. Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behavior* (n.p., 1737), 25. Gentility has been the subject of richly rewarding studies placing its development at the heart of preindustrial social and cultural development. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1982); Jacques Revel, “The Uses of Civility,” in *Passions of the Renaissance*, Roger Chartier, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans., Vol. 3 of *A History of Private Life*, Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 167–205; John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York, 1994), 355–413, 488–94; Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Roger Chartier, “From Texts to Manners: A Concept and Its Books: *Civilité* between Aristocratic Distinction and Popular Appropriation,” in Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 71–109; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992); Carson, “Consumer Revolution,” 483–697; Lawrence E. Klein, “Politeness for Plebes: Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England,” in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800*, Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds. (London, 1995), 362–82.

²⁰ Carr and Walsh, “Changing Lifestyles,” 130–33; Shammas, *Preindustrial Consumer*, 185–86; James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 307–28.



FIGURE 3: Gentility. Having just inherited the wealth his father made in commerce, the Rake is instructed in the manners and skills of a gentleman by a dancing master, a fencing master, and a landscape gardener, while a poet, tailor, harpsichordist, and jockey attend him. William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress* (London, 1735), plate 2. Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

foods, to the extent that their consumption for comfort can be separated from genteel rituals. Comfort, like gentility, was something to be learned and expressed, not just afforded. But most of the Anglo-American population initially found it easier to acquire gentility than comfort. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they made gentility much more explicit than comfort as an imperative in material culture.

IN CONTRAST TO TWENTIETH-CENTURY HISTORIANS, who have tended to take comfort for granted as a motive in consumption patterns, pre-modern religious, moral, political, social, and economic commentators ignored comfort as a regular subject of analysis. Prior to the late seventeenth century, moral philosophers were

interested in luxury but not comfort. Neither classical nor Christian philosophers could say anything good about “luxury,” because it referred to behavior that violated a sanctioned order, whether divine or social. Material manifestations of luxury were symptomatic of corruptions of character: men’s commitments to public virtue weakened as they succumbed to the effeminate softness synonymous with a luxurious material culture. Christian preoccupations with individual sin reinforced the classical moral associations of luxury, and made it a threat to all individuals regardless of social and political status. But early modern economic and social thought, especially in commercial and sumptuary legislation, had allowed aristocratic privileges of luxury. What might for commoners be a luxury was for nobles a means to uphold rank and social order. By the eighteenth century, as more people consumed goods in emulation of the aristocracy, luxury’s antonym, necessity, became associated with poverty and death.²¹ Although eighteenth-century usage still contrasted luxury with necessity, “comfort” increasingly applied to a middle ground between necessity and luxury. This development required people to rethink necessity as well as luxury. Prior to the eighteenth century, luxuries lacked objective specificity; instead, they manifested idiosyncrasy and mindless social aping. Conversely, necessities had objective definition by the requirements of subsistence.

The relativity of necessity and the acceptability of luxury became apparent in apologies for consumption in England’s domestic economy. Sustained criticism of the priority of production in England’s political economy flourished in the 1690s. This priority had depended on the assumption that England’s wealth came from the export of manufactures, particularly cloth. Consumption of foreign goods supposedly lessened national wealth. In this context, consumption of England’s domestic production was largely a matter of indifference, because according to mercantilist theory it neither increased nor diminished the total wealth of the nation. These assumptions broke down in the latter decades of the seventeenth century: “Every index of economic growth showed an advance: agricultural output, capital investment, imports from the Indies and the New World, the range and quantity of home manufacturing. Most striking was the abounding evidence of a rise in the level of domestic consumption.” Most economic rethinking in this period repudiated simplistic models of the balance of trade as a zero-sum game and argued instead that protectionist measures could be self-defeating if they reduced other countries’ capacity to consume England’s exports. Nascent political economists also rethought the psychological dynamics and social implications of consumption at the micro level, as the consumption of Indian fabrics became a symbol of economic change—the substitution of newly fashionable goods for traditional ones, the popularization of luxury beyond the aristocracy, and the simultaneous expansion of domestic and foreign markets. Traditional interpretations of luxury could readily account for both the increase and the diversification of consumption patterns, but only in negative terms of sin and social disorder. New arguments interpreted these patterns as social goods, whatever they revealed about people’s psychology.²²

²¹ John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore, Md., 1977), 1–62; Berry, *Idea of Luxury*, chaps. 2–4; Johnson, *Dictionary*, s.v. “necessity.”

²² Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 158–98, quoted 164–65. On the liberal implications of these early defenses of the

Nicholas Barbon, a physician interested in London real estate development, presented the most forthright among these early analyses of people's unlimited potential to consume material goods. He minimized the natural basis of needs: "if strictly Examined, nothing is absolutely necessary to support Life, but Food; for a great part of Mankind go Naked, and lye in Huts and Caves." History showed that the cultural construction of needs had no limits: "The Wants of the Mind are infinite, Man naturally Aspires, and as his Mind is elevated, his Senses grow more refined, and more capable of Delight; his Desires are enlarged and his Wants increase with his Wishes, which is for everything that is rare, can gratifie his Senses, adorn his Body, and promote the Ease, Pleasure and Pomp of Life." Several of these reasons why people consumed, including the strongest—the desires for rarity, adornment, and pomp—were not necessarily identical with physical comfort, but "ease" referred to the alleviation of discomfort. (He listed "Shoomakers, Sadlers, Couch, and Chair-Makers" as occupations serving the "Ease of Life.") Yet historical comparisons revealed no objective standard for convenience: "every Old Fashion was once New . . . And therefore since all Habits are equally handsome, and hard to know which is most Convenient: The Promoting of New Fashions, ought to be Encouraged, because it provides a Livelihood for a great Part of Mankind."²³ In place of a classical model that discussed consumer behavior in moral and political terms—making luxury virtually by definition acceptable only as a privilege of the aristocracy—a psychological model of consumer behavior accounted for everyone the same way, for better or worse. John Locke, another physician writing at the same time as Barbon, identified "civil interests" with "life, liberty, health, and indolency of body; and the possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like." Such possessions were a major good in any "society of men," since governments existed only "for the procuring, preserving, and advancing of their own civil interests."²⁴

Early eighteenth-century English writers primarily used "convenience" to describe physical satisfaction with their immediate material culture. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, convenience (more frequently, "conveniency") had strong connotations of harmony and conformity to a given order, as in "congruity of form,

consumption of fashionable goods, see Appleby, "Ideology and Theory: The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England," *AHR* 81 (June 1976): 499–516, esp. 504. On further liberal revisionism on consumption in the early eighteenth century, see Gordon Vichert, "The Theory of Conspicuous Consumption in the 18th Century," *The Varied Pattern: Studies in the 18th Century*, Peter Hughes and David Williams, eds. (Toronto, 1971), 253–67; McKendrick, "Consumer Revolution," 9–33; see also Sarah Maza, "Luxury, Morality, and Social Change: Why There Was No Middle-Class Consciousness in Prerevolutionary France," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (June 1997): 216–21.

²³ Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade* (1690; rpt. edn., Baltimore, Md., 1905), 14, 21, 33; Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), 96–99.

²⁴ John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, William Popple, trans. (London, 1689), 6. Jules Lubbock has suggested that physicians "shared a psychological training encouraging them to regard all members of society as having the same bodily and psychological appetites which merit equal satisfaction, in distinction to earlier writers who regarded the nobility as governed by motives different to the rest"; Lubbock, *Tyranny of Taste*, 100. On the connections between medicine and materialism, see E. J. Hundert, "Bernard Mandeville and the Enlightenment's Maxims of Modernity," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (October 1995): 590.

quality, or nature.”²⁵ But during the seventeenth century, this meaning became obsolete, as convenience increasingly referred to open-ended suitability “to the performance of some action or to the satisfying of requirements.” For example, a defender of the East India Company’s exportation of bullion used the term to justify the importation of Indian manufactures simply on the basis that people wanted them: “The true and principal Riches, whether of private Persons, or of whole Nations, are Meat, and Bread, and Cloaths, and Houses, the Conveniences as well as Necessaries of Life.” A 1730s guide to manners echoed the old definition of convenience as harmony while, without apparent irony, applying it to the most arbitrarily fashionable and rapidly changing sphere of material culture, namely clothing: “[Propriety], I call a certain Suitableness and Convenience betwixt the Cloaths and the Person, as Courtesy is the framing and adapting our Actions, to the Satisfaction of other People; and if we desire to be exact, we must proportion them to our Shape, our Condition, and our Age.” Olaudah Equiano, an Igbo from the Ika region on the Niger River, used the term when he compared the architecture of his homeland with the buildings he had known while enslaved in Virginia: “In our buildings we study convenience rather than ornament.” As a predecessor for what would eventually be known as “comfort” regarding possessions in a consumer society, “convenience” had two advantages: it measured usefulness according to “any purpose,” and it left the purposes themselves morally neutral and open-ended. Under the rubric of “conveniences,” a guide to living in London discussed hiring carriages, buying wine, borrowing books, finding card players, discussing improving topics, hearing parliamentary and other debates, attending musical concerts, and taking hot, cold, and freshwater baths.²⁶

“Luxury” did not lose its invidious connotations once the liberal political economy developed, but application of the term to specific consumption patterns often carried less condemnation than previously. With respect to material—as opposed to political—culture, in the early eighteenth century references to luxury became increasingly satirical.²⁷ Satire carried much of the argument of Bernard Mandeville, yet another physician among the liberal revisionists on the propriety of

²⁵ During the seventeenth century, convenience had supplanted “commodious,” which since the late Middle Ages had referred specifically to satisfactory architectural accommodation, particularly in its spaciousness for hospitality. In the early modern period, commodious also referred more generally to the satisfactory quality of physical living conditions. Johnson, *Dictionary*; *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “commodious,” “convenience.”

²⁶ Henry Martyn, “Considerations on the East-India Trade” [1691], in *A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce*, J. R. McCulloch, ed. (1856; rpt. edn., Cambridge, 1954), 558; Jones, *Man of Manners*, 10, 12; Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, 2 vols. (1789; rpt. edn., Coral Gables, Fla., 1989), 1: 15; John Trusler, *The London Adviser and Guide* (London, 1786), 120–24.

²⁷ Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, G. Gregory Smith, ed., 8 vols. in 4 (1711–12; rpt. edn., New York, 1930), no. 260 (December 28, 1711), 1: 35; no. 127 (July 26, 1711), 2: 165; no. 265 (January 3, 1712), 4: 54–55; no. 478 (September 8, 1712), 7: 18; Lubbock, *Tyranny of Taste*, 109–13, 182–89; John Brewer, “‘The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious’: Attitudes towards Culture as a Commodity, 1660–1800,” in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 342–50; C. E. Nicholson, “World of Artifacts: *The Rape of the Lock* as Social History,” *Literature and History* 5, no. 2 (Autumn 1979): 189; Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Carla H. Hay and Synda M. Conger, eds., 23 (1994): 133. On women’s initiative in new consumption patterns, see Garrett, *At Home*, 249–60; David Jaffee, “Peddlers of Progress and the Transformation of the Rural North, 1760–1860,” *Journal of American History* 78 (September 1991): 530.

material consumption—"what we call the Comforts of Life." In *The Grumbling Hive* (1705), Mandeville scandalously disregarded the association of luxury with the vices of avarice, envy, pride, and vanity, and argued instead that they all contributed indispensably to public and private prosperity.

The Root of Evil, Avarice,
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,
Was Slave to Prodigality,
That noble Sin; whilst Luxury
Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
And odious Pride a Million more:
Envy it self, and Vanity,
Were Ministers of Industry;
Their darling Folly, Fickleness,
In Diet, Furniture and Dress,
That strange ridic'ulous Vice, was made
The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade . . .
Thus Vice nurs'd Ingenuity,
Which join'd with Time and Industry,
Had carry'd Life's Conveniencies,
It's real Pleasures, Comforts, Ease,
To such a Height, the very Poor
Liv'd better than the Rich before,
And nothing could be added more.

In *The Grumbling Hive* and its notorious prose commentary, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), Mandeville not only defended luxury for its unintended social benefits, he deconstructed the distinction between necessity and luxury to show that *all* supposed "necessities" were social constructions and therefore "luxuries." It made no difference whether every material need was considered as a luxury or as a necessity, since the distinction between them broke down when applied to specific items in specific societies: "The Comforts of Life are likewise so various and extensive, that no body can tell what People mean by them, except he knows what sort of Life they lead. The same obscurity I observe in the words Decency and Conveniency, and I never understand them unless I am acquainted with the Quality of the Persons that make use of them." "Comfort," "decency," and "conveniency" did not tell us anything about people's generic needs, since their meaning varied according to social circumstances: "People may go to Church together, and be all of one Mind as much as they please, I am apt to believe that when they pray for their daily Bread, the Bishop includes several things in that Petition which the Sexton does not think on" (Figures 4 and 5). "Luxury" simply measured the extent to which "Thought, Experience, and some Labour" had made "Life more comfortable" than an animal-like "primitive Simplicity."²⁸

The development of a political economy in the eighteenth century made it possible for both luxury and necessity to become morally neutral terms. Both of them became associated at least as much with physical well-being as with morality

²⁸ Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* [6th edn., 1732], F. B. Kaye, ed., 2 vols. (1924; rpt. edn., Indianapolis, 1988), 1: 25–26, 107–08, 169, 183. Barbon and Mandeville had Dutch medical training; Locke had trained in England before he encountered Dutch medical culture at first hand.



FIGURE 4: Relativity of luxury and necessity. The journeyman parson's "bare existence" is really a series of precise contrasts with the master parson's gentility. Carrington Bowles, after Robert Dighton, *A Master Parson with a Good Living* (London, 1782). Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

and mortality. Mandeville had set the agenda for political economists to analyze how demand shaped economic development. He cleared the way for the issue of standards of living to be a problem in its own right. The extent and degree of convenience and comfort among the populace became measures of northwestern Europe's progress from barbarism to civilization. Yet these measures had no standard scale or absolute morality. If luxury was everything "not immediately



A JOURNEYMAN PARSON with a BARE EXISTENCE.

FIGURE 5: Bowles, after Dighton. *A Journeyman Parson with a Bare Existence* (London, 1782). Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

necessary to make Man subsist as he is a living Creature,” then all material goods, even those of “naked Savages,” were luxuries. Peoples in every society “had made some Improvements upon their former manner of Living; and either in the Preparation of their Eatables, the ordering of their Huts.” If everything was luxury, then nothing was: “Our Admiration is extended no farther than to what is new to us, and we all overlook the Excellency of Things we are used to, be they never so curious.” For Mandeville, “comfort” meant desirable physical circumstances: “convenient Houses, handsome Furniture, good Fires in Winter, pleasant Gardens in Summer, neat Clothes, and Money enough to bring up their Children . . . These I have named are the necessary comforts of Life, which the most Modest are not ashamed to claim, and which they are very uneasy without.”²⁹

Robinson Crusoe, published five years after *The Fable of the Bees*, romanticized this new notion of comfort. Crusoe, confronted with providing for himself from scratch, demonstrated in detail what it meant to be comfortable in early modern England. The chief importance of these details for the development of physical comfort as a cultural priority is their sheer existence in “the first fictional narrative in which an ordinary person’s daily activities are the center of continuous literary attention.” Much of the apparent interest of that narrative focused on a problem just becoming culturally explicit, the achievement of physical comfort. Daniel Defoe’s novel was both symptom and cause of the issues arising from that explicitness, which he explored by juxtaposing the term’s emotional and physical senses. When Crusoe had safely landed on shore after his shipwreck, he “solaced [his] mind with the comfortable part of [his] condition.” Then he evaluated his physical circumstances: “I was wet, with no clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me.” His immediate recourse was animal-like, to climb a tree for protection, where he slept “comfortably.” The next day, “destitute of all comfort and company,” he began to reestablish a familiar material culture by looting the wrecked ship and fashioning the island’s natural resources.³⁰ His strategy in this project implied the priority among his physical needs.

Crusoe’s situation starkly tested Mandeville’s cultural definition of a continuum of material needs from necessity to luxury. From the ship, he took food and drink, bedding, clothes, carpentry tools and supplies, and weapons. Aside from his bed, most of Crusoe’s initial material comforts came from items that would be ingested—refined foods, alcoholic drinks, and tobacco. Among consumer durables were mostly metal items—razors, scissors, knives and forks, and some money, whose uselessness he appreciated but “upon second thoughts, I took it away.” His most valued consumer goods were ones of literary culture—“pens, ink, and paper,” and books, particularly religious ones. Among his deprivations, Crusoe most missed candles for artificial illumination. He improved on his housing by building a wall and a thatched roof over the cave opening behind his tent. The cave room was a multi-purpose space, “a warehouse or magazin, a kitchen, a dining room, and a cellar.” Eventually, he replaced the tent with a rafted shelter for better protection

²⁹ Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*, 1: 107, 155.

³⁰ Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957), 74, 86; Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719; rpt. edn., London, 1965), 66–67.

against rain. Crusoe built himself a hall-and-parlor house. Once he had rooms, he built furniture: "I began to apply myself to such necessary things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not able to enjoy the comforts I had in the world; I could not write, or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure without a table."³¹ His needs would not have been out of place for the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and indeed Defoe set the novel in that period.

Once Crusoe had satisfactorily accommodated himself, he began to explore the interior of the island. One "delicious vale" particularly appealed to him. With conscious irony, he built himself a rural retreat—"a little kind of bower"—on his deserted island. Crusoe claimed that this bower marked his achievement of comfort. Having spent most of the narrative up to that point in dealing expansively with his material needs, he now extolled his physical contentedness with his new home:

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me, to come into my old hutch, and lye down in my hammock-bed. This little wandring journey, without settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to my self, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that; and it rendred every thing about me so comfortable, that I resolved I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.

Yet two major increments in his physical comfort were still to come—freshly baked bread and an umbrella. In principle, comfort implicitly involved knowing what amenities one really needed, having them, and desiring no more. But Crusoe repeatedly contradicted a simple equation of comfort with the satisfaction of sheer necessities. When he later discovered a wrecked Spanish ship, his needs expanded again: "I took a fire shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron." As Mandeville had argued, there was no objective basis for distinguishing Crusoe's comforts from luxuries. Isolation on the island had led Crusoe to learn the explicitly Mandevillian lesson that he had come to take his physical comforts for granted as natural, when in fact they were deeply historical.³² A few years later in *The Complete English Tradesman*, Defoe would urge that the history of physical comfort in England be a source of national pride:

The same trade that keeps our people at home, is the cause of the well living of the people here; for as frugality is not the national virtue of *England*, so the people that get much, spend much; and as they work hard, so they live well, eat and drink well, cloath warm, and lodge soft! in a word, the working manufacturing people of *England* eat the fat, drink the sweet, live better, and fare better, than the working poor of any other nation in *Europe*.³³ (See Figure 6.)

As the examples of Mandeville and Defoe indicate, development of a popular culture of fashionable consumption in the eighteenth century coincided with a new language to describe the physical basis of material need. David Hume gave

³¹ Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 72–75, 82, 84–85, 89, 91, 93.

³² Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 112–15, 125, 129–34, 139–41, 144–46, 196–97; Andrew Varney, "Mandeville as a Defoe Source," *Notes and Queries*, new ser., no. 1 [vol. 228 in continuous series] (February 1983): 26–29.

³³ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, 2 vols., 3d edn. (London, 1732), 1: 318.

BEER STREET.

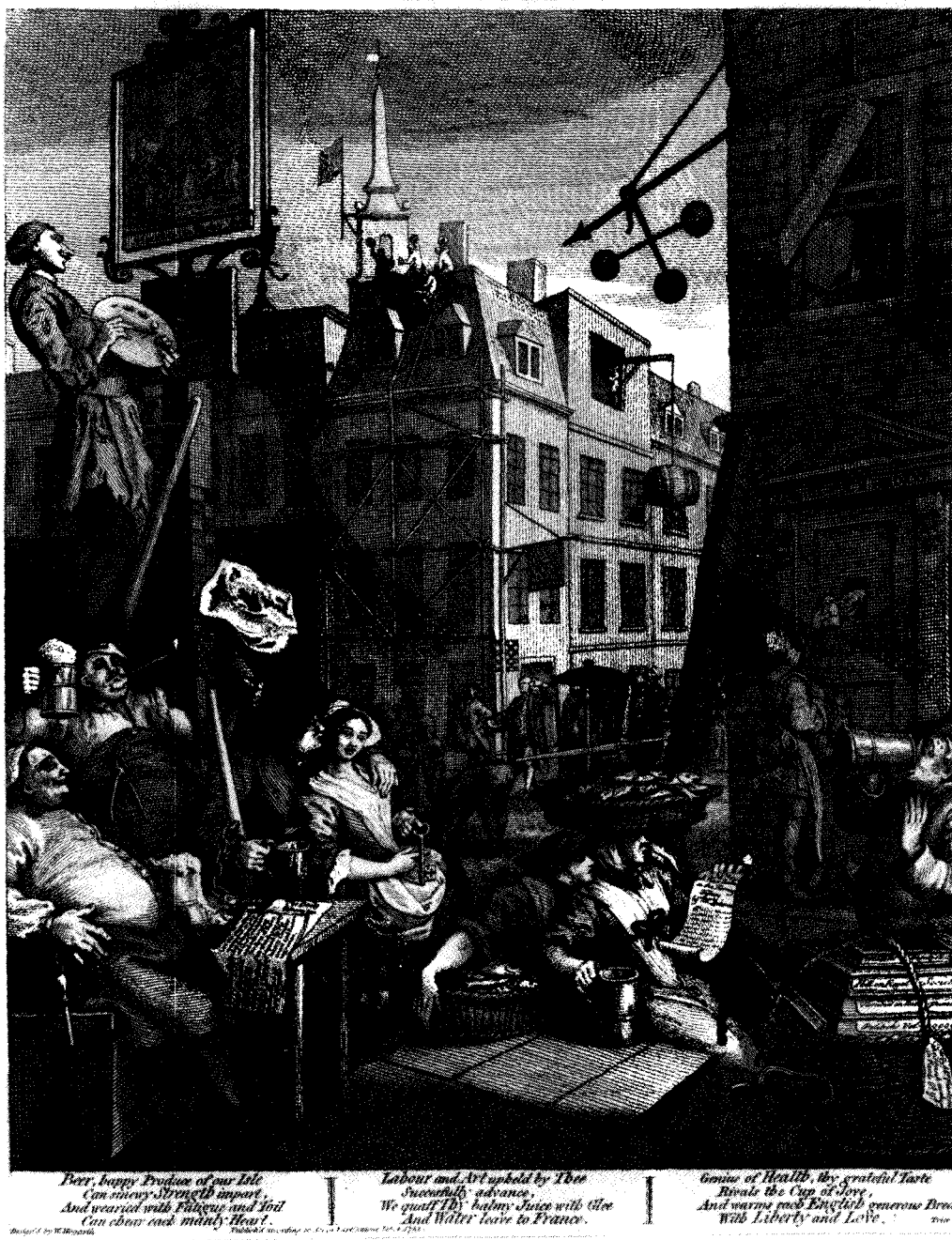


FIGURE 6: Prosperity. On Beer Street, trades and consumption thrived together: meat, drink, fish, clothing, shoes, books, even art. William Hogarth, *Beer Street and Gin Lane* (London, 1751). Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

philosophical respectability to the new revisionist and relativistic view of luxury. (Indeed, when in 1760 he republished his 1752 essay "Of Luxury," he retitled it "Of Refinement in the Arts.") Luxury meant "great refinement in the gratification of the senses; and any degree of it may be innocent or blameable, according to the age, or country, or condition of the person." Hume reminded his readers of "philosophers'" efforts "to render happiness entirely independent of every thing external," but he considered "that degree of perfection is impossible to be attained."³⁴ Other Scottish moral philosophers, notably Francis Hutcheson and Adam Ferguson, gave similarly measured interpretations of the historical and social relativity of luxury. They used the uncertainty implicit in traditional notions of luxury (as conditions in excess of what necessity required) to show that improved standards of living did not necessarily pose a liability to public virtue:

[One] may propose to stop the advancement of arts at any stage of their progress, and still incur the censure of luxury from those who have not advanced so far . . . if the dispute were to turn on the knowledge of what is physically necessary for the preservation of human life, as the standard of what is morally lawful, the faculties of physic, as well as of morality, would probably divide on the subject, and leave every individual, as at present, to find some rule for himself.

"Luxury" now referred neutrally to desirable possessions: "that complicated apparatus which mankind devise for the ease and convenience of life. Their buildings, furniture, equipage, cloathing, train of domestics, refinement of the table, and, in general, all that assemblage which is intended rather to please the fancy, than to obviate real wants, and which is rather ornamental than useful."³⁵

WHAT WAS PREVIOUSLY AN OXYMORON, Hume's "innocent luxury," had become a topic for reform-minded analysis by political economists, social commentators, and scientists. Among mid-century philosophes, Benjamin Franklin showed the most explicit interest in the history, anthropology, and science of basic household comforts, and he committed himself to closing the gap between the ideals and the technology of comfort. He promoted spermaceti candles for their steady, clean illumination; he suggested self-experiments to show how increased ventilation improved sleeping; and after his invention of a "Pennsylvanian Fire-place," he became synonymous with smoke-free and draft-free heating. In Pennsylvania, Franklin could consider a range of ethnic alternatives in domestic comfort. He was particularly attentive to the Dutch and German use of stoves that entirely enclosed the fire and used it only for heating. Such stoves reduced drafts because the only air going up the chimney was that introduced to the firebox from outside the room being heated. Franklin contrasted the efficient, clean heat of these stoves with that

³⁴ David Hume, "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion" [1741], and "Of Refinement in the Arts" [1760], in *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, Eugene F. Miller, ed. (Indianapolis, 1987), 5–6, 268, 276. Hume related the political economy of consumption to the satisfactions of stoic morality. The "objects" of such taste were likely to be literary and philosophical expressions—polite arts—rather than physical possessions; "Of the Middle Station of Life" [1742], in *Essays*, 546.

³⁵ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh, 1767), 376–77; Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy* (London, 1755), 1: 287, as quoted in Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* [1776], R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, eds., 2 vols. (1976; rpt. edn., Indianapolis, 1981), 1: 23–24n. On standards of living as a public issue, see James Raven, "Defending Conduct and Property: The London Press and the Luxury Debate," in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, John Brewer and Susan Staves, eds. (London, 1995), 308.

provided by the two fireplace types among English colonists, a traditional design with high, wide, and deep hearths and a “newer-fashion’d” style with “low Breasts, and narrow Hearths” for new and remodeled urban housing. In “the large open Fire-places used in the Days of our Fathers, and still generally in the Country, and in Kitchens,” people could warm themselves by sitting within the hearth itself. But such fireplaces had a long list of “inconveniencies” by Franklin’s standards:

they are sometimes too hot to abide in, and at other times incommoded with the Smoke . . . they require a large Funnel, and a large Funnel carries off a great Quantity of Air, which occasions what is called a strong Draft to The Chimney; without which strong Draft the Smoke would come out of some Part or other of so large an Opening, so that the Door can seldom be shut; and the cold Air so nips the backs and Heels of those that sit before the Fire, that they have no Comfort.

The need to provide a draft from an outside door made it impossible to heat an entire room with such fireplaces: “I suppose our Ancestors never thought of warming Rooms to sit in; all they purpos’d was to have a Place to Make a Fire in, by which they might warm themselves when cold.” These traditional fireplaces exposed people to the fire with a directness characteristic of the open central hearth of the European peasantry. With their smaller chimney face, the new fireplaces were less smoky, and they did not need an open door to supply air for combustion. But they still drew room air for combustion, through all the small openings in the walls. Franklin argued that these more intense drafts posed greater health risks than the slower entry of large volumes of air to the older fireplaces: “’tis very uncomfortable as well as dangerous to sit against any such Crevice. Many Colds are cougth from this Cause only; it being safer to sit in the open Street; for then the Pores do all close together, and the Air does not strike so sharply against any particular Part.”³⁶ Genteel fireplaces were cleaner but not significantly more warming than the traditional fireplaces; their chief advantage was suitability to elegant living, not physical comfort.

Franklin identified himself with participants in an enlightened subculture who

³⁶ Franklin, “Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams,” 10: 131–37; Benjamin Franklin, “An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places” [1744], *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Leonard W. Labaree, et al., eds., 32 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1959–), 2: 419–46; Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 61–62. Franklin’s interest in the culture of comfort is discussed more fully in John E. Crowley, “Artificial Illumination and the Definition of Domestic Space and Time in Early America,” *Travail et loisir dans les sociétés pré-industrielles*, Barbara Karsky and Elise Marienstras, eds. (Nancy, 1991), 59–69.

Many other eighteenth-century scientists worked on the problem of smoky chimneys, including Nicolas Gauger, John Theophilus Desaguliers, Martin Clare, James Anderson, and Count Rumford. On the scientific background to Franklin’s design, see I. B. Cohen, *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin’s Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 243–61. For other discussions of the problem, see Franklin to Jan Ingenhousz, “Causes and Cures of Smoky Chimneys,” August 28, 1785 [orig. pub. in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 2, pt. 1 (1786)], Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 9: 413–33; Franklin, “Description of a New Stove for Burning of Pitcoal and Consuming All Its Smoke,” Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 9: 443–62; James Anderson, “Smoke,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1771), 3: 606–13. Anderson expanded this essay into *A Practical Treatise on Chimneys, Containing Full Directions for Preventing or Removing Smoke in Houses* (Edinburgh, 1776). For its entry on “Smoke,” the 3d edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* largely replaced Anderson’s previous essay with material and illustrations drawn from Franklin’s work; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 18 vols., 3d edn. (Edinburgh, 1797), 7: 547–56.

criticized fashionable domestic priorities in the name of comfort. For them, the fireplace itself, as a source of heat, became the object of scientifically sophisticated innovation. Rather than leave such everyday technical problems aside after he established a transatlantic scientific reputation, Franklin went on to become the foremost authority on smoky chimneys. He took no offense when Hume's cousin, Lord Kames, wrote him for advice on such a mundane matter as smoky chimneys in a new house: "I have long been of an opinion similar to that you express," Franklin replied, "and think happiness consists more in small conveniences or pleasures that occur every day, than in great pieces of good fortune that happen but seldom to a man in the course of his life."³⁷

Classical republicanism and other ascetic strains in British radical and opposition political thought provided an ideological counterpoint to the emergent liberal political economy.³⁸ Use of this ideology (both in Britain and America) in support of American political resistance to imperial reform gave the classical critique of luxury a renewed relevance. Prevailing consumption patterns were interpreted to be causes as well as symptoms of weak public virtue and liability to political corruption. John Adams blamed "the late ministerial Measures" on "the universal Spirit of Debauchery, Dissipation, Luxury, Effeminacy and Gaming": he saw the "Prodigality, in Furniture, Equipage, Apparell and Diet" as "drawing down the Judgments of Heaven" in those same tyrannous acts. But calls for the restoration of civic virtue through "Frugality, Economy, [and] Parcimony" seldom provided a positive definition of desirable consumption patterns. Instead, they expressed primitivist fantasies: "Let us Eat Potatoes and drink Water. Let us Wear Canvass, and undressed Sheepskins, rather than submit to the unrighteous, and ignominious Domination that is prepared for Us." When Abigail Adams urged that their family "return a little more to the primitive Simplicity of Manners ['of our Fathers']", and not sink into inglorious ease," John responded by recommending that she remove the coat of arms from the family's carriage, but he kept the carriage itself.³⁹

³⁷ Franklin to Lord Kames, February 28, 1768, Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 5: 107–10, quoted 107. On the intellectual respectability of anything that "tends to utility," see White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 210; *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, R. W. Chapman, ed. (Oxford, 1924), 19–20.

³⁸ On the relative menace of luxury, compare Hume, "Of Refinement in the Arts," 278; and John Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (Dublin, 1757), 17, 24–27. On the diminished threat of luxury, see Raven, "Defending Conduct and Property," 301–19; John Robertson, "The Scottish Enlightenment at the Limits of the Civic Tradition," and Istvan Hont, "The 'Rich Country-Poor Country' Debate in Scottish Classical Political Economy," in *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, eds. (Cambridge, 1983), 137–78, 271–317; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), chaps. 13–14; Sekora, *Luxury*, 63–109.

³⁹ John Adams to Abigail Adams, July 5, 1774, September 20, 1774; Abigail Adams to John Adams, October 16, 1774, *Adams Family Correspondence*, L. H. Butterfield, et al., eds., 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 1: 125, 161, 173; David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York, 1985), 61–65. In 1798, only 3 percent of taxable households owned a carriage; Lee Soltow, *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798* (Pittsburgh, 1989), 72. The best discussion of the relation between American consumption patterns and ideology in the coming of the American Revolution is T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, *Of Consuming Interests*, 444–82. On stereotypes of women's simultaneous liability to luxury and their duty to moderate it with taste, see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992), 190–214.

Appeals to “primitive simplicity” contributed to nascent republicanism at the same time that British political economists began to use the improvement of standards of living as a measure of the progress of civilization. When “luxury” referred to political corruption, it continued to have condemnatory power, but the term was losing much of its moral force when referring solely to consumption patterns. As one of the advocates of paper money wrote during a fiscal controversy in Massachusetts in the early 1750s, “Every man has a *natural Right* to enjoy the fruit of his own Labour, both as to the *Conveniencies*, and *Comforts*, as well as the *Necessaries of Life*, *natural Liberty* is the same with one Man, as another; and unless in the Enjoyment of these Things they hurt the Community, the Poor ought to be *allow’d* to use them as freely as the Rich.”⁴⁰ After the Seven Years’ War, Britain’s commercial expansion and popular prosperity became even less ambivalently associated with national pride and identity. Josiah Tucker, Adam Smith’s shrewd though less systematic contemporary political economist (and tutor to the prince of Wales on the subject), favorably compared English consumption patterns with those of other countries and forthrightly analyzed the emulative motivations shaping them. English manufactures

are more adapted for the Demands of Peasants and Mechanics, in order to appear in warm circumstances; for Farmers, Freeholders, Tradesmen and Manufacturers in middling Life; and for wholesale Dealers, Merchants, and all persons of Landed Estates, to appear in genteel life; than for the Magnificence of Palaces or the Cabinets of Princes. Thus it is . . . that the *English* of those several denominations have better *Conveniencies* in their Houses, and affect to have more in Quantity of Clean, neat Furniture, and a greater Variety, such as Carpets, Screens, Window Curtains, Chamber Bells, polished Brass Locks, Fenders etc. (Things hardly known Abroad among Persons of such a Rank) than are to be found in any other country in *Europe*, *Holland* excepted.⁴¹

Adam Smith explained motivations in a consumer society with a similarly detailed analysis of standards of living. People’s desire for convenience manifested an optimism that technology could provide happiness. He defined “convenience” tautologically as “the fitness of any system or machine to produce the end for which it was intended.” Convenience translated into economic demand most readily through efforts to emulate the physical world of the rich: “The palaces, the gardens, the equipage, the retinue of the great are objects of which the obvious convenience strikes every body.” But many other items—he mentions toothpicks, ear pickers, and nail clippers—had a convenience that lacked satisfaction except by association with an “ease” only supposed of the rich: “If we consider the real satisfaction which all these things are capable of affording, by itself and separated from the beauty of that arrangement which is fitted to promote it, it will always appear in the highest degree contemptible and trifling. But we rarely view it in this abstract and philosophical light.” The real needs of the rich and the poor for “ease of body and peace of mind” were the same regardless of social status. Yet the false “pleasures

⁴⁰ *The Good of the Community Impartially Considered* (Boston, 1754), as quoted in T. H. Breen, “The Meanings of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century,” in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 258.

⁴¹ Josiah Tucker, “Instructions for Travellers” [1758], in *Josiah Tucker: A Selection from His Economic and Political Writings*, Robert Livingston Schuyler, ed. (New York, 1931), 245–46; see also Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*, 1: 169.

of wealth and greatness" provide the "deception which rouses and keeps in continual motion the industry of mankind."⁴²

English adoption of the umbrella provides a parable of Smith's argument that the culture of comfort could endow a symbolically prestigious object with new meaning on the basis of its everyday advantages for everyone. Since antiquity—in Egypt, China, India, Greece, and the Vatican—use of the umbrella as protection from the elements (particularly the sun) had been a matter of strict privilege, often for religious ritual. Apparently borrowed from Chinese examples, umbrellas became fashionable among women at the French court in the seventeenth century, where attendants could be counted on to deal with their unwieldy weight. The umbrella began its career as an item of Parisian "populuxe" consumption when in the early eighteenth century a purse maker adapted his trade's technology to make a lightweight, collapsible umbrella that provided protection from the rain as well as the sun. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they had come into popular use in Paris, by men as well as women: they satisfied desires for courtly associations as well as protection from the weather.⁴³

The English climate had been rainy for a long time, but only in the last decades of the eighteenth century did umbrellas come into general use. They had earlier caught the admiring interest of British travelers such as the military officer James Wolfe and the humanitarian James Hanway, and in the 1760s and 1770s imported ones were advertised as fashion novelties. But French associations frequently made their venturesome users liable to public abuse, especially in the name of hackney coachmen whose livelihoods depended in part on providing protection from the rain. Horace Walpole noted contemptuously of the French: "They walk about the streets in the rain with umbrellas to avoid putting on their hats." As Walpole indicated, English observers initially thought the French carried the "new and most troublesome invention to save the beauty of their head dress," not to stay dry altogether. Yet, in the 1780s, umbrellas became fashionable for English men as well as women, in counterpoint to the decline in carrying swords. Guides such as "Walking London Streets" explained the prudent way to carry the newly popular device, and satirists described the mayhem from opening umbrellas when a shower fell on the Sunday promenade in London's Mall (Figure 7). Now British manufacturers advertised the "much approved pocket and portable umbrellas, which for lightness, elegance and strength, far exceed anything of the kind ever imported or manufactured in this kingdom." Rev. Woodforde must have officiated at many rainy graveside services before he began recording his use of umbrellas in 1787; thereafter, his references became numerous as it became an accustomed access-

⁴² Adam Smith, "Of the Effect of Utility upon the Sentiment of Approbation," in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, eds. (1759; rpt. edn., Indianapolis, 1982), part 4, chap. i, paragraph 1, 179; paragraph 8, 181–82; paragraph 9, 183; paragraph 10, 185; Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. i, paragraph 11, 23–24; book 3, chap. i, paragraph 2, 377.

⁴³ Robinson Crusoe's use of one on a desert island was an exception proving the gender rule, as were the umbrellas stored in churches for clergymen to use at burials. The first French edition of *Robinson Crusoe* (1720)—unlike early English editions—showed him with an umbrella; David Blewett, *The Illustration of "Robinson Crusoe," 1719–1920* (Gerrards Cross, Bucks., 1995), 26–32. Crusoe described his "great clumsy Goat-Skin Umbrella" as "the most necessary Thing I had about me, next to my Gun"; Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 150.



FIGURE 7: Fashionable comfort. When a shower hits St. James Park, everyone is ready with an umbrella. Samuel Collings, *The Battle of Umbrellas* (London, 1784). Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

ry.⁴⁴ The umbrella—destined to be forever linked to the dapper Englishman—had gone from being a suspiciously foreign and feminine expression of courtly manners to a fashionable device for everyone to cope with the discomforts of the English climate.

⁴⁴ Walpole to John Chute, October 3, 1765, Lady Hertford to Walpole, September 25, 1775, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 31: 215, 35: 112, 39: 267; Cole, *Journal of My Journey to Paris*, 346; "The Battle of Umbrellas," *Wit's Magazine* (London) (August 1784): 286–88; M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (New York, 1967), plates 129, 137, 138, 143; George Paston, *Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1905), 23–24, 30, plates 18–19, 39; Woodforde, *Diary of a Country Parson*, 3: 307 (October 23, 1792), 4: 50 (August 15, 1793) 76 (November 4, 1793) 125 (August 1, 1794) 140 (October 7, 1794), 5: 177 (March 9, 1799); Trusler, *London Adviser*, 115. On umbrellas as an item of French "populuxe" consumption, see Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 235–39. On British usage, see William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols. (London, 1887), 6: 146–47; Jeremy Farrell, *Umbrellas and Parasols* (London, 1985), 7–8, 19–37; Aileen Ribeiro, "Men and Umbrellas in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 134 (September 1986): 653–56. Aside from the exceptional use of parasols by Italian horsemen, the typical representation of parasols in seventeenth-century European art showed a servant holding one over an aristocratic woman; Farrell, 21–22.

When Adam Smith rehearsed the increase and the improvement of “the necessities and the conveniences of life” for England’s laboring population, he confronted “the common complaint that luxury extends itself even to the lowest ranks of the people, and that the labouring poor will not now be contented with the same food, cloathing and lodging which satisfied them in former time.” He acknowledged the force of traditional views on luxury by taking up the question whether this improvement in popular standards of living should “be regarded as an advantage or as an inconveniency to the society.” And he forthrightly repudiated traditional wisdom: “what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as inconveniency to the whole.” Social justice depended in part on the availability of everyday foods, such as cheaper potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages, apples, and onions, on “cheaper and better cloathing,” on the availability of “many agreeable and convenient pieces of household furniture,” and on more affordable “soap, salt, candles, leather, and fermented liquors.”⁴⁵

Smith contrasted necessity and luxury, but he explicitly conceded Mandeville’s relativism: “By necessities I understand, not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without.” He used the word “comfortably” to explain how linen shirts could be a decency in contemporary Europe but unnecessary among other civilized peoples such as the Greeks and Romans. (Here, Mandeville almost certainly influenced Smith directly, since the same example, linen shirts, illustrated the same point.) Such comparisons showed that decency was primarily a matter of social habit, not physical satisfaction. Lack of a linen shirt in eighteenth-century Europe would mark “that disgraceful degree of poverty, which, it is presumed, no body can well fall into without extreme bad conduct.”⁴⁶

Throughout the *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith related “the necessities and conveniences” of life to the material benefits of people’s labor. Nowhere, however, did he distinguish necessities *from* conveniences. Instead, he concluded the celebrated first chapter, on the division of labor, with a paean to the “universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people.” Among the items composing this opulence were a woolen coat, a linen shirt, shoes, a bed, a kitchen grate and its coals, “all the other utensils of his kitchen, all the furniture of his table, the knives and forks, the earthen or pewter plates upon which he serves up and divides his victuals, bread, beer,” and “the glass window which lets in the heat and the light, and keeps out the wind and the rain . . . without which these northern parts of the world would scarce have afforded a very comfortable habitation.” The diversity of production possible with a high degree of division of labor had allowed the “accommodation” of “an industrious and frugal peasant” to exceed that of a ruler in savage societies. (By “savage,” Smith meant societies in which subsistence depended on hunting and fishing.)⁴⁷

According to Smith, the primary imperative to satisfy necessity was to avoid

⁴⁵ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. viii, paragraphs 35–36, 95–96.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book 5, chap. ii, section k, paragraphs 2–3, 869–70.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. i, paragraph 11, 23; for Smith’s usage of “necessaries and conveniences of life,” see 10, 47, 51, 95, 176, 927.

shame. Thus anyone in England would be “ashamed to appear in publick” without leather shoes, while among “the lowest order” in Scotland only men, not women, felt such necessity. In France’s “lowest rank of people,” neither the men nor the women felt any “discredit” in appearing publicly either in wooden shoes or in bare feet. Smith distinguished between necessities and luxuries, but he defined them both in reference to the same standard, the opinion of others. While respectability was everything in the definition of necessities, the consumption of luxuries could be irrelevant to respectability, so long as it was “temperate.” Luxuries were consumables from which people could abstain without suffering any “reproach”—as in forgoing beer or wine. Smith simultaneously disavowed an automatic disapproval for luxury and made popular consumption patterns respectable by definition.⁴⁸ Desires for comfort now legitimized popular consumption.

ADAM SMITH’S ANALYSIS OF CONSUMPTION PATTERNS showed how sympathy—the ability to understand other people by imaginatively experiencing their emotions and sensations—shaped material culture. In the latter decades of the eighteenth century, humanitarian reformers urged people to use such sympathy to appreciate others’ right to physical comfort. Consideration of others’ physical discomforts fit well into the eighteenth-century’s thriving culture of sensibility, which encouraged people of social and economic privilege to empathize with the physical and psychological distress of others less fortunate than themselves.⁴⁹

The preeminent prison reformer, John Howard, established a genre of social reporting that relied on a humanitarian aesthetic of sensitivity to others’ miseries. His difficulties and perils in observing prisoners’ miserable conditions were themselves sympathetic arguments for the need to design prisons with a view toward the prisoners’ “cleanly and wholesome abodes.” Most of the recent historiography on eighteenth-century English prison reform has followed the Foucauldian line of “discipline and punish” interpretations, and has concentrated on the design of specialized facilities for the control and rehabilitation of criminals. But “distress”—the conventional condition to arouse sympathy—was Howard’s crucial word in *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777). In response to Howard’s initial findings about prisoners’ critical vulnerability to gaol-fever, Parliament had passed an act in 1774 for preserving the health of prisoners (14 Geo. 3, c. 59). However, Howard found that their living conditions remained miserable:

⁴⁸ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book 5, chap. ii, section k, paragraph 3, 869–70. On Smith’s moral psychology, see Robert Boyden Lamb, “Adam Smith’s System: Sympathy Not Self-Interest,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (October–December 1974): 679–80; Nathan Phillipson, “Adam Smith as Civic Moralist,” in Hont and Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue*, 179–234.

⁴⁹ On the heightened awareness in the eighteenth century of physical misery as an object for sentimental sympathy, see Thomas W. Laqueur, “Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative,” in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 176–204; Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority* (New York, 1982), 25–26, 117–22; Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 8–9, 215–20, 224–31; Karen Halttunen, “Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture,” *AHR* 100 (April 1995): 303–09; Carolyn D. Williams, “‘The Luxury of Doing Good’: Benevolence, Sensibility, and the Royal Humane Society,” in Porter and Roberts, *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, 77–107.

any one may judge of the probability there is against the health, and life of prisoners crowded in close rooms, cells, and subterraneous dungeons, for fourteen or fifteen hours out of the four and twenty. In some of those caverns the floor is very damp: in others there is sometimes an inch or two of water: and the straw, or bedding is laid on such floors; seldom on barrack-bedsteads.

Howard's "proposed improvements" in the accommodation of prisoners included individual rooms for sleeping, bedsteads (preferably of iron), windows with shutters and barred doors for ventilation, and facilities for bathing with warm water. Howard even had to insist that jails have some heating: "this is not only what humanity demands in our climate, but that it is essential to the preservation of the health of prisoners, by promoting the circulation of air, and preventing those mortifications of the feet to which they are so liable."⁵⁰

After Howard had reported on the condition of prisoners of war during the War of American Independence, comfort entered into the United States' negotiation of treaties in the 1780s, as it sought to enlist allies in declarations of the rights of prisoners of war. Prisoners should not be sent to "distant and inclement Countries" nor kept in "close and noxious places"; instead, officers should have "comfortable Quarters and the Common Men be disposed in cantonments open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomly and good" as those provided the captor's troops.⁵¹

Similar terms began to inform commentary on the amenity of slave housing in the new United States. A Polish nobleman interested in prison reform (and himself a political prisoner for two years) invoked the humanitarian aesthetics of misery to report on slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon plantation: "We entered one of the huts of the Blacks, for one can not call them by the name of houses. They are more miserable than the most miserable of the cottages of our peasants. The husband and wife sleep on a mean pallet, the children on the ground; a very bad fireplace, some utensils for cooking, but in the middle of this poverty some cups and a teapot." Earlier descriptions of slaves' housing used a spectrum of generic terms that took poor quality for granted without further comment: "quarters," "hovels," "huts," "cabins," "cottages," and "Negro houses." After the revolution, travelers used "comfort" to assess slave housing, both positively and negatively—as "comfortably furnished," or as having "no convenience, no furniture, no comfort." Hygiene, warmth, and privacy defined slaves' minimal entitlement to comfort. As comfort emerged in denunciatory descriptions of slaves' living conditions, slave-owners increasingly prided themselves on building accommodation that met

⁵⁰ John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales*, 3d edn. (Warrington, 1784), 1–2, 22–23, 32, 38–39, quoted 7, 38. On prison furnishings, see Christopher Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture, 1750–1900* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), chap. 13. On prison reform, see Rod Morgan, "Divine Philanthropy: John Howard Reconsidered," *History* 62 (October 1977): 388–411; Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (New York, 1978); Robin Evans, *The Architecture of Virtue: English Prison Architecture, 1750–1840* (New York, 1982). Howard himself was a "humanitarian" who "showed no interest in reducing the large number of capital crimes"; Robert Alan Cooper, "Ideas and Their Execution: English Prison Reform," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10 (Fall 1976): 80. On distress as a convention in sentimental literature, see Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London, 1986), 2–3.

⁵¹ "Project of a Treaty Submitted by the American Commissioners" [1786], *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Julian P. Boyd, ed., 27 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1954–), 9: 419–20; Appleby, "Consumption," 169; Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 184–94.

minimal standards for decent living, as measured by how poor European Americans lived. This concern on the part of some slaveowners was part of the broader humanitarian definition of comfort in the second half of the eighteenth century. But their use of that standard met a more pressing need to apologize for their treatment of human chattels in the face of nascent antislavery developments throughout European Atlantic culture.⁵²

Housing for these groups had been miserable for a long time before, but its inadequacy had not previously been regularly reported or studied. A new standard applied—comfort. A culture of sensibility naturalized the phenomenon of discomfort and made it susceptible to rational improvement. Humanitarian concern with the physical miseries of poverty took particular responsibility for the design of comfortable cottages for the rural poor. While it might be taken for granted that humanitarian reformers would want to enable the poor to have comfortable housing, this assumption begs the question that comfort was an architectural priority. The estate surveyor Nathaniel Kent and the architect John Wood established an architectural genre of philanthropic designs of model cottages. The designs developed in conjunction with intensified public concerns about the social and economic conditions of cottagers in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Reformers argued that well-designed cottages made aesthetic, social, and economic priorities potentially harmonious: “As a number of labourers constitutes one of the requisites of grandeur, comfortable habitations for its poor dependents ought to be provided.” Arthur Young, the preeminent authority on agricultural reform in late eighteenth-century Britain, included the adequacy of peasant housing in his inventory of questions when assessing a region. When touring Catalonia, for example, he noted repeatedly how the houses lacked chimneys and glazed windows. In the valley of Aran, he found “abodes of poverty and wretchedness; not one window of glass to be seen in the whole town; scarcely any chimnies, both ground floor and the chambers vomiting the smoke out of the windows.” Young was perplexed to explain “a poverty which hurt our feelings,” among a people whom he found highly industrious in their use of agricultural resources. He tentatively

⁵² Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797–1799, 1805 with Some Further Account of Life in New Jersey*, Metchie J. E. Budka, trans. and ed., *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 14 (Elizabeth, N.J., 1965), 33–35, 100 (Niemcewicz was at home in Anglo-American culture and stayed in the United States for ten years, engaging in literary and political activities); Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), 85; J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1784), 1: 76. On the architectural reality of slave housing, see Bernard L. Herman, “Slave Quarters in Virginia: The Persona behind Historic Artifacts,” *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter*, David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier, eds. (Philadelphia, 1984), 274; William M. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619–1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1984), 28–29; Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 79; John Michael Vlach, “Afro-American Domestic Artifacts in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” *Material Culture* 19 (Spring 1987): 10. On apologies for slavery in response to humanitarianism, see Joyce E. Chaplin, “Slavery and the Principle of Humanity: A Modern Idea in the Early Lower South,” *Journal of Social History* 24 (Winter 1990): 299–313; John Drayton, *A View of South Carolina, as Respects Her Natural and Civil Concerns* (Charleston, S.C., 1802), 144–49. On the terminology applicable to slave accommodation, see Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 104–21.

attributed the disparity to an absentee landholding class neglecting its social responsibilities.⁵³

By identifying basic needs in housing, philanthropic reformers asserted a common humanity on the basis of physical comfort. In presenting model cottages as tests of minimal comfort, housing reformers urged landlords to consider comfort as their tenants' right: "it is as necessary to provide plain and comfortable habitations for the poor as it is to provide comfortable and convenient buildings for cattle." Kent, Wood, and other housing reformers challenged their readers to imagine entering "the shattered hovels which half the poor of this kingdom are obliged to put up with . . . Those who condescend to visit these miserable tenements, can testify, that neither health or decency can be preserved in them. The weather frequently penetrates all parts of them: which must occasion illness of various kinds, particularly agues; which more frequently visit the children of cottagers than any others, and early shake their constitutions." Even when imaginary, such an experience with uncomfortable housing enabled the "man of feeling" to find a common humanity with its real occupants: "no architect can form a convenient plan, unless he ideally places himself in the situation of the person for whom he designs . . . and for that end to visit him; to enquire after the conveniencies he wanted, and into the inconveniencies he laboured under." Housing reformers encouraged their genteel readers to acknowledge their common humanity with cottagers: "so like the feelings of men in a higher sphere, are those of a poor cottager, that if his habitation be warm, cheerful, and comfortable, he will return to it with gladness, and abide in it with pleasure."⁵⁴

BY THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY Anglo-American social thought had naturalized the desire for physical comfort. The mature work of Thomas Malthus represented and synthesized the invention of comfort in material culture and social thought: the indeterminability of distinctions between necessity and luxury, the

⁵³ Nathaniel Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* (London, 1775); John Wood, *Series of Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer . . . Tending to the Comfort of the Poor and Advantage of the Builder* (1781; rpt. edn., London, 1806); Arthur Young, "Tour in Catalonia," *Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1787), 8: 202, 263, see also 207, 210; Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London, 1803), quoted 137–38; *Communications to the Board of Agriculture on Subjects Relative to the Husbandry and Internal Improvement of the Country*, 7 vols. (London, 1797), 1: part 2, *Cottages*. On concerns with rural misery, see John B. Radner, "The Art of Sympathy in Eighteenth-Century British Moral Thought," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Roseann Runte, ed., 9 (1979): 190; Chappell, "Housing a Nation," 221–22; Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556–1785* (Cambridge, 1990), 490; Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago, 1982), 223–24; John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980), 35–88; Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 14–54; Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England, 1780–1890* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 23–66. The priority of comfort in the design of model philanthropic cottages is discussed more fully in John E. Crowley, "'In Happier Mansions, Warm, and Bright': The Invention of the Cottage as the Comfortable House," *Winterthur Portfolio* 32 (Summer–Autumn 1997): 169–88.

⁵⁴ Nathaniel Kent to Coke of Norfolk, 1789, as quoted in John Martin Robinson, *Georgian Model Farms: A Study of the Decorative and Model Farm Buildings of the Age of Improvement, 1700–1846* (Oxford, 1983), 109; Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen*, 229, 237; Wood, *Series of Plans*, 3–5; John Loudon, *A Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences*, 2 vols. (London, 1806), 1: 124–25.

acceptance of popular consumption patterns, the benevolent impulse to establish minimal entitlements to comfort, and the demonstrability of respectable family life by comfortable domestic environments. Between the first edition of the *Essay on the Principle of Population* in 1798 and the second in 1803, largely as a result of his travels comparing English living conditions with those elsewhere in Europe, Malthus came to the realization that a desire for comfort and convenience was crucial to the “moral restraint” that allowed sufficient control over the principle of population to maintain happiness in a society: “throughout a very large class of people [in England], a decided taste for the conveniences and comforts of life, a strong desire of bettering their condition, that master-spring of public prosperity, and, in consequence, a most laudable spirit of industry and foresight, are observed to prevail.”

Malthus’s image of the comforts of English life came straight out of genre representations of happy cottagers: “a good meal, a warm house, and a comfortable fireside in the evening” (Figure 8). The desire for such comforts, wrote Malthus, “put in motion the greatest part of that activity, from which spring the multiplied improvements and advantages of civilised life; and . . . the pursuit of these objects, and the gratification of these desires, form the principal happiness of the larger half of mankind, civilised or uncivilised, and are indispensably necessary to the more refined enjoyments of the other half.” What was minimally comfortable for the propertied was needed by the poor as well, and it was reasonable and desirable that the poor should want those “luxuries” of the propertied that were really comfortable:

It is the spread of luxury therefore among the mass of the people, and not an excess of it in a few, that seems to be most advantageous, both with regard to national wealth and national happiness[,] . . . if it be observed that a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life will prevent people from marrying, under the certainty of being deprived of these advantages.⁵⁵

Comfort had become a set of expectations, physical designs, and personal imperatives.

The eighteenth-century consumer revolution in Anglo-American society developed a culture of comfort that synthesized the notion’s new physical meanings with traditional ones of moral support. That culture depended on a fashion-conscious public being made sensible of the *discomfort* of previously acceptable facilities. This sensibility recognized that comfort was culturally progressive rather than physically natural. Facilities for physical comfort signified membership in a culture giving high priority to respectable domesticity. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, comfort provided crucial values, consumption patterns, and behaviors for the formation of a middle class. Within the house, it provided a measure of women’s success at domesticity, while its external symbols represented the respectability of

⁵⁵ Thomas Malthus, “An Essay on the Principle of Population: The Sixth Edition (1826) with Variant Readings from the Second Edition (1803),” *The Works of Thomas Robert Malthus*, E. A. Wrigley and David Souden, eds., 9 vols. (London, 1986), 3: 466–68, 520; on Malthus and standards of living, see D. E. C. Eversley, *Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate* (Oxford, 1959), 211. On David Allan’s aquatints to illustrate Allan Ramsay’s pastoral poem, *The Gentle Shepherd* (Figure 8), see Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* (Oxford, 1986), 66–69.



*While Peggy takes up her bonny perr,
 With a new brood of lambskins upon her;
 Glad comes morning light, takes a walk;
 The rooster and stuns mother turn the clock;
 A pipe for months, the father pleases his;
 And now and then his wife mutters in vain.*

FIGURE 8: Happy cottagers. Though close to nature, the household amply meets its physical needs for shelter, food, heat, and light, while also having such manufactured items as shoes, stockings, ribbons, coats and gowns, tobacco, turned furniture, mirrors, ceramics, and books. David Allan, "Glaud, Jenny and Peggy," from Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd, a Pastoral Comedy* (Glasgow, 1788). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

men's economic activities.⁵⁶ Satisfaction with a comfortable home became one of the most convincing ways to give meaning to consumption patterns—hence the untranslatable English ideals of “home” and “comfort” quoted from Southey in the epigraph at the beginning of this article. Southey went on to link these ideals with the consumer revolution:

Saints and philosophers teach us that they who have the fewest wants are the wisest and the happiest; but neither philosophers nor saints are in fashion in England. It is recorded of some old Eastern tyrant, that he offered a reward for the discovery of a new pleasure;—in like manner this nation offers a perpetual reward to those who will discover new wants for them, in the readiness wherewith they purchase any thing, if the seller will but assure them that it is exceedingly convenient.⁵⁷

Concern with comfort provided a rationale for moderate but innovative patterns of consumption that transcended both the aristocratic imperatives of luxury and the necessities of poverty.

⁵⁶ These themes are elaborated in John E. Crowley, “Houses, Gender, and the Picturesque Landscape: The Designs of Catherine Beecher and Andrew Jackson Downing,” *Gender and Material Culture: Historical Perspectives*, Moira Donald and Linda Hurcombe, eds. (London, forthcoming). On the relations between material culture and the formation of a middle class, see Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987), 357–88; Stuart M. Blumin, “The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals,” *AHR* 90 (April 1985): 299–338.

⁵⁷ Southey, *Letters from England*, 1: 182; Southey's examples of such conveniences included patent corkscrews, pocket fenders and toasting forks, lightweight fire-irons, mechanical candle snuffers, pen cutters, nail clippers, cucumber slicers, and buttoners for knee britches.

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Domesticity and Difference: Male Breadwinners, Working Women, and Colonial Citizenship in the 1945 Nigerian General Strike

LISA A. LINDSAY

FROM JUNE 22 TO AUGUST 6, 1945, around 40,000 Nigerian workers—mostly civil servants and railwaymen in Yorubaland in the southwest—stayed off their jobs to protest the government's refusal to raise wages after years of acute inflation.¹ Scholars have seen the general strike as a turning point in Nigerian labor history as well as part of a larger movement of African nationalism, in which workers achieved a remarkable degree of class unity, broad segments of the population openly defied the colonial regime, and the government was forced to live up to some of its war-era developmentalist rhetoric.² Although historians have stressed the importance of community support in explaining the strike's ultimate success, none has noted a crucial irony: male workers demanded wage increases and even family allowances on the basis of their status as breadwinners, yet they survived during the course of the strike in large measure because of the economic independence of their wives and the importance of market women to local economies. Furthermore, in the post-strike debate over family allowances, trade unionists used gendered language and claims about respectability to talk about racial equality within the colonial order and to constitute the colonial worker and citizen as a male household head.³ This article explores the network of gender and family issues involved in the most

This essay draws on my dissertation, "Putting the Family on Track: Gender and Domestic Life on the Colonial Nigerian Railway" (University of Michigan, 1996). Research in Nigeria and Britain in 1993–1994 was assisted by a grant from the Joint Committee on African Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, with funds provided by the Ford, Mellon, and Rockefeller Foundations. Additional research in 1998 was funded by the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. I am grateful to Anna Clark, Frederick Cooper, Lyman Johnson, Pamela Scully, Lynn Thomas, Luise White, and anonymous *AHR* reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier versions.

¹ James S. Coleman, in *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (1958; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1971), 259, estimates that 30,000 workers struck; the Nigerian department of labor's 1945 Annual Report put the figure at 42,951, including 34,000 government employees.

² Wogu Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria: Promise and Performance* (London, 1969), chap. 7; Robin Cohen, *Labour and Politics in Nigeria, 1945–71* (London, 1974); Coleman, *Nigeria*, chap. 11; L. M. E. Emejulu, *A Brief History of the Railway Workers Union* (Lagos, 1949), 5–62; Wale Oyemakinde, "The Nigerian General Strike of 1945," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7 (1975): 693–710.

³ On the construction of (exclusively) male workers as legitimate citizens in Britain, see Anna Clark, "Manhood, Womanhood, and the Politics of Class in Britain, 1790–1845," and Keith McClelland, "Rational and Respectable Men: Gender, the Working Class, and Citizenship in Britain, 1850–1867," both in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 263–79, 280–93. An overview is provided in Colin Creighton, "The Rise of the

important labor dispute in colonial Nigeria in an attempt to engage and expand two seldom-related bodies of historiography: studies of gender and wage labor in the “developed” world and new work on the colonial state in Africa.

The fundamental issue of the 1945 strike was the social reproduction of Nigeria’s urban labor force. In Great Britain, Nigeria’s colonizer, a consensus had emerged by the early twentieth century that working-class households should generally be supported by “family” (or “breadwinner”) wages. Ideally, employers were to pay for the reproduction of the labor force through wages disbursed to men (although these often were not in fact sufficient to support women and children). In return, wives’ unpaid domestic work enabled men to sell their labor outside the home. This gendered allocation of labor was the result of many local struggles, but by this century it represented the strength of trade unions, the reluctance of the state to intervene actively in the labor market, and the interest of employers in social stability.⁴ Trade unionists, for their part, tended to favor family wages because they raised income levels and buttressed working men’s power and status within the household.⁵ Family wages both reflected and reinforced a gender ideology encompassing separate spheres for men and women and a male breadwinner ideal.⁶

Although colonizers often did seek to impart their notions of gender to African elites and mission converts, they did not generally expect that African workers’ households would replicate those of Europeans.⁷ In the areas with concentrated wage-labor forces—the mining centers of southern and central Africa, along with port cities and railways throughout the continent—the original model was migrant labor, with men leaving their rural families to work for bounded periods of time. Colonial policy makers favored migrant labor as a corollary to indirect rule, in which Africans were to live and be governed through rurally based “tribes.” Trade unions were weak until the 1940s, and the state often backed employers’ low wages through extra-economic means of labor recruitment. In southern Africa, female-headed rural households in effect subsidized the reproduction of the male labor force, whose wages were otherwise too low to sustain itself.⁸ In Nairobi, the state depended on urban labor for administration and services but refused to pay adequate wages or to commit itself to housing Africans permanently. Prostitutes

Male Breadwinner Family: A Reappraisal,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38 (1996): 310–37.

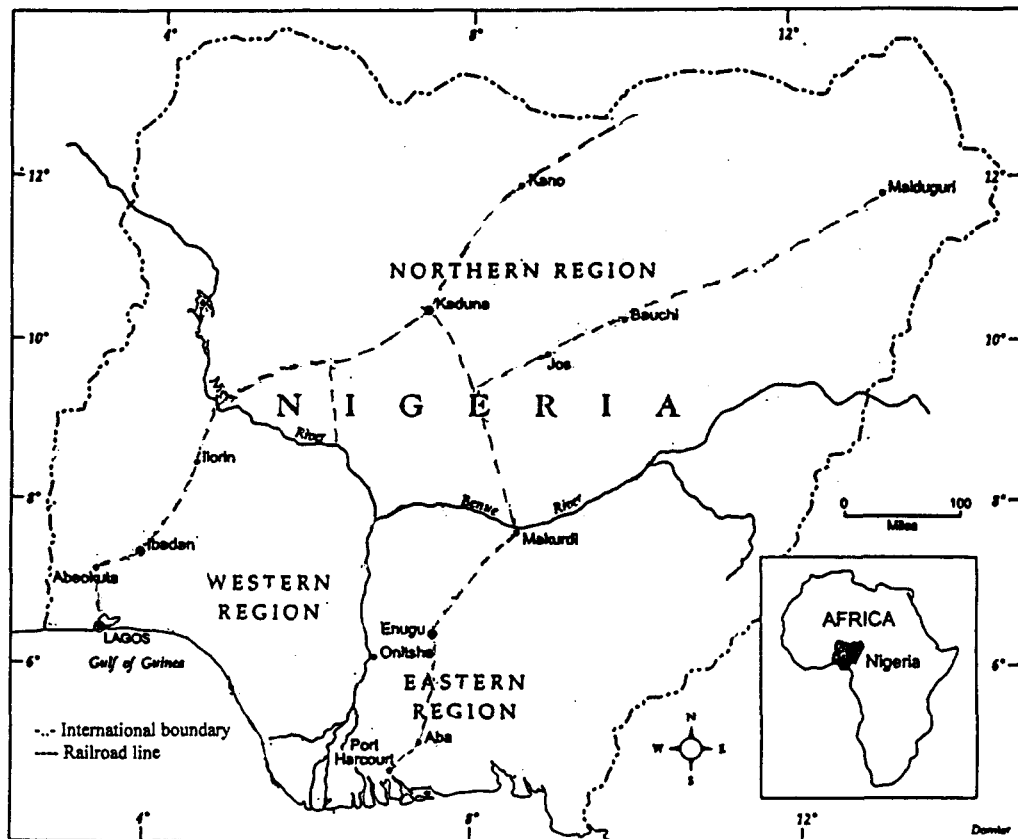
⁴ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), traces the origin of the breadwinner wage demand in Britain to trade unionists’ political weakness in the 1830s.

⁵ See Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

⁶ The literature is best summarized in the excellent introductory essays in Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); and Frader and Rose, *Gender and Class*.

⁷ For instance, Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge, 1985); Christine Oppong, *Marriage among a Matrilineal Elite: A Family Study of Ghanaian Senior Civil Servants* (Cambridge, 1974); and Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992). An exception is Nancy Rose Hunt, “‘Le Bebe en Brousse’: European Women, African Birth Spacing and Colonial Intervention in Breast Feeding in the Belgian Congo,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21 (1988): 401–32.

⁸ Colin Murray, *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho* (Johannesburg, 1981); Harold Wolpe, “Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid,” *Economy and Society* 1 (1972): 425–56.



Colonial Nigeria, adapted from a map in Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Nina Emma Mba, *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 2.

stepped into the breach, earning their living by providing migrant workers with accommodation, food, and bathwater in addition to sexual services.⁹ Mine owners in Zambia and the Belgian Congo were the first to move away from the migrant labor model, calculating in the 1920s that workers would be more enthusiastic and productive if they were allowed to bring their families to the mining compounds, where wives could garden and cook for their husbands. But rural African elders complained about their loss of control over women and long-term migrants, prompting conflict between a state that supported “native authorities” and companies seeking to ensure the most efficient maintenance of their workers.¹⁰

Compared to the “new” cities of the colonial era, such as Johannesburg, Nairobi, and the urban parts of the Copperbelt, where the relationship between wage labor and gender has been studied more extensively, Nigeria had little migrant labor and several well-established urban areas already peopled with African families. West Africa’s economic focus on peasant agriculture meant that wage labor was less

⁹ Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990).

¹⁰ George Chauncey, Jr., “The Locus of Reproduction: Women’s Labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927–1953,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7 (1981): 135–64; Jane Parpart, “Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: Women in Northern Rhodesian Copper Mining Communities, 1926–1964,” in Claire Robertson and Iris Berger, eds., *Women and Class in Africa* (New York, 1986).

developed than further east or south, yet the state and commercial enterprises did need workers in administrative centers and along transportation and communication routes. It was a foregone conclusion that such wage earners would be male; but, where women earned income in their own enterprises, as in southern Nigeria, employees were paid cheaply on the grounds that they had no need to support wives and children. Thus, even though the specific circumstances varied throughout Africa, nowhere did colonial officials before World War II believe that “family” wages were appropriate or necessary to reproduce an African working class. African workers were not like European workers, nor were their families comparable to European families.

This type of thinking was challenged during the “second colonial occupation” of the postwar era.¹¹ During the 1940s and 1950s, shortages of hard currency in Britain and France made them all the more dependent on colonial economies, but the United States and international organizations were hostile to the maintenance of empire. Meanwhile, colonial promises of reform after the peace, growing nationalist aspirations, and Africans’ frustration with continued hardship led to the most intense series of urban disturbances the governments had yet seen—including the 1945 strike in Nigeria. The perceived solution was a new emphasis on “development,” which was intended both to prime colonial economies and to convince the international community that imperial rule was actually beneficial for Africa. Ambitious planners attempted to rationalize peasant agriculture to increase production, stabilize wage labor to improve efficiency, and reshape African cities to make them less disorderly. They thought, or at least hoped, that, given the proper institutions and incentives, Africans would work in modern industries, commercial undertakings, and agricultural enterprises in a manner comparable to Europeans.¹²

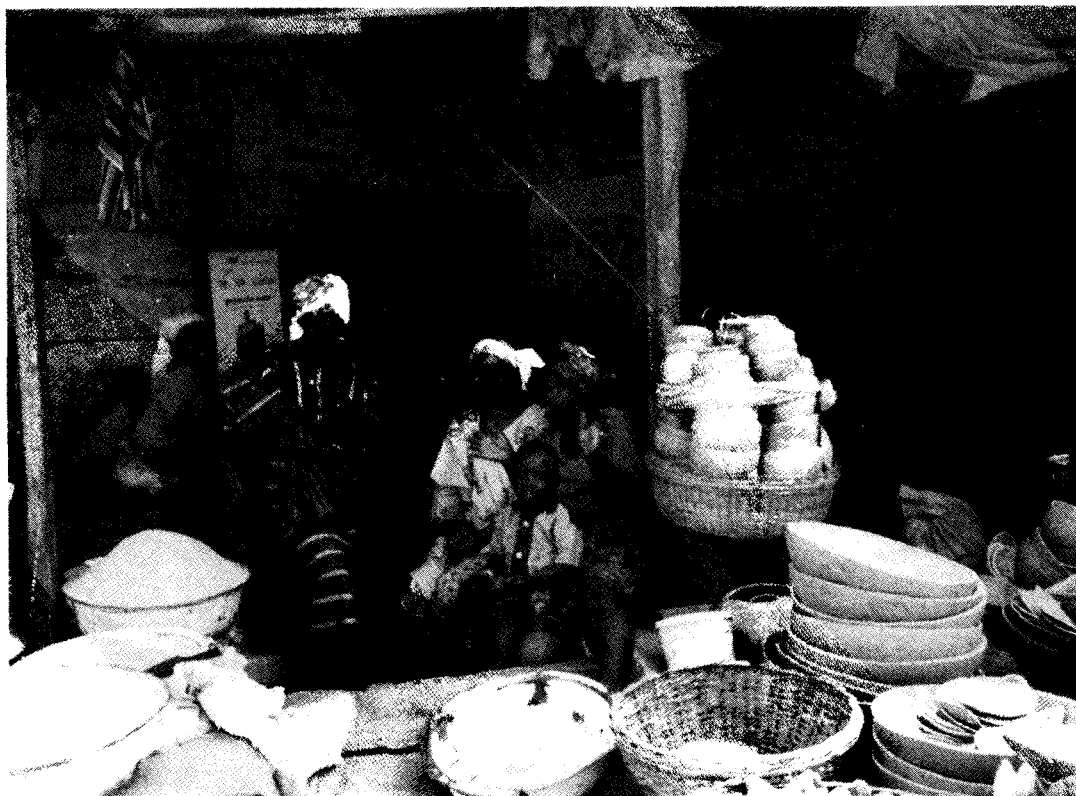
As Frederick Cooper has detailed, the postwar strike wave in colonial Africa prompted officials to question the “particularity of the African.”¹³ Colonial governments moved toward extending more European-style benefits to certain groups of African workers in exchange for more productive, uninterrupted service. But as we will see, Nigerians’ calls for family allowances, as a counterpart to increasingly lucrative “separation allowances” paid to expatriate workers, were rejected on the grounds that African families were too different from European ones to justify similar entitlements. Current scholarship emphasizes that colonialism both included subject peoples into *and* excluded them from metropolitan political, economic, and cultural communities, at times simultaneously.¹⁴ In this case, it was the family and gender relations of southern Nigerian workers that complicated the engagement of universalistic notions of labor: women worked outside the home, especially after marriage; spouses generally did not pool their incomes; polygyny was widespread; and households were often composed of

¹¹ D. A. Low and J. M. Lonsdale, “Introduction: Towards the New Order, 1945–1963,” in D. A. Low and Alison Smith, eds., *History of East Africa*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1976).

¹² Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996).

¹³ Cooper, *Decolonization*.

¹⁴ Two different formulations of the same broad concept appear in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); and Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).



Ibadan market women, 1994. Photograph by the author.

“families” much larger and more extended than those of the European bourgeoisie. In an era in which industrial-relations practices were increasingly held to be universally applicable, local gender and domestic arrangements became markers of cultural differences that colonizers used to justify racial discrimination in wage fixing.

Gender and domesticity have been fundamental in demarcating boundaries between colonizers and the colonized and in formulating the very identities of Europeans at home and abroad.¹⁵ Yet we know less about how the gendered exclusions of colonialism interacted with African identities and the political strategies of the colonized. Like colonial administrators, Nigerian trade unionists confronted tensions between universalizing impulses and African particularities. During and after the strike, they demanded cost of living increases through reference to a universal male breadwinner model and family allowances on the basis of equality with expatriate men. At the same time, however, they also depended on the economic and political activities of women. The vast majority of African women in southwestern Nigeria earned money through trade. Individually and in guild organizations, they provided crucial support for strikers by lowering prices on goods

¹⁵ Ann Stoler, “Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 134–61; and Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995). Also see Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*.

they sold, extending credit, and contributing to the strike fund. For them, the issue was not male wages or racial equality, it was their own breadwinning capacities. During the four years of trade unionists' cost of living agitation (1941–1945), the government instituted price controls and then took on food distribution itself in an attempt to curb inflation from the supply end. These actions threatened the livelihood of market traders, and they engaged in political protest, isolated acts of sabotage, and vigorous black marketeering to thwart the official scheme. When workers struck over the cost of living issue and protested the unfairness of the colonial order, market women could see that their own interests were at stake as well. But wage earners' claims to be the primary providers for their families undermined their support for the struggles of traders and helped to define "worker" as a masculine category.

The 1945 strike represented a moment of open possibilities—for men and women to mobilize across a starkly gendered division of labor, for the government to commit to paying the social costs of wage employment, and for African workers to take advantage of new policy initiatives based on universalist discourse. In the strike's epilogue, that opening closed as the state and trade unions reached something of a compromise. After refusing workers' claims for metropolitan-style entitlements and basing the refusal on local particularities, colonial officials by the mid-1950s asserted that African families had to be reshaped in a European image. This would, they hoped, increase labor productivity and reduce the possibilities for urban disorder and broadly based strikes like the one in Nigeria.¹⁶ "Family" wages, set through collective bargaining within government guidelines, were intended to help working men support their wives and children, thereby reducing the necessity of paid employment for women and fostering stability in the male work force. As in Britain and elsewhere, workers favored family wages as a means to increase their incomes and thus their power within their households.¹⁷ Also as in the metropole, a state commitment to negotiated family wages had the effect of confining official discussions about household income to the policies of industrial relations, in which women were not usually involved. By the end of the colonial period, trade unionists and state administrators jointly envisioned a social order in which household reproduction was based on male wage earning.

BUCHI EMECHETA'S NOVEL *The Joys of Motherhood* provides a more visceral picture of Lagos in the 1940s than does any historical work.¹⁸ The story traces the heroine's struggle to maintain her family in crowded conditions and in the face of constantly rising prices. Between her husband's wage as a laborer and her own irregular

¹⁶ See Cooper, *Decolonization*, chap. 7.

¹⁷ Lindsay, "Putting the Family on Track."

¹⁸ Buchi Emecheta, *The Joys of Motherhood* (New York, 1979). The novelist was born in Lagos in 1944, the daughter of a railway worker and petty trader, and her fiction often addresses themes from her mother's and her own life. Historical treatments of Lagos in this period include Pauline H. Baker, *Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917–1967* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974); Sandra T. Barnes, *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986); Akin Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London, 1968); G. O. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939–1953* (Lagos, 1973); and Coleman, *Nigeria*.

income from trading, they barely make ends meet; when he is conscripted into the Allied army, she finds it impossible to pay the escalating costs of housing and food. But, like Emecheta's characters, people from all over southern Nigeria continued to migrate to Lagos in search of jobs in the formal sector or some kind of living from trade. In 1945, the commissioner of the colony estimated that there were 20,000 unemployed out of Lagos's 220,000 population.¹⁹ At the same time, defense regulations compelled those in "essential" services to work compulsory overtime, so that many workers for the railway and the Public Works Department were putting in seventy-seven-hour weeks.²⁰

Tensions leading to the 1945 strike had been building since at least 1941, when the government issued new salary scales for the civil service. After strenuous complaints from the press and the African Civil Service Association that wage levels were still too low, it withdrew the proposals and appointed A. F. B. Bridges to head a commission to investigate the cost of living in Lagos. The commission's report was not released until mid-1942, after months of agitation on the part of the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union (ACSTWU), an umbrella group representing most government employees. When it finally emerged, the Bridges report called for increased minimum wages, a 50 percent boost in the cost of living allowance to civil servants, and the adoption by commercial employers of labor practices similar to those of the government.²¹ The administration accepted most of the recommendations, including the cost of living award. Governor Bernard Bourdillon also promised that, if inflation continued, a new cost of living adjustment would be made in the future.²² Prices kept rising as the war demanded manpower, limited imports, provided incentives for farmers to export their crops, and lured potential agriculturalists to the cities in search of work.²³ The cost of living index had increased 74 percent between 1939 and October 1943. The ACSTWU called for cost of living adjustment (COLA) revisions in 1943 and 1944, but Governor Arthur Richards, the more intractable official who had replaced Bourdillon, refused on the grounds that money was not available and that efforts were being made to control prices.²⁴

This argument appeared to trade unionists and their supporters as disingenuous, given that the Nigerian government continued to increase the allowances paid to European civil servants. In May 1942, the administration had introduced the payment of "separation allowances" to those whose wives did not live in Nigeria. A ruling in late 1943 increased the amount of the separation allowance and made it payable for other dependents—including children, siblings, and parents—as well as

¹⁹ Appendix XVI, Memorandum of the Commissioner of the Colony on Unemployment in Lagos, in W. Tudor Davies (chair), *Enquiry into the Cost of Living and the Control of the Cost of Living in the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria*, Colonial No. 204 (London, 1946), 199.

²⁰ African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union to Chief Secretary to the Government, March 22, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 66–68.

²¹ A. F. B. Bridges (chair), *Report on the Cost of Living Committee* (Lagos, 1942). Also see Cooper, *Decolonization*, 131–34.

²² Appendix XX, Copy of script of broadcast by Sir Bernard Bourdillon on July 24, 1942, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 220–22.

²³ Olusanya, *Second World War*.

²⁴ Ananaba, *Trade Union Movement*, chap. 7. For the larger African context, see Cooper, *Decolonization*, chap. 4; and David Killingray and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Africa and the Second World War* (New York, 1986).

wives. The next year, the government introduced “local allowances” for European expatriates whose wives were with them in Nigeria. Further, it announced that the earnings of an officer’s wife would not be considered in assessing local or separation allowances, since, when European wives did work outside the home, their economic contributions were assumed to be insignificant. The small number of Africans holding what were known as “superior posts” also became eligible for local allowances, but they were paid only three-quarters of the amount that a European received.²⁵

The unions alleged that racism accounted for the differentials in payments, and that Britain’s calls for “equality of sacrifice” during the war were hypocritical. According to a memorandum from the Nigerian Civil Servants Union, 1,631 European officials in Nigeria were earning a total of £1,077,390, while 14,866 African civil servants’ yearly wages amounted to £998,640.²⁶ Under these circumstances, it seemed patently unfair that African government employees were refused a cost of living increase. According to Michael Imoudu, leader of the Railway Workers Union, the chief secretary to the government had told him in a meeting before the release of the Bridges report that “he agreed to all our feelings but where did we think government could get two shillings for every worker? The delegates asked him where government got separation allowances for non-Africans?”²⁷ In other words, if the state could help support European families, it could do so for Africans.

WORKERS PARTICULARLY RESENTED government officials’ concern with providing for their own dependents, given how difficult it was to feed families in Lagos during the war years, and the standard of living became a major theme in political and labor activism. Women mobilized against government interference in market trading, which deprived them of earnings; men suggested that their inability to secure food for their families diminished their masculine status. Meanwhile, colonial officials blamed their own inability to control inflation on southern Nigeria’s system of gender and family relations.

By 1940–1941, markets were running out of supplies and prices were skyrocketing. Reluctant to increase wages, the government attempted to control inflation from the supply side. The Pullen price control scheme, named after the commissioner of the colony, Captain A. P. Pullen, began in 1941 when the government attempted to set prices on selected foodstuffs sold in Lagos and nearby markets.

²⁵ Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 108, 214–20. Family allowances had been first introduced for British soldiers during World War I. See Susan Pedersen, “Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War,” *AHR* 95 (October 1990): 983–1006; and Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge, 1993).

²⁶ Cited in Nnamdi Azikiwe’s column, “Inside Stuff,” *West African Pilot*, July 4, 1945.

²⁷ “Artokhamen Imoudu Concludes Dramatic Series on Events Preceding 1942 COLA,” *West African Pilot*, June 12, 1945. For background on Imoudu, see Robin Cohen, “Michael Imoudu and the Nigerian Labour Movement,” *Race and Class* 18 (1977): 345–62; Cohen, “Nigeria’s Labour Leader No. 1: Notes for a Biographical Study of M. A. O. Imoudu,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5 (1970): 303–08; and Wale Oyemakinde, “Michael Imoudu and the Emergence of Militant Trade Unionism in Nigeria, 1940–1942,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7 (1974): 541–61.

Critics argued that the mandated prices were often lower than the combined costs of production and transportation. The ineffectiveness of the scheme was quickly apparent, as market women refused to sell at prices that would deprive them of even meager profits.²⁸ But still the administration clung to price controls, a decision that mobilized an opposition coalition of elite women, market traders, and nationalist politicians. The *West African Pilot*, an influential nationalist daily published by politician and businessman Nnamdi Azikiwe, ran frequent articles criticizing the scheme. Groups such as the Lagos Women's League and the Oyingbo Market Women's Association held public meetings and lodged formal protests. Madam Alimotu Pelewura, leader of the 8,000-member Lagos Market Women's Association, charged that the government was depriving the women of their livelihood and that the authorities who set price controls had no knowledge of local markets and trading practices. With the assistance of veteran nationalist Herbert Macaulay and his Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), they employed a variety of protest strategies, including invading a local town council meeting and petitioning the governor, the Lagos Chamber of Commerce, the commissioner of the colony, and the legislative and town councils.²⁹

Pelewura and Macaulay, along with most Lagos chiefs, had been political allies since the 1920s. Most recently, Macaulay had provided support to the Lagos market women's anti-tax campaign. In 1940, in an effort to raise revenues, the government had extended the income tax to women earning over £50 per year. Although the tax only applied to a few of them, market traders feared it would provide an opening for more pervasive taxation of women. Lagos chiefs, meeting in December 1940, stressed that the taxation of women ran counter to local custom, an argument echoed by Pelewura and thousands of her followers during a protest march and mass rally later that month. Furthermore, Pelewura told the commissioner of the colony that women were already bearing the brunt of war-time hardships: "Lagos women have not only to feed and clothe their unemployed husbands and relatives but also to pay their income tax for them, lest they are sent to prison for defaulting."³⁰ Sustained pressure from the women, supported by the NNDP and the chiefs, convinced the government to raise the minimum taxable income to £100. This was enough of a compromise for the moment, and traders' concerns about taxes were replaced by more pressing issues of inflation and price controls.

By October 1943, faced with huge difficulties in enforcement, widespread protests, and the perceptible risk of starvation among Lagos's poor, the administration intensified its efforts to reduce food prices. Under a new plan, the government, working through mercantile outfits like the United Africa Company, bought selected foodstuffs directly from producers, subsidized transport costs, and distributed the items to certain traders who were to sell them at fixed, low prices in

²⁸ Wale Oyemakinde, "The Pullen Marketing Scheme: A Trial in Food Price Control in Nigeria, 1941–1947," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 6 (1973): 413–23.

²⁹ Cheryl Johnson, "Madam Alimotu Pelewura and the Lagos Market Women," *Tarikh: Grass Roots Leadership in Colonial West Africa* 7 (1981): 1–10; Nina Emma Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 226–31. For decades, Macaulay provided political assistance to the Lagos market women, which under Pelewura's leadership supported his NNDP. Some of their correspondence is in the Herbert Macaulay Papers, Kenneth Dike Library, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

³⁰ Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 200–04; Johnson, "Madam Alimotu Pelewura," 4–6, 6 quoted.

specially designated “Pullen” market stalls. In order to buy food at these centers, people were supposed to line up in areas cordoned off by barbed wire, and those who cut in line were at first fined, then imprisoned. Although the government could not possibly market all of the produce reaching Lagos consumers, officials hoped that its own low prices would force down prices in the rest of the economy. Few were happy with this new arrangement. Farmers rejected the low prices offered for their goods by hiding their stocks from officials and instead selling to local merchants who paid more. Some market women are said to have organized missions to intercept government supply lines. And the Pullen stalls became chaotic. In order to secure a good position in the long lines, people had to line up in the evening in anticipation of early morning supplies the next day. Even after spending a night in line, prospective buyers could reach the front only to be told that supplies had run out, especially as food was being diverted to the more profitable black market. Such frustrations only induced more people to shop elsewhere. By 1944, about two-thirds of Lagos consumers obtained their food supplies from black markets.³¹

With their incomes at stake, the market women, aided by other women’s groups and Lagos politicians, kept up the protests. At a meeting with the deputy controller of native foodstuffs and Commissioner of the Colony Pullen early in 1944, Pelewura stated indignantly that market trading was not the government’s “line of business but was the concern of the Lagos market women who had maintained their families for many years through the sale of these foodstuffs.”³² At work and on protest marches, market women sang satirical songs like the following:

Strange things are happening in Lagos.
Europeans now sell pepper,
Europeans now sell palm oil,
Europeans now sell yam,
Though they cannot find their way to Idogo [an outlying food supply source]
And yet Falolu [the king of Lagos] is still in his palace and alive.
Europeans are not wont to sell melon seeds.³³

The protesters continued to hold mass meetings and petition the government, heating up their efforts by mid-1945, when food scarcity had reached crisis proportions. Traders and consumers faced a serious shortage of *gari*, a cassava starch product that formed a staple of the African diet. In early August 1945, over 1,000 Lagos market women staged a demonstration against price controls, shouting in Yoruba, “Pullen market must go.”³⁴

Throughout the period of price controls, government officials maintained that they were having some effect, citing a reduction in the cost of living index to 162 in October 1944. To the extent that they acknowledged difficulties with the Pullen scheme, they blamed traders, especially market women, alleging that they were earning high profits by selling through the black market while other segments of the

³¹ Oyemakinde, “Pullen Marketing Scheme,” 423; Ananaba, *Trade Union Movement*, 46–47; Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 227–28.

³² Johnson, “Madam Alimotu Pelewura,” 7–8.

³³ Olusanya, *Second World War*, 64.

³⁴ Johnson, “Madam Alimotu Pelewura,” 7–8.

population suffered.³⁵ Some observers, while not exactly exonerating women, used the letters pages of the *West African Pilot* to point to other culprits: one described unemployed men who reportedly earned so much buying at the Pullen stalls and then selling on the black market that they “have sworn never to be employed”; another noted that many black market customers were bachelors who had to work all day and were unable to shop when Pullen stalls were open.³⁶ Officials also blamed unruly African women for the chaos at the markets and exhorted them to behave like British ladies, who, they claimed, stood peacefully in ration lines during the war.³⁷ In response, women and their allies accused the government of having little sympathy for market traders or African housewives because Europeans did not have a taste for *gari*.³⁸ Market women and the government were again at war.

By June of 1945, the *West African Pilot* was running stories on the *gari* crisis nearly every day, describing people spending nights in lines or sustaining injuries from the barbed wire, pregnant women fainting from exhaustion, and whip-wielding government officials trying to enforce discipline.³⁹ Trade unionists, in mass meetings and in official representations, also complained about the food shortage and the Pullen scheme. But the press and workers nearly always took the point of view of the male consumer and household head rather than the market trader.⁴⁰ Workers never reiterated traders’ claims to support their families; rather, they pointed to the inability of men to provide food for their children because of scarce supplies. An editorial from June 20 is a case in point: “Imagine a working class father returning home at dusk to find his little ones turned out of school for lack of stationery and languishing with hunger because mother had failed to secure some food from the Pullen stalls that morning!” Three days before the general strike began, the chair of a meeting of twenty-two mercantile unions told the audience that “the present food situation is a manifestation of the sufferings of the Nigerian wage earner and his poor salary.” The next speaker expressed his humiliation and frustration when “one of his children almost fainted because of having no food, and he had to run to a nearest neighbor, an old woman, who gave him a small quantity of *gari*, which

³⁵ Appendix VI, Memorandum of Director of Supplies on Measures Taken to Keep Down the Cost of Living; and Appendix VIII, Reply by Director of Supplies to Appendix 7, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 121–25, 131–32. Oyemakinde did the same thing, writing that “market women took advantage of the prevailing scarcity to profiteer.” “Nigerian General Strike,” 695. Also see Oyemakinde, “Pullen Marketing Scheme,” 415.

³⁶ E. O. Oyefeso, “Cost of Living and Nigerian Workers,” *West African Pilot*, June 16, 1945; J. Ola Oluwole, “Regarding Food Crisis in Lagos,” *West African Pilot*, July 2, 1945.

³⁷ Editorial, “So London Women Can’t Take It!” *West African Pilot*, August 24, 1945. Pullen had also raised the English comparison in regard to women’s income tax, arguing at a mass meeting with market women that women in England paid tax. Pelewura retorted that such a comparison was not fair, since “England is where the money is made.” Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 203; Johnson, “Madam Alimotu Pelewura,” 5.

³⁸ Ben Oluwole, “The Pullen Market Must Go!” *West African Pilot*, August 21, 1945.

³⁹ Examples are “Food Scarcity Heightens Again,” June 1, 1945; “Market Women Want Elimination of *Gari* Control,” June 18, 1945; “Stories Told by Working Class Mothers,” July 4, 1945.

⁴⁰ “The *Gari* Situation in Lagos,” *West African Pilot*, June 19, 1945; “Human Approach to the Labour Crisis,” *West African Pilot*, June 20, 1945; Nnamdi Azikiwe, “Inside Stuff: History of the General Strike (3),” *West African Pilot*, September 5, 1945. The exception to this trend was Macaulay; see “Madam Pelewura & 2 Lagos White-Cap Chiefs Will Join NCNC Delegation,” *West African Pilot*, June 25, 1945. Women’s grievances were similarly downplayed by the British strikers Sonya Rose describes in “Respectable Men, Disorderly Others: The Language of Gender and the Lancashire Weavers’ Strike of 1878 in Britain,” *Gender and History* 5 (1993): 382–97.

he gave to his children.”⁴¹ Even if this story were made up or exaggerated for effect, what is significant is that these images—of hungry children, frustrated fathers, and women as the ones with a few supplies—were chosen to strike a chord with the audience. Although some may have sympathized with female traders, what men saw as most critical was that a wage earner with money in his pocket was dependent on the generosity of an old woman to feed his family. The economic crisis was also, for many workers, a crisis over men’s roles.

TRADE UNIONS BEGAN CALLING FOR A REVISION of the 1942 cost of living adjustment in 1943 and continued to do so for the next two years as prices kept rising. But it was in 1945 that the situation reached a climax. On March 22, 1945, the technical workers’ association addressed a letter to the government citing rising prices and compulsory overtime and demanding a minimum daily wage of two shillings six pence for laborers and a 50 percent increase in the cost of living allowance. Particular attention was called to workers’ children, who “subsist on mere existence levels. The repercussion on the health and future of these innocent children can well be left to imagination.” The government’s reply acknowledged the inflation but again seemed to blame market women: high prices were due to the public’s unwillingness to cooperate with price controls. No benefit would come from a cost of living adjustment, the chief secretary argued, unless people were willing to repudiate the black market by purchasing goods at controlled prices or doing without them.⁴²

A mass meeting of government employees on May 19 resulted in an ultimatum: if the demands of the ACSTWU were not met by June 21, they would go on strike.⁴³ Then at a meeting with the chief secretary on May 30, ACSTWU representatives reiterated the union’s previous stand on increased COLA and minimum wages, and for the first time added the demand for family allowances as a counterpart to European separation allowances. Workers argued that by granting separation allowances to European staff, the government had admitted that salaries were inadequate to cover children’s education and certain household expenses. Family allowances to African employees, they suggested, were even more logical in nationalist terms than separation allowances for the relatives of European officials, “who not being resident in the country neither spend there nor benefit the country in any way.”⁴⁴

While government officials were dealing with the ultimatum, the situation became even more charged by the return of a popular labor hero to his constituency. On June 3, Michael Imoudu was released from detention in eastern Nigeria and returned to Lagos. The fiery former head of the Railway Workers

⁴¹ “Human Approach to the Labour Crisis,” *West African Pilot*, June 20, 1945; “20,000 Mercantile Workers Endorse All Demands of Technical Workers’ Union,” *West African Pilot*, June 19, 1945.

⁴² ACSTWU to Chief Secretary to the Government, March 22, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 66–68; W. R. T. Milne, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government to ACSTWU, May 22, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, 68–69.

⁴³ ACSTWU Resolution, May 19, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 69–70.

⁴⁴ J. O. Erinle, General Secretary of ACSTWU to Chief Secretary to the Government, June 1, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 70–71.

Union had been arrested in 1943 under wartime security legislation. When the laws were repealed at the end of the war in Europe, there was no excuse not to free Imoudu. It was unfortunate timing for the government: Imoudu's return by rail to Lagos provided workers and their allies with something of an emotional warm-up to the general strike. An estimated 50,000 supporters throughout the region rallied as Imoudu's train passed through, and his arrival in Lagos culminated in a day-long extravaganza in which thousands lined the streets to welcome him. Macaulay, Azikiwe, and Pelewura were featured speakers at the homecoming rally, reinforcing the ties between organized labor, African nationalism, and the market women's association.⁴⁵

The next week, the unions received a negative response to their ultimatum. An increased cost of living allowance would lead to inflation, the chief secretary wrote, and furthermore the suffering caused by the war must be shared across the population. The letter's most infuriating point implied that male workers should exercise more control over their women and extended families: it suggested that the unions use their influence to thwart black marketeering and to curtail the influx of unemployed relatives into Lagos!⁴⁶ At a meeting a few days later, 800 workers reaffirmed the ACSTWU's strike threat; the same day, four Lagos chiefs joined a mass procession of market women to the Nigerian Secretariat to protest restrictions on *gari* sales.⁴⁷ On June 18, however, the commissioner of labor announced that the strike would be illegal, and the ACSTWU's leaders were persuaded to postpone it while filing formal notice of a trade dispute. Under Imoudu's influence, rank-and-file members repudiated the moderates—led by J. O. Erinle, J. Marcus Osindero, and T. A. Bankole—and vowed to go ahead with the work stoppage. The morning of June 22 began with railwaymen blowing their train whistles to announce the government employees' strike. They would not mount their platforms again for six weeks.

The strike spread along the railway lines to northern and eastern Nigeria, but it was strongest in the southwest. Government officials, who had previously argued that increased wages would put non-salaried workers at a relative disadvantage, noted with surprise the level of community support, even in rural areas. Indeed, only 4 percent of adult men in Nigeria, or 1 percent of the total population, worked for wages.⁴⁸ Many strikers were able to leave the cities and return to family farms, or their relatives sent produce to them and their allies.⁴⁹ A government report after the strike complained that the support received by strikers in the southwest could be attributed to the nature of Yoruba families:

⁴⁵ "MAO Imoudu Returns to Lagos after a Period of 2 Years in Detention: 50,000 Accord Him Fitting Welcome," *West African Pilot*, June 4, 1945; Oyemakinde, "Nigerian General Strike," 698.

⁴⁶ G. F. T. Colby, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government to T. A. Bankole, President of ACSTWU, June 11, 1945, rpt. in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 71–73. The *West African Pilot* ran an indignant editorial, "Repatriation of the Unemployed," on June 21, 1945.

⁴⁷ "Technical Workers Resolve to Order General Strike at Midnight on June 21," and "Market Women Want Elimination of Gari Control," *West African Pilot*, June 18, 1945. Ananaba has inflated the number of attendees at the workers' meeting to 8,000; *Trade Union Movement*, 52.

⁴⁸ Coleman, *Nigeria*, 257.

⁴⁹ Interviews by the author in Ibadan, southwestern Nigeria, with retired railwaymen M. O. Shofekun and Francis Soetan, April 4 and 12, respectively, 1994.



Yoruba railwayman A. A. Salako (front, center), his immediate family, and other members of his residential compound, Kano, *circa* 1960. Photo courtesy of A. A. Salako.

A man who is lucky enough to be in Government service is expected to, and in fact does, assist a large number of his relatives, either by paying school fees or by sending remittances to his home. All the members of the family—and the term covers a far wider field of relationship in Africa than it does in Europe—are anxious to see the person who is very likely their main financial prop get more for the family funds and therefore support him in his efforts to squeeze more out of Government.⁵⁰

As workers well knew, their wages reverberated through the economy, helping to maintain relatives and friends, fueling market transactions, and providing business for a range of people employed in the informal sector: “the interests of wage-earners and those of other Nigerians are one and indivisible.”⁵¹

During the month of July, government officials debated the relative merits of offering immediate concessions to stop the crippling strike or holding out on the principle of discouraging future unrest. Although they threatened strikers with dismissal, they admitted privately that many of the striking workers, particularly those from the railway, were highly trained and could not easily be replaced.⁵² In an attempt to maintain transportation of export goods, the railway administration ran

⁵⁰ Memorandum on Strike of African Civil Servants Technical Workers Unions, June–August 1945, in Nigerian Archives, Ibadan (hereafter, NAI), Resident’s Office, Oyo Province, 2/3/C.328.

⁵¹ Appendix II, Memorandum of Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 54; also see Oyemakinde, “Nigerian General Strike,” 699.

⁵² Memorandum on Strike of African Civil Servants Technical Workers Unions, June–August 1945, NAI, Oyo Province, 2/3/C.328. Coleman made the same point; *Nigeria*, 259.

a skeleton service with the aid of a motley assortment of European managers, Port Harcourt prison labor, and 900 scab workers. But transport was largely paralyzed, telegraph and telephone wires were dead, and even sanitation men and grave diggers stopped working.⁵³ Meanwhile, Azikiwe's newspapers, the *West African Pilot* and the *Daily Comet*, were banned from July 8 to August 15 in retaliation for their support of the most militant trade unionists. Finally, in early August, the strike was called off in exchange for a promise of no victimization, no prosecution for arrested strike leaders, and negotiations toward a settlement. Work resumed in Lagos on August 7, just days before the war in Japan ended. Peace brought a relaxation in price controls by September. Although prices were still high, Lagosians noted a palpable sense of relief.⁵⁴

Negotiations between the ACSTWU and the government on the COLA issue broke down again, months after the strike, when the union rejected the government's offer of a 20 percent cost of living increase in favor of submitting the question to a commission of inquiry. The Tudor Davies Commission heard evidence in late 1945 and issued its findings the following year. The report largely concurred with the unions that workers' standard of living needed to rise, and it dismissed the government's warnings about inflation. It called for a 50 percent retroactive cost of living increase for government workers, improved industrial-relations procedures and worker welfare, and some recognition of the needs of workers' families. Such policies, Chairman W. Tudor Davies suggested, were necessary to ensure labor stability, prevent future unrest, and thus increase productivity. The commission concluded that "labour, be it black or white, should be adequately paid in accordance with the standard of efficiency and results of work performed, and . . . with the monetary results of that labour the consumer goods available should be purchasable . . . By this means the colonies can become busy hives of activity, filled with eager, ambitious and loyal workers; this is the ideal of an ever-expanding Colonial development."⁵⁵ Workers and their representatives quibbled with some details of the commission's report, but ultimately they saw it as a hard-fought victory.

PERHAPS NO GROUP'S SUPPORT was more important to strikers than that of Lagos market women, although their influence seems to have been understated in most contemporary and subsequent accounts of the event.⁵⁶ They were involved from the beginning: T. A. Bankole, the ex-chairman of the ACSTWU's Joint Executive, suggested that market women were part of the rowdy group that repudiated him in the final days before the strike. On June 20, a last-minute meeting was held in the

⁵³ "Servicemen Drafted to Strikers' Posts: Grave Diggers & Night Soil Men on Strike," *West African Pilot*, June 25, 1945.

⁵⁴ See "Govt. Control of Gari Ceases Today But May Reappear If Profiteering Creeps In," *West African Pilot*, August 27, 1945; and "Pullen Scheme Must Now Go," *West African Pilot*, February 7, 1946.

⁵⁵ Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 17. Also see Ananaba, *Trade Union Movement*, chap. 8; Emejulu, *Brief History*, 64–68; Cooper, *Decolonization*, 136.

⁵⁶ Even Azikiwe's 74-part "History of the General Strike," serialized in the *West African Pilot* in the fall of 1945, failed to acknowledge the significance of the market women's support.

market adjacent to the locomotive yard. Persuaded by Imoudu that Bankole had sold out to the government, the crowd of workers and traders turned on him, shouting, “[T]hief, thief, you have been bribed; the government has bribed you.” According to Bankole’s account, “Then followed the showering on me of an appreciable quantity of ‘gari’ (farina)—an act which, in my opinion, savoured of rank impudence.”⁵⁷ Once the strike was on, traders offered credit and lowered the prices charged to strikers, demonstrating to Pullen and other officials that they would regulate prices when their own interests were involved. They and a group of elite Lagos women contributed generously to the Workers’ Relief Fund.⁵⁸

The support of the market women was motivated by a number of overlapping considerations: intense frustration with the government over the Pullen scheme, community and family ties with strikers, and a solid political alliance between market leader Pelewura, trade unionist Imoudu, and nationalist journalist Azikiwe.⁵⁹ Since at least 1941, Imoudu had been working formally to link market traders and wage earners. In May of that year, he wrote to Pelewura to ask for credit and political support in the event of a strike over cost of living allowances:

The Yorubas have a common adage which says that “There is nothing that affects the eyes that will not affect the nose” . . . The monthly income we are earning now is hardly sufficient for our wives to engage in trade and also to cook, much less to buy clothes or pay our children’s school fees . . . There is no language which the Europeans understand more clearly than that the workers should go on strike. We know the implication of this for the people throughout Nigeria . . . God help us unless we unite our voices to enable the Europeans to increase our monthly pay as they should. It is your co-operation that we seek in this matter and the co-operation of our wives, children, senior and junior siblings and our relatives, many of whom are members of the Women’s Marketing Association in Lagos and all its environs. We are asking you to devise a means by which you our mothers can make the white men realize that we their workers did not just descend from heaven, and also that our progress at work is the progress of our people in the markets and in the country; our strike is also your own strike. Whatever effects the eye will also affect the nose, in fact, you, our mothers. God help all of us.⁶⁰

Using repeated images, eloquent Yoruba turns of phrase, and respectful references to women as mothers, Imoudu reminded Pelewura of the kinship and economic connections between wage earners and market women. Supporting trade unionists would pay off for them in their own businesses as well as in their households.

⁵⁷ T. A. Bankole, “The June 1945 Unauthorized General Strike,” memorandum serialized in the *West African Pilot*, September 1945. Relevant sections are in “Mr. TA Bankole Describes the Meeting with Labour Commissioner Two Days before the June 1945 Strike,” September 12, 1945; and “Mr. Bankole Says Workers Were Incensed by Mr. Imoudu to Revolt Against Their Leaders,” September 13, 1945.

⁵⁸ Oyemakinde, “Nigerian General Strike,” 704; Johnson, “Madam Alimotu Pelewura,” 9.

⁵⁹ This is evident from press reports of meetings and joint activities in the first half of the 1940s. Also see Mba, *Nigerian Women*, chap. 7; and Johnson, “Madam Alimotu Pelewura,” 9. Similarly, Azikiwe backed the strike for nationalist reasons but also because he actively sought the political support of wage workers. Thus nationalist and class interests are difficult to disengage from the practical stuff of price controls, wages, and political alliances between local power brokers.

⁶⁰ Imoudu and Adediran, Railway Workers Union to Mesdames Pelewura and Lagunju, President and Vice-President of the Female Market Leaders Association (Egbe Awon Oloja Obinrin), original (in Yoruba) in the Macaulay Papers, Dike Library. Translation assistance by Jide Oyene is gratefully acknowledged.

As previously mentioned, the vast majority of women in Yorubaland, including wives of wage earners, engaged in trade of some sort. The 1950 Lagos census identified 31,926 (76 percent) out of a total of 41,492 women as traders.⁶¹ According to a survey I conducted among retired railwaymen in Ibadan and Lagos, 80 percent who had been working in the 1940s were at that time married to market traders.⁶² A 1950 survey of 207 mothers of primary school girls in Lagos found that 96 percent of those married to artisans, laborers, and petty traders were market women, as were 84 percent of those married to clerks and middle-level businessmen.⁶³ As Pelewura pointed out to wage earners at a mass meeting on May Day 1944, "We [market women] are your mothers and your wives. We live and educate our children from your earnings."⁶⁴

Such a remark was intended to reinforce solidarity around what was actually a starkly gendered division of labor and resources, which was itself in transformation by the mid-1940s. As has been well documented, Yoruba households do not have a tradition of resource pooling.⁶⁵ Typically, men farmed and women traded, although in the colonial economy men engaged in wage work or commerce as well and some women worked in the formal sector. Ideally, men and women were each supposed to contribute specific items to the household: men generally were responsible for lodging and food staples, while women were to provide the rest of the food and children's other expenses. Divorce cases from the 1940s and 1950s show that women became exasperated with husbands who did not meet their material obligations, and lack of sufficient financial maintenance was the most frequent reason women gave for leaving their husbands.⁶⁶

In this context, wage earners who brought home steady paychecks were often seen as good mates because they could be good providers. Discussing her reasons for marrying a railway worker in the 1940s, one woman noted, "If anybody who works in the railway comes your way you would like to marry him. At that time, railway paid very well . . . , so people loved them [the employees] and liked to mix with them."⁶⁷ Similarly, Emecheta's heroine in *The Joys of Motherhood* remarked to a railway worker, "The money may be small, and the work slave labour, but at least

⁶¹ Nigeria, *Census of Lagos* (Lagos, 1950), 17.

⁶² The survey was conducted in 1993–1994 among 167 retired railwaymen and fifty-three of their wives, with the assistance of Jide Oyeneye, Olufunmilayo Carew, and Olusanya Ibitoye. Forty-one of the informants were employed during the 1940s. More information is in Lindsay, "Putting the Family on Track."

⁶³ S. Comhaire-Sylvain, "Le travail des femmes à Lagos, Nigeria," *Zaire* 5 (1951): 169–87. Also see N. A. Fadipe, *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, F. O. Okediji and O. O. Okediji, eds. (Ibadan, 1970), 88, 152–57; Wambui M. Karanja-Diejomaoh, "Perceptions of Marriage, Family and Work in Nigeria: Study of Lagos Market Women" (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1980); Akin Mabogunje, "The Market-Woman," *Ibadan* 11 (1961): 14–17; Niara Sudarkasa, *Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Marketplace and in the Home* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973).

⁶⁴ "Workers' Week Celebrations," *The Nigerian Worker* (published by the Federated Trades Union of Nigeria) 1, no. 5 (April 1944): 5.

⁶⁵ Fadipe, *Sociology of the Yoruba*, 88; Eleanor R. Fapohunda, "The Non-Pooling Household: A Challenge to Theory," in Daisy Dwyer and Judith Bruce, eds., *A Home Divided: Women and Income in the Third World* (Stanford, Calif., 1988); Peter Marris, *Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos* (Evanston, Ill., 1962), chap. 4; Sudarkasa, *Where Women Work*.

⁶⁶ Based on my examination of divorce records from Bere Native Court, Ibadan, located in the Obafemi Owolowo University Library, Ife. Also see Nigeria, *Annual Report of the Federal Social Welfare Department for the Year 1955–56* (Lagos, 1956), 10.

⁶⁷ Interview with the author, Rebecca Uchefuna, February 21, 1994, Ibadan. Raheem Balogun, head

your wife's mind is at rest knowing that at the end of the month she gets some money to feed her children and you. What more does a woman want?"⁶⁸ Steady earners could be relied on more frequently than farmers or the irregularly employed for daily household needs as well as periodic payments like school fees. Whereas otherwise, wives might have covered food expenses without being repaid, they expected steadily working husbands to reimburse them after the paycheck came. One informant's father worked for the Nigerian Railway in the 1930s and 1940s and maintained a household with two wives and their children. After describing his father's contributions to the food budget, the man commented, "the system is not tampered with, especially for a man doing government work. He is bound to set aside some kind of food allowance every month."⁶⁹ In other words, a man with a government job and a steady paycheck was obligated to provide food money, although someone with a less regular income might rely more on his wives. Such claims on men's paychecks meant that, even though women earned their own money, they had vested interests in their husbands' struggles over work and wages. No doubt there were women who urged their husbands not to strike, knowing that a protracted period without wages meant hunger and uncertainty. But most seem to have backed the strike as part of their own financial strategies, because they wanted their husbands to be better able to contribute to the household.⁷⁰

There is general evidence to support the contention that some wage earners were indeed, by the 1940s and 1950s, providing a greater portion of the household income than those of an earlier generation or outside the wage economy. For example, most market traders began their careers before or immediately after they married, but my survey shows that, on average, colonial-era railway wives began working three to five years after marriage. This means that they were largely relying on their husbands' income during the period when they were most likely to have young children and no older children to help out. One railwayman's household budget, presented in a Lagos debt case from 1950, indicated that he provided most of his household's support. This thirty-two-year-old machinist shared two rooms with seven dependents. With a monthly salary of £12, his expenses totaled £12.13.6. Even when he earned an extra £1 per month in overtime, he could barely scrape by without borrowing and help from his wife. But if this budget is to be believed, such contributions were much less significant than those many other women made to their households.⁷¹

of the Lagos branch of the Railway Pensioners' Union, seconded that opinion. Interview with the author, July 20, 1998, Lagos.

⁶⁸ Emecheta, *Joys of Motherhood*, 117. Also see "She Prefers an Ex-Soldier to a News Vendor," in Miss Silva's regular column on women called "Milady's Bower," *West African Pilot*, March 23, 1946, in which a newspaper salesman reports being jilted by his fiancée because he did not have a government income.

⁶⁹ Interview with the author, S. O. Akintola, May 2, 1994, Ibadan.

⁷⁰ For similar views, see Ousmane Sembene's fictionalized account of the French West African railway strike, *God's Bits of Wood* (Oxford, 1970); and Frederick Cooper's commentary on women's involvement in "'Our Strike': Equality, Anticolonial Politics and the 1947–48 Railway Strike in French West Africa," *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 81–118, 95–96. For an analogous argument about family wage demands in Britain, see Creighton, "Rise of the Male Breadwinner Family."

⁷¹ Criminal Record Book, Ebute Metta (Lagos) Magistrate's Court, vol. 62B, *E. O. Bukola vs. L. B. Lawal*, 3596/50, June 21, 1950, 324.

It is extremely difficult to be precise about household budgets in Yorubaland. None of the women I interviewed were willing to discuss the specifics of their domestic economies, a situation paralleled in other historical and ethnographic studies in the area. Part of the reason was that personal money and trading receipts are generally kept together, making careful accounting difficult; but the most important motivation was to keep husbands ignorant of exactly how much their wives earned. This way, men's paychecks (or, rather, some agreed-upon portion of them) tended to be spent on specified household needs first, supplemented by women's contributions.⁷² Thus when men reported supporting their families and referred to themselves as breadwinners, this represented a combination of experience, perception, and ambition. As among some working-class families in early twentieth-century Britain, men often were not cognizant of how much their wives actually spent toward household support.⁷³ To use an example from a later period, in the 1960s, a railway couple I interviewed moved to northern Nigeria, where they had no social connections. There, the young wife began to trade. Once children started coming, although she had no one in town to help her, she had to continue working because her husband's salary was not enough to support their growing family. This woman's income was crucial, she knew, as was help she secretly solicited from an uncle back home. But she did not tell her husband for fear of offending his masculine pride: "He would be thinking that the money he gave is enough, but it is not, so I have to add to it."⁷⁴ Ibadan court cases from the 1930s on confirm that men and women often publicly asserted that husbands were to be primary household providers, even if in practice this was not the case.⁷⁵ Another informant had to support herself and her offspring when her husband was a railway worker in the 1950s because he was sponsoring children from his extended family. Sometimes, she even had to loan him money. But, she stressed, "he was the breadwinner."⁷⁶ This is the background to the trade unionists' dispute with the colonial government over family allowances.

BY 1945, THERE HAD BEEN ROUGHLY A CENTURY of debates in Europe and North America over wage policy and the extent to which governments and the state should pay for the social reproduction of labor.⁷⁷ In Britain, the male breadwinner norm

⁷² Interviews with the author in Ibadan: Bernard Aruna, December 28, 1993; S. O. Akintola, May 2, 1944; Florence Owolabi, January 7, 1994. Also see Sudarkasa, *Where Women Work*.

⁷³ See Pat Ayers and Jan Lambertz, "Marriage Relations, Money, and Domestic Violence in Working-Class Liverpool, 1919–39," in Sandra Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women* (New York, 1979).

⁷⁴ I have withheld the names to avoid embarrassment. Interviews with the author in Ibadan, February 17 and April 12, 1994.

⁷⁵ Examples include Oke Arc (Ibadan) Civil Record Book, vol. 21, 1693/30, *Ayi vs. Lawani*, September 1930, 231–37; Bere (Ibadan) I Civil Record Book, no vol. [torn cover], 529/38, *Moriamo vs. Raimi*, June 1938, 16–19; Bere I Civil Record Book, vol. 23, 233/42, *Foyeke vs. Obasawi*, February 1942, 125–26; Oke Arc II Civil Record Book, vol. 12, 33/50, *S. A. Akinfunda vs. Sabititu*, February 1950, 231–37, all located in the Obafemi Awolowo University Library, Ife.

⁷⁶ Interview with the author, Olukemi Alabi, December 4, 1994, Ibadan.

⁷⁷ Much of the relevant literature has been summarized in Creighton, "Rise of the Male Breadwinner Family." Also see Pedersen, *Family, Dependence: Rose, Limited Livelihoods*; Laura L. Frader, "Engendering Work and Wages: The French Labor Movement and the Family Wage," in Frader and Rose, *Gender and Class*; and Martha May, "Bread before Roses: American Workingmen,

had emerged from a variety of struggles involving men and women's positions in the household, trade union and employer strategies, and state interests in stability and economic growth.⁷⁸ This ideology was firmly entrenched by the early twentieth century, even if in many cases men's wages were not in fact sufficient to support a household, and it in turn shaped the assumptions of policy makers and labor advocates. As Susan Pedersen's comparison of Britain and France has shown, even where patriarchal ideologies were similar, twentieth-century wage policies could differ, as they were based on the relative powers of employers and trade unions and the nature of their relationships to the state. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the British government's commitment to a free labor market and trade unions' concerns that family allocations would allow for lower wages ultimately converged in opposition to feminist and socialist-backed proposals for widespread family allowances to be paid to women. Although the 1942 government-sponsored report by Sir William Beveridge recommended family allowances in an attempt to provide social insurance to families without encouraging inflation by raising wages, the government's actual policy, adopted in 1945, favored male breadwinner wages as the route to household maintenance, supplemented by very low allowances paid to women with children. In France, by contrast, pronatalist concerns, the greater economic necessity for female workers, employers' desires to keep base wages low but to tie workers to their jobs, and the relative weakness of trade unions yielded a system of family allowances paid on a per-child basis to workers who otherwise earned low rates of pay.⁷⁹

Nigerian trade unionists tended to gloss over the distinction between family allowances and breadwinner wages, insisting broadly that some kind of wage increase was necessary to pay the social costs of reproducing labor. Since the first COLA agitation in 1941, labor leaders had argued that working men spent at least part of their paychecks on the support of their families. Wages, then, should in some way reflect men's family obligations. By the time they testified before the Tudor Davies Commission in 1945–1946, union leaders were demanding family allowances comparable to the separation allowances paid to European officials. Clearly, the most important issue of the 1945 strike centered on wages and the standard of living, but the argument about family allowances was significant. In Nigeria as in industrializing Britain, male members of an emerging working class based their demands for increased wages and equal rights on claims to respectability presented in terms of a patriarchal household.⁸⁰

Trade unionists argued for family allowances in terms they thought would be

Labor Unions, and the Family Wage," in Ruth Milkman, ed., *Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History* (London, 1985).

⁷⁸ Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*. It should be pointed out that, in the nineteenth century, only skilled men in certain trades were actually able to support their families on their wages, in spite of more widespread male breadwinner rhetoric. M. Barrett and M. McIntosh, "The 'Family Wage': Some Problems for Socialists and Feminists," *Capital and Class* 9 (1980): 51–72.

⁷⁹ Pedersen, *Family, Dependence*; John Macnicol, *The Movement for Family Allowances, 1918–45: A Study in Social Policy Development* (London, 1980). Also see Frader, "Engendering Work and Wages."

⁸⁰ British examples include Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*; Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, and "Respectable Men, Disorderly Others"; and Keith McClelland, "Masculinity and the 'Representative Artisan' in Britain, 1850–1880," in Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991).

favorably received by government officials—men's household responsibilities, social order, and the stabilization of urban labor. But officials would only accept these arguments up to a point. First, as described above, family allowances had been a contentious issue in Britain itself. Second, there were financial considerations, always of utmost importance to administrators. But the basic ideological objection to paying Nigerians family allowances turned on two specific "problems" of the African family: "The wife does not make a vocation of house-keeping as is done in the western cultures"⁸¹; and wage earners supported not just a wife and children but often a "number of dependents which by European standards would be regarded as excessive."⁸² Thus the particularities of Nigerian social structures seemed to make family allowances for Africans impractical, ideologically incongruous, and conducive to the types of social relations colonizers ultimately wanted to change.

Who would bear the costs of socially and biologically reproducing the labor force? Until the 1940s, and especially during the Great Depression, the answer was clear to officials: workers' wives supported themselves and their children, so wages could be kept low. According to this view, it would be both artificial and impractical to pay family wages in southern Nigeria, as "the wives of wage-earners and of those on low salaries are petty traders and their profits are sufficient to pay for their own food and that of their children."⁸³ A 1934 memorandum on rates of pay in the southern provinces of Nigeria, which marked the first statement of official wage policy for government employees, declared that "no account is taken of the cost of maintaining a labourer's wife and children."⁸⁴ In the 1940s, however, trade unionists began to argue that higher wages were necessary to keep urban households financially viable. In contrast to those nineteenth-century British working men who had favored limiting women's paid employment as a strategy to promote higher, "family" wages,⁸⁵ Nigerian unionists saw a male family wage as compatible with female trading.⁸⁶ African labor leaders argued that marketing was only a supplement to men's earnings, so male wages should reflect family obligations. In 1941, the Bridges Commission, composed of an African majority, suggested that workers' "wives to a considerable extent support themselves . . . in the light of its knowledge of local conditions, however, [the commission] is unable to accept the opinion, sometimes advanced, that such women are wholly self-supporting." The commission estimated that the average laborer spent at least a quarter of his earnings on the support of wives and children, and thus suggested

⁸¹ Minute by D. E. Faulkner, Social Welfare Officer, to Commissioner of Lagos Colony, July 31, 1947, NAI, Comcol 1/3236.

⁸² Appendix I, Statement by the Chief Secretary to the Government, G. Beresford Stooke, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 52.

⁸³ Nigeria, *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Nigeria* (Lagos, 1936), 62.

⁸⁴ Memorandum on "Rates of Pay of Laborers and Employees in the Southern Provinces," Acting Chief Secretary's Office, Lagos, September 3, 1935, cited in John F. Weeks, "Wage Policy and the Colonial Legacy—A Comparative Study," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 9 (1971): 361–87, 375.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Wally Secombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History* 2 (1986): 53–76; and Sonya O. Rose, "Gender Antagonism and Class Conflict: Exclusionary Strategies of Male Trade Unionists in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History* 13 (1988): 191–208.

⁸⁶ Some even publicly defended women's access to wage employment. Lindsay, "Putting the Family on Track," chap. 3.

factoring the costs of dependents into wage calculations. The government, however, rejected that part of the report.⁸⁷

The introduction of separation allowances for European officials refocused labor leaders' arguments about the family wage. Now the issue was not only household maintenance but also racial discrimination and, with it, working-class masculinity: that Europeans, but not Africans, could be recognized as supporting their families. Nigerian trade unionists argued that family allowances were needed to foster social reproduction, especially in the absence of a welfare state, and that men's wage earning was related to the prerogatives of citizenship. In a 1944 radio broadcast, I. S. M. O. Shonekan, a Trade Union Congress undersecretary, pushed this point:

Some employers forget that his [a worker's] children are not given free education, but he tries his best . . . to educate them. They forget that his children are a valuable contribution to society who in the future, will assist mentally or physically in developing the wealth of the nation and defend the State. He is not paid any family allowance by either the State or the employer for these. He is forced to distribute his scanty wages on these important items which go to make him and his family good citizens. But at what price? The health of himself and his family.

Eight months later, Shonekan raised the issue at the annual congress of the Federated Trade Unions of Nigeria. Arguing that "many of us have wives and children to support" and that wage levels were insufficient, Shonekan drew his audience's attention to arguments in favor of family allowances made by politicians in Europe and South America. His motion, "That the Government of Nigeria be requested earnestly to formulate schemes for family allowances, and to enact an Ordinance sanctioning their payment by all employers to all married African workmen throughout the country," passed unanimously amid cheers by those present.⁸⁸

Union leaders then raised the issue of family allowances in their submissions to the Tudor Davies Commission. The Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers, a new umbrella organization that represented union members before the commission, made several broad arguments in favor of extending family allowances to African workers, but they all centered on a European point of reference. First, because of the low levels of housing and amenities in Nigerian cities, the majority of Nigerian workers were compelled to maintain two homes, one in the city and one for wives and children in a separate town or village. Thus their conditions of service were analogous to those of expatriates with jobs in Nigeria and families in Europe. Second, since in Africa there was no free education, poor relief, or general pension scheme as in Europe, Nigerian workers supported their young, old, infirm, and unemployed relatives. Family allowances, then, would take the place of metropolitan-style social insurance. To thwart the argument that such benefits were not intended for the colonies, the Supreme Council pointed to allowances in New

⁸⁷ Bridges, *Report*, 101.

⁸⁸ Excerpt from April 26, 1944, speech on Lagos Radio Distribution Service, in *The Nigerian Worker* 1, no. 5 (April 1944): 4. Excerpt from speech entitled "Family Allowances," in *The Nigerian Worker* 1, no. 7 (December 1944): 2. James Coleman points out that the Trade Union Congress was in contact with a number of foreign organizations, including the Fabian Society and the British Trade Union Congress, either of which could have supplied Shonekan and other Nigerian labor leaders with information on British debates and policies relevant to family allowances. Coleman, *Nigeria*, 257.

Zealand for laborers' wives, children, and elderly parents. And to discount the importance of wives' independent incomes, it noted that the earnings of European wives were not considered in the calculation of expatriates' local allowances.

It was in its discussion of family responsibilities and citizenship that the council most closely linked universalist claims and Africa's specific needs.⁸⁹ The memorandum asserted, "It is the duty of the African worker to maintain parents and relatives," and went on to suggest that this could be related to European norms. Perhaps referring to the recent plan for social insurance in Britain, it argued, "The right of a citizen to raise and maintain a healthy family . . . is becoming more and more recognised as a measure of public economy and should be more so in the new social order for which we all had fought and suffered so much in the last war." The council applied these universalistic notions to African circumstances, where the slave trade had resulted in massive population losses: "The average African sincerely regards polygamy and the rearing of children as a social duty inseparable from citizenship. And [because of depopulation caused by the slave trade] he may well be right."⁹⁰

The Tudor Davies report did not go as far as the labor leaders had hoped, but it did recognize, in theory, that they had a point. Although it suggested "that family allowances shall not be granted to Nigerian workers on the same principles as separation allowances granted to Europeans," it did conclude that "the principle of separation allowances which already exists for certain African Civil Servants who are required by the nature of their duties to live away from their families and thus to pay for two homes shall be extended." The extension was to apply to single men required to live away from families as well as to married civil servants in the lower grades. Tudor Davies stressed his approval of a male breadwinner norm for Nigeria: "The sooner the male ceases to rely upon the economic contribution of the female to the family exchequer, the sooner will the wage structure be founded upon a more correct basis."⁹¹

Trade unionists saw the report as an opening, and in October 1946, Luke Emejulu, the general secretary of the ACSTWU, wrote to the governor to inquire what would be done to implement and extend such benefits. This prompted a flurry of correspondence within the government, concerned with thwarting the union's demand. Citing a 1944 circular, one official argued that separation allowances only applied to senior officials, and only those for whom "the wife and/or family of the officer concerned is resident in a different country or colony to that in which the officer himself is residing"; that is, only Europeans were eligible. "It would appear," he continued, "that the recommendation made by Mr. Tudor Davies was made under a misapprehension" about the current eligibility of Africans for such allowances. Tudor Davies's suggestion that payments be extended was derided as

⁸⁹ For the conceptual links between the family wage and public citizenship in Britain, see Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, chap. 6; and Pedersen, *Family, Dependence*, chap. 6.

⁹⁰ Appendix II, Memorandum of the Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 63–64. That Nigerians were aware of the Beveridge proposals and compared them to Nigerian welfare provisions is clear from "Interim Relief for Unemployed Workers" (editorial), *West African Pilot*, January 28, 1946. For a letter to the editor stressing the links between citizenship and family allowances, see J. O. Lawanson (from Ile-Ife), "Family Allowances for Nigerian Worker," *West African Pilot*, January 23, 1946.

⁹¹ Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 18, 48.

ridiculous: because Nigerians could be expected to move their families to any place within the territory, they would never be eligible for separation allowances. Tudor Davies's other recommendation, that separation allowances be extended to single men working away from home, was described as "curious," since it seemed to assume that unmarried government employees all lived with their parents.⁹²

By December 1946, the ACSTWU still had not received a reply to its first letter and complained to the commissioner of labor. "Unless an early pronouncement is made by the Government," Emejulu wrote, "my organization will feel compelled to relax its hold on its member-unions in this important and delicate matter." This was a typical threat, to yield to the disorder of the masses, but here it did imply concern with the issue of separation allowances. The government knew this: "We are in a very weak position I am afraid, and we can expect trouble on this issue," one official commented in January 1947. But that month, the union did receive a reply. Since the union's original letter, a commission chaired by Walter Harragin had reported on labor conditions among civil servants in British West Africa, and the chief secretary to the government reported that its recommendations, rather than Tudor Davies's, would be followed on the issue of separation allowances.⁹³

Harragin's report insisted on separate salary scales for European and African civil servants and rejected the claim for African separation allowances completely. It justified such allowances for expatriates on the grounds that "[t]he raising of a family is the normal and natural function of human beings and every salary scale must visualise and make some sort of provision for such a contingency. Thus, in the case of the expatriate officer, one of the chief considerations justifying a grant of expatriation pay is the necessity to provide for children who must live in temperate climates." In contrast, although the report acknowledged that "it is a custom of the West Coast African for a young man to start making a contribution to the family coffers from the day he receives his first month's salary," this "is not a practice which Government can take into account when deciding the salary that any particular post should carry." Not only should wage setting be left to collective bargaining rather than government mandate, but it would be too complicated in a West African context, where "the word 'family' may be taken to mean not only a wife and children but every near relative." "In a country such as West Africa," Harragin wrote, "where polygamy is freely practiced, marriage is easy and divorce simple, a children's allowance is not a practicable position if applied to the whole Service and invidious if only applied to a portion."⁹⁴ Here again, African family life was too different from that of bourgeois Europeans to justify universalist claims to entitlements.

Stung, union officials realized that they had little hope of allowances along Tudor Davies's guidelines after Harragin's report was published. Still, they used the threat of a disorderly rank-and-file to press for some compromise. In January 1947, the government financial secretary reported a "long but friendly meeting" with trade

⁹² Minute by Deputy Financial Secretary S. R. Marlow, November 7, 1946, NAI, CSO 26/46820/S.1.

⁹³ L. M. E. Emejulu, General Secretary of the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union, to Commissioner of Labour, December 10, 1946; Minute by Marlow to the Governor, January 9, 1947, both in NAI, CSO 26/46820/S.1.

⁹⁴ Walter Harragin (chair), *Report of the Commission on the Civil Service of British West Africa, 1945-46* (Accra, 1946), 19 (first and third quotations), 8 (second quotation).

unionists. "As we know," he wrote, "the Union has a fair case in this instance, but while they admitted that in our shoes they would take the same action as Government has done, they state, and I believe them, that their members who are vocal but not literate will not accept the situation." If this is to be believed, it seems the union leaders saw family allowances as symbolic and were quite willing to compromise on their actual implementation, given the 50 percent cost of living adjustment they had already won. The workers' representatives suggested a measure to appease their members while still allowing the government to resort to Harragin's terms: retroactively implement Tudor Davies's recommendations for the period of August through December 1945, then abolish them when the Harragin recommendations were implemented, also retroactively, on January 1, 1946.⁹⁵ Although the financial secretary favored this arrangement, the secretary of state, in response to calls for intervention from both the union and the governor, came down firmly on the side of the Harragin recommendations. In February, the governor announced the adoption of the Harragin report, with certain modifications: "The Secretary of State has given particular attention to the conflict between the recommendations in . . . the Tudor Davies Report regarding separation allowances, and . . . the Harragin Report regarding compensatory allowances generally, and has decided that the Tudor Davies recommendation shall not be implemented."⁹⁶

Nigerian trade unionists, politicians, and the press denounced the apparent racism of the Harragin report. An irate column in the *West African Pilot* accused Harragin of "abandon[ing] economics for sentiment" on the issue of family allowances and asserted that, in reality, less than 1 percent of civil servants were polygamous, because the urban wage economy made large families too expensive. Harragin's arguments about African domestic life, the correspondent opined, were "not reasons but frivolous excuses."⁹⁷ The main concern of the unions, however, was Harragin's defense of separate salary scales for Europeans and Africans. A March 1947 demonstration by over 500 railway workers, which was dispersed with tear gas and fire hoses, focused on pay rates and job classifications, not family allowances.⁹⁸ Although union officials did not completely drop their demands for separation allowances after 1947, other struggles took precedence, given the government's insistence that African and European workers would not receive equal employment benefits. Moreover, debates over family allowances became subject to piecemeal negotiation as colonial governments—Nigeria's among them—worked to contain labor disputes in a formal structure of industrial relations and avoid any future widespread demonstrations.

In December 1950, at the recommendation of a Senior Whitley Council (a government-sponsored arbitrator), Nigerian senior officers of the civil service

⁹⁵ Minute to Chief Secretary to the Government from Financial Secretary, January 17, 1947, NAI, CSO 26/46820/S.1.

⁹⁶ Public Announcement, n.d. [February 1947], NAI, CSO 26/46820/S.1.

⁹⁷ "The Excuses of Harragin for Refusing Africans Marriage Allowance," *West African Pilot*, December 11, 1946.

⁹⁸ "Hell Is Let Loose: Tear Gas and Water Hose Are Used to Disperse 500 Loco Workers," *West African Pilot*, March 13, 1947; "Railway Men Are Hopeful after a Long Meeting with Officials over Harragin," *West African Pilot*, March 15, 1947. Emejulu wrote that 3,000 railwaymen and other workers were involved; *Brief History*, 71–74.

became eligible for children's allowances comparable to those paid to expatriates.⁹⁹ Three years later, the government again considered family allowances as part of a wider investigation into possible schemes of social insurance for Nigeria's major cities. The minister of social services, inspector-general of medical services, commissioner of labor, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Health, and the director of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research (WISER) collectively determined that old age pensions and widow's benefits were unnecessary because African extended families took care of their elderly; unemployment insurance was not relevant because of seasonal and migrant labor; maternity benefits might be considered at some future time; and family allowances would favor the "registrable few," promote inflation, and be too expensive. WISER's Professor W. Hamilton Whyte "generally considered it dangerous to attempt to impose social services as organized in a fully developed community like Britain upon a country such as Nigeria which is still in a relatively early stage of development."¹⁰⁰ Again, African social structures provided the rationale for the status quo. Other observers noted that in cases where wage earners were married to market traders, "it often happens that the wife makes enough profit to support herself and the children, if any, and even her husband when he is unemployed"; and "[w]ith polygamy and large families, the cost of introducing a [universal] scheme of family allowances in this country would be prohibitive."¹⁰¹

Still, in 1954, the All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation included children's allowances in their grievances to the L. H. Gorsuch Commission on conditions in the civil service. A memorandum submitted by the Railway Workers Union characterized payment only to senior officials as "not only invidious but sinful in the sight of God and man . . . All children are born equal and entitled to equal share of the wealth of the country."¹⁰² The commission's report, which revised the Harragin report in arguing that wages for expatriate and African civil servants should both be based on local conditions, did contain some recognition of family obligations. It mentioned the usual criticisms of African kinship but added that family demands for support were not unique to Africa: "[A]s happens elsewhere in the world also, a member of a rapidly developing society who becomes endowed with what appears to be a handsome cash income is quickly confronted with the demands or expectations of his kin." Unlike the Harragin report, which argued that such obligations were irrelevant to government calculations, the Gorsuch report, written nearly a decade later, stressed the importance of understanding labor in its social context. Family demands "may be expected to lessen as the general level of

⁹⁹ General Manager's Staff Circular No. 11/50, December 6, 1950, Nigerian Railway Corporation file (hereafter, NRC), GMS 335 vol. 1, located in the NRC Headquarters, Ebute Metta, Lagos.

¹⁰⁰ C. J. Mabey, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, to Civil Secretaries of Northern and Eastern Regions and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Public Health, Ibadan, November 16, 1953, Public Record Office, London (hereafter, PRO), CO 554/1340.

¹⁰¹ Nigeria, *Annual Report of the Labour Office, Ibadan, 1951-52*, 5, in NAI, Oyo Province, 1/1589/1; minute from S. L. A. Manuwa, Inspector-General of Medical Services, to Secretary of State, July 20, 1953, PRO, CO 888/10.

¹⁰² Memorandum submitted by the Railway Workers Union to Gorsuch Commission, November 1, 1954, NRC, GMS 337/8. Also see "Union Urges Pay Increase for Juniors," *Daily Times* (Lagos), November 1, 1954.

living rises, but at present it is a factor that must be recognized, though there are obviously limits to the extent to which it can be taken into account.”¹⁰³

By the time the Gorsuch Commission met, family allowances had been overshadowed, at least in the Colonial Office, by family wages. Prompted by agitation throughout the African colonies, including the 1945 strike in Nigeria, British officials by the mid-1950s were rethinking their plans for African labor. Earlier, they had argued that family structures made African workers ineligible for family wages or allowances, but now they believed that the only way to make Africans modern was to change entire families. Family wages were a means to help create the type of domestic units officials thought African workers should have. At the Inter-African Labor Conference in 1950 and 1953, French representatives had drawn attention to the idea of family allowances as part of their moves to stabilize wage labor in French Africa. Although the British colonial establishment was also in favor of tying workers more firmly to their jobs, there was still no interest in applying family allowances to British colonies, both because of the peculiarity of African families and because of a general preference for collective bargaining rather than government wage fixing. The latter, it was argued, would provide incentives for political demonstrations in efforts to increase wages. Nevertheless, in a series of meetings of the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee in 1953, British officials affirmed the importance of family wages in the creation of a stable and controllable labor force, and they suggested that although wages should be related to productivity and based on collective bargaining, they should take reasonable account of responsibilities in a general way. In 1954, a circular dispatch informed African governors of the committee's report and asked for relevant information from their colonies. Nigeria's reply asserted that wage fixing, effected mainly through government commissions, included attention to workers' families. "The bachelor wage is unknown in Nigeria," it concluded.¹⁰⁴

NIGERIA'S RESOLUTION of the family allowances/family wages issue, in hindsight, looks rather similar to Britain's. In both metropole and colony, the state was unwilling to interfere, at least overtly, in the labor market; and a relatively strong trade union movement did not find it useful to insist on family allowances. In Britain, this was for fear that such payments would facilitate a lower basic wage rate; in Nigeria, by the early 1950s, pay increases for government workers came in the form of cost of living adjustments, and the Harragin Commission had made it clear that metropolitan-style supplements would not be forthcoming. In French West Africa, by contrast, family allowances were granted to civil servants after the 1946 Dakar general strike and to all wage earners in 1956.¹⁰⁵ The difference likely has to do with the nature of British colonialism in Africa. In the absence of official

¹⁰³ L. H. Gorsuch (chair), *Report of the Commission on the Public Services of the Governments in the Federation of Nigeria, 1954–55* (Lagos, 1955), 41. Also see Cooper, *Decolonization*, 448.

¹⁰⁴ Colonial Labour Advisory Committee, Report of the Sub-Committee on Wage Fixing and Family Responsibilities, PRO, CO 859/810; Cooper, *Decolonization*, 331–33; Lindsay, "Putting the Family on Track," 160–66.

¹⁰⁵ Frederick Cooper, "From Free Labor to Family Allowances: Labor and African Society in Colonial Discourse," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 745–65; "The Senegalese General Strike of 1946

rhetoric stressing the unity of metropole and colony and a centralized political structure for all of British West Africa—as in the French case—there were few grounds for arguing that African workers should get exactly what those in Britain did. Particular unions could confront specific issues, but there was little possibility of organizing on a West Africa-wide basis for universalistic, British-centered claims as Francophone trade unionists were able to do. Furthermore, family allowances were much more central to French domestic policy than breadwinner wages were to the British.¹⁰⁶

Nonetheless, one should not assume that similar wage policies represented an automatic transfer of metropolitan ideas about labor reproduction to the colonies. As in French West Africa, Nigeria's trade unions and their allies fought pitched battles over the cost of living, which explicitly included the support of workers' families. Although family allowances were not granted to most Nigerian employees, the government's promotion of family wages represented a political victory. Furthermore, unlike in Britain, working men in Nigeria never directly opposed women's paid work as part of their own claims to breadwinner status. Whether in attempts to keep wages high by preventing the employment of lower-paid female workers, or to defend a putative masculine identity based on certain types of work and income earning, male trade unionists in many British industries pursued exclusionary policies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁷ In Nigeria, the sexual division of labor ran so deep that women never posed a serious threat to men's wage jobs. Nevertheless, women did (and do) earn significant incomes, giving the lie to many men's claims of supporting their households. Nigerian men agitated for family allowances and family wages in spite of their continued acceptance of, and reliance on, women's economic contributions.

Yet British exclusionary labor policies had parallels in colonial Nigeria. The market traders' support for working men contributed to the ultimate success of the strike and reveals the crucial participation of women in the local networks between power brokers that helped to shape Lagos politics. But, at the same time, working men mobilized around images of male breadwinners and a distinctly masculine working class.¹⁰⁸ Colonial officials, in a similar move, often placed the blame for their own inability to control urban life on market traders, helping to position such women and their organizations as outside the reach of state power and thus a brake on the "progress" brought by colonial and postcolonial development efforts.¹⁰⁹ The

and the Labor Question in Post-War French Africa," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 24 (1990): 165–215; and *Decolonization*, chaps. 6–7.

¹⁰⁶ Cooper, *Decolonization*, chap. 8; Pedersen, *Family, Dependence*.

¹⁰⁷ For instance, Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*; Seccombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized"; Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

¹⁰⁸ For parallels among British textile workers in the 1830s, see Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, chap. 11.

¹⁰⁹ For example, the commissioner of the colony's 1946 slum clearance recommendations alleged that "much of the dirt and mess in the township is due to the women." T. Hoskyns-Abrahall, "Recommendations for the Planning and Development of Lagos," May 1946 (NAI, CÉ/H9). For similar outlooks in postcolonial Ghana, see Claire Robertson, "The Death of Makola and Other Tragedies," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 17 (1983): 469–95; and Gracia Clark, *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women* (Chicago, 1994).

government's embrace of "family wages" represented a compromise with trade unionists over social reproduction and helped to legitimize men as the subjects of labor relations. Women's relative marginalization from politics and union activism in later years, and the diminishing importance of their economic contributions to workers' households, builds on this history.¹¹⁰

The 1945 strike reveals the gendered nature of colonial discrimination, and opposition to it, in Africa. Scholars have paid much more attention to the former than to the latter. Cooper's monumental study of African labor and decolonization shows that colonial officials envisioned "industrial man" as decidedly male, but the ways in which Africans drew on gender images as part of their political strategies is largely beyond the scope of his work.¹¹¹ The same may be said of Mahmood Mamdani's ungendered African "citizens and subjects."¹¹² Mamdani argues that the colonial state in Africa was a bifurcated one, presenting to African nationalists the linked challenges of overthrowing racial discrimination in the cities and the structures of indirect rule in rural areas. "Subjects" struggled to become "citizens," members of civil polities governed through universally applicable laws. The Nigerian general strike represents one type of urban movement described by both Cooper and Mamdani, but it suggests in addition the importance of gender to the cultural construction of citizenship, by colonizers and the colonized alike.

In Nigeria, as in the rest of the continent, the question of applying universalistic principles to colonial workers was related to what kind of men they were and what kind of households they should live in. The debate about family allowances, which so much centered on racial equality and the recognition of workers' dignity, was articulated in terms of domestic life, especially fatherhood. Trade unionists gambled that the demand for family allowances would fall on sympathetic colonial ears because it entailed men asking men to support supposedly common ideas of gender and domesticity. The sticking point—in addition to a tight-fisted administration—was that all sides recognized this particular notion of masculinity as much more tenuous in West Africa than in most of postwar Europe.¹¹³ Colonizers used local gender relations and household structures as justifications for racial discrimination in wage setting. At the same time, working men claimed political rights in gendered terms. Wage increases and other allowances were said to be necessary in order for workers to "live a decent life."¹¹⁴ What did such a life entail? According to the Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers,

As an essential part of the economic life of this country, every workman must be given a minimum just wage. This should be such as to enable him to buy proper food, to keep

¹¹⁰ See Mba, *Nigerian Women*, 234–89.

¹¹¹ Cooper, *Decolonization*. But compare Timothy Scarnecchia, "The Politics of Gender and Class in the Creation of African Communities, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1940–56" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993).

¹¹² Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

¹¹³ Of course, it was often contentious in Europe, too. Jane Mark-Lawson and Anne Witz, "From 'Family Labour' to 'Family Wage'? The Case of Women's Labour in Nineteenth-Century Coalmining," *Social History* 13 (1988): 151–74; Pedersen, *Family, Dependence*; and Susan Pedersen, "The Failure of Feminism in the Making of the British Welfare State," *Radical History Review* 43 (1989): 86–110; Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*; John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179–202.

¹¹⁴ "All We Ask for Is Fairplay!" *West African Pilot*, November 28, 1945.

himself and family in good physical health, to live in decent healthy homes . . . Education must be provided for the children . . . Added to this the workman's wages should allow him to enjoy lawful recreations and a few of the luxuries of life regarded as necessary in particular places. Old age must be provided for, so the workman's remuneration must guarantee that, if he is thrifty, he is in a position to lay aside a little for the time when he can no longer work.¹¹⁵

In other words, wages should allow men to build respectable households in which they provide for their children and maintain themselves (rather than perpetuate patterns of extended family support) in retirement. The ultimate reward for wage increases would be stable, respectable family life ostensibly geared to the social vision of colonial planners.

Alternatively, denying working men such wage increases—and thus the ability to create such households—fueled charges of racial discrimination. The refusal of officials to pay African men benefits commensurate with those of Europeans amounted to a disparagement of both their race and their claims to respectable working-class masculinity. An editorial in the *Daily Service*, the newspaper of the radical Nigerian Youth Movement, cogently summed up this connection: “Until men are *treated as men and paid as men* on the basis of the services they render irrespective of their race and colour, no Nigerian would be stupid enough to regard himself sincerely as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.”¹¹⁶ This was the crux of Britain's dilemma in the immediate postwar period, when its economic need for African colonies forced it to pursue “development” and political liberalization. To what extent should the new policies bring Africa in line with British institutions and mores? The conflicts and debates surrounding the 1945 Nigerian general strike show that tensions between universalizing impulses and African particularities, key to postwar colonial politics, rested in large part on gender and family life—for both colonial officials and African workers. In spite of the active participation of Nigerian women in politics and the economy, the male breadwinner ideal came to stand for respectability and rights, in the colony as in the metropole.

¹¹⁵ Appendix II, Memorandum of the Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers, in Tudor Davies, *Enquiry into the Cost of Living*, 61.

¹¹⁶ “Justice Ends Where Colour Begins,” *Daily Service*, June 27, 1945, quoted in Nnamdi Azikiwe, “Inside Stuff: History of the General Strike (50),” *West African Pilot*, November 17, 1945, emphasis added.

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AHR Forum Essay
Borders and Borderlands

*Frontiers, borders, and empires provoked bitter conflicts in the past; they continue to do so in the present. They have also produced contentious debates among historians, and they continue to do so. This AHR Forum Essay addresses these important issues by seeking to provoke a debate about the meaning of borders and borderlands. **Jeffrey Adelman** and **Stephen Aron** resurrect longstanding debates about European empires in North America and link them to recent arguments about the experience of indigenous and colonizing people in contested areas between colonial domains. In a thoughtful synthesis, they insist that we recognize the significance of power relations where empires met and the way those relations were altered as empires became nations. Equally important, Adelman and Aron suggest that this form of analysis can also be used to understand imperial rivalries and intercultural relations in other times and places. They invite responses to their argument from those who assess its implications for our understanding of the North American past as well as those who analyze its meanings for the histories of other areas and other times.*

And so do we. This Forum is the second installment of a new format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will select three or four of the most compelling and instructive responses and publish them along with a rejoinder from Adelman and Aron in the October 1999 issue. We ask those who would like to comment on the essay to send responses of 1,000–1,500 words to the American Historical Review, 914 Atwater Ave., Bloomington IN 47401. All comments should be double-spaced and clearly identify the author. And to be considered for publication, the responses must be received by August 30, 1999. We will, though, forward copies of all responses that we receive to the essay's authors. Questions about the Forum can sent to the same address or to our e-mail address: ahr@indiana.edu.

Forum Essay

From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History

JEREMY ADELMAN and STEPHEN ARON

THE LAST DECADE HAS WITNESSED a sharp debate about the significance of the “frontier” in North American history. Among some self-proclaimed “new western historians,” the word that Frederick Jackson Turner made synonymous with the study of American expansion has become a shibboleth, denoting a triumphalist and Anglocentric narrative of continental conquest. Even his defenders acknowledge the imperialist suppositions of Turner’s thesis, yet some historians continue to assert the significance of a recast frontier. Reconstructed as a zone of intercultural penetration, the frontier has gained a new historiographic lease on life.¹

In many ways, this reformulation revives the notion of “borderlands” that was closely associated with Turner’s protégé, Herbert Eugene Bolton. For Bolton, a historian of New Spain’s northern territories, Turner’s east-to-west model of American development shortchanged the divergent sources of European expansion. More so than Turner’s Anglo-American frontier in which pioneer progress

We are grateful to many friends and colleagues who have commented on this essay. Previous versions were delivered at Princeton University, the University of California at Los Angeles, Claremont Graduate School, University of California Inter-American History Seminar, the meetings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, and the American Studies Association. We thank David Arnold, Michael Jiménez, Robert Johnston, John Mack Faragher, William Jordan, Tom Mertes, John Murrin, David Myers, Sam Truett, the participants at the “Business of Borderlands” conference sponsored by the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, and the anonymous readers of the *AHR* for their suggestions. Patricia Nelson Limerick generously commented on two versions of this essay. Although we have stubbornly clung to our own interpretation, her pointed criticism forced us to refine and clarify our disagreements with her.

¹ Among “new western historians,” none has been as vigorous a critic of the frontier construct as Patricia Nelson Limerick. See *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987), 17–32; “What on Earth Is the New Western History,” in Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, eds., *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kan., 1991), 81–88; and “The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century,” in James R. Grossman, ed., *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 66–102. For attempts to reconstruct (and rescue) the significance of the frontier, see Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson, “Comparative Frontier History,” in Lamar and Thompson, eds., *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 3–13; William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, “Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History,” in Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past* (New York, 1992), 3–27; Stephen Aron, “Lessons in Conquest: Towards a New Western History,” *Pacific Historical Review* 63 (May 1994): 125–47; John Mack Faragher, “Afterword: The Significance of the Frontier in American Historiography,” in Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays* (New York, 1994), 237–41; Kerwin Lee Klein, “Reclaiming the ‘F’ Word, Or Being and Becoming Postwestern,” *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (May 1996): 179–215.

necessarily entailed Indian retreat, Bolton's concept of the Spanish borderlands appreciated the extended cohabitation between natives and newcomers that prevailed on the perimeters of European colonial empires. Picking up on this insight, recent historians have substituted "borderland" for all of North America's "frontiers" and, in doing so, have enriched our understanding of the complexity and contingency of intercultural relations. Instead of straightforward conquests, the history of North American borderland-frontiers has been rewritten to emphasize the accommodations between invaders and indigenes and the hybrid residuals of these encounters.²

Yet the recent alignment of frontiers as borderlands has often buried an aspect of Bolton's story. For Bolton, northern New Spain was a different kind of frontier because it highlighted the friction between two Old World powers in the New: Spain and England. Too often, students of borderlands neglect the power politics of territorial hegemony. They overlook the essentially competitive nature of European imperialism and the ways in which these rivalries shaped transitions from colonies to nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Absent the inter-imperial dimension of borderlands, the cross-cultural relations that defined frontiers take on a too simple face: "Europe" blurs into a single element, and "Indians" merge into a common front.

Moreover, by stressing the persistence of cross-cultural mixing, social fluidity, and the creation of syncretic formations, new work on borderlands-frontiers has downplayed profound changes in favor of continuity. In such work, a timeless legacy of cultural continuity shrouds the rise and fall of empires, the struggles between emerging independent nation-states, and the fate of increasingly dependent indigenous and métis/mestizo peoples. By contrast, Turner's frontier—warts and all—took into account the underlying transformations. Problematic as efforts to isolate apertures and closures have been, Turner's frontier concept at least insisted on temporal boundaries.³

In this essay, we seek to disentangle frontiers from borderlands to rescue the virtues of each construct. By frontier, we understand a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined. Consistent with

² For assessments of Bolton's work and influence, see David J. Weber, "Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands," *AHR* 91 (February 1986): 66–81; Albert L. Hurtado, "Parkmanizing the Spanish Borderlands: Bolton, Turner, and the Historians' World," *Western Historical Quarterly* 26 (Summer 1995): 149–67; Hurtado, "Herbert E. Bolton, Racism, and American History," *Pacific Historical Review* 62 (May 1993): 127–42; Donald E. Worcester, "Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Making of a Western Historian," in Richard W. Etulain, ed., *Writing Western History: Essays on Major Western Historians* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1991), 193–214. For excellent syntheses of this new approach to American frontier history, see Gregory H. Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest* (New York, 1997); Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore, Md., 1997).

³ The rejection of openings and closings in favor of an emphasis on continuity is the thesis of Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*. For a literary turn in the same vein, see José David Saldívar, *The Dialectics of Our America: Genealogy, Cultural Critique and Literary History* (Durham, N.C., 1991), esp. chap. 3; and Saldívar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 17–35. It is a somewhat ironic twist that the mosaic of hybrid peoples became homogenized into an imagined collective identity as "Hispanic"—thanks in large part to the blanket racism and discrimination of U.S. nativism. See Suzanne Oberler, "'So Far from God, So Close to the United States': The Roots of Hispanic Homogenization," in Mary Romero, et al., eds., *Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the U.S.* (New York, 1997), 31–54.

recent studies of frontiers as *borderless* lands, we stress how intercultural relations produced mixing and accommodation as opposed to unambiguous triumph. Yet Bolton's original accent on the region as a site of imperial rivalry is no less important. Accordingly, we reserve the designation of borderlands for the contested boundaries between colonial domains. In a pairing of the intercolonial and intercultural dimensions, differences of European rationales and styles come to the fore, as do shifts in those rationales and styles. Equally important to the history of borderlands and frontiers were the ways in which Indians exploited these differences and compelled these shifts, partly to resist submission but mainly to negotiate intercultural relations on terms more to their liking. In this fashion, borderlands and frontiers together provide us with the vocabulary to describe the variegated nature of European imperialism and of indigenous reactions to colonial encroachments. This essay, in short, argues that the conflicts over borderlands shaped the peculiar and contingent character of frontier relations.

Nor, we insist, was this a timeless process across what Patricia Nelson Limerick has provocatively, if misleadingly, categorized as an "unbroken past." Like Turner's opening and closing frontier, borderlands also signifies an era with discrete turning points. Across the Atlantic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Old World empires imploded, yielding to new political configurations. In North America, as these dynasties ceded to nation-states, a new liberal cant came to govern international affairs. By no means was this a frictionless transition. Well into the nineteenth century, bellicose citizens of the United States coveted the lands of their neighbors—as Upper Canadians learned during the War of 1812 and northern Mexicans painfully discovered in the 1830s and especially in the 1840s. By the century's end, however, treaties recognized borders. The lexicon of mutual respect for boundaries inscribed in treaties crept into international diplomacy. What is more, with few exceptions, competition in trade and not territorial dominion was, by the end of the nineteenth century, the guiding framework of power politics. This shift from inter-imperial struggle to international coexistence turned borderlands into *bordered* lands. To the peoples for whom contested borderlands afforded room to maneuver and preserve some element of autonomy, this transition narrowed the scope for political independence. With states claiming exclusive dominions over all territories within their borders, Indians lost the ability to play off rivalries; they could no longer take advantage of occupying the lands "in between." Thus, as colonial borderlands gave way to national borders, fluid and "inclusive" intercultural frontiers yielded to hardened and more "exclusive" hierarchies.⁴

We hope that reformulating the borderlands concept along these lines offers a framework for a more comparative and common "American" history—a call that Bolton once issued in the pages of the *American Historical Review*. In the spirit of Bolton's "Epic of Greater America," this essay explores the transition from borderlands to borders in three North American theaters: the Great Lakes, the

⁴ The idea that Indians successfully "played off" European rivals to shape the terms of trade and the protocols of intercultural diplomacy is borrowed from Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, Neb., 1983), 34–68. For a discussion of "inclusive" versus "exclusive" frontiers, see Marvin Mikesell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50 (March 1960): 62–74.

Lower Missouri Valley, and the Greater Rio Grande Basin. In the eighteenth century, each of these frontier regions was the site of intense imperial rivalry and of particularly fluid relations between indigenous peoples and European interlopers—in other words, these were borderlands. But, by the early nineteenth century, as empires were succeeded by incipient nation-states and imperial rivalries faded in North America, ethnic and social relations rigidified. From a borderland world in which ethnic mixing prevailed and in which still independent Indian and mestizo/métis peoples negotiated favorable terms of trade with competing colonial regimes, border fixing opened a new chapter in North American history in which property rights, citizenship, and population movements became the purview of state authorities.⁵

By no means were the Great Lakes, the Missouri Valley, and the Rio Grande the only American borderlands. Florida, Central America, the River Plate, and northeastern Brazil could almost as easily have been included in our pantheon of case studies. In these regions also, empires competed for control, and indigenous peoples played imperial rivals off against one another. Still, our collaboration on a world history text suggests that the opportunities imperial rivalry presented to Indian peoples in the Great Lakes, the Missouri Valley, and the Rio Grande were not readily replicated around the globe. For reasons that lie beyond the scope of this essay, but on which we invite discussion in the subsequent forum, peoples in between were not always able to negotiate favorable terms of trade or create inclusive frontiers, as they did in certain American borderlands. Here, we limit our inquiry to the Great Lakes, the Missouri Valley, and the Rio Grande, because these borderlands overlapped temporally. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the French, British, and Spanish empires lock into a bitter struggle for supremacy in North America at more or less the same time. More important, the fates of the borderlands were linked together. Over the long run, as this essay details, European and indigenous fortunes in one area shaped—if not dictated—outcomes in the other North American borderlands.⁶

⁵ In "Epic of Greater America," Bolton urged historians to adopt a synthetic and less provincial view that explored the commonalities of hemispheric history. Yet in drawing attention to the shared aspects of "New World" history, Bolton clung to a uniform interpretation of the frontier. See Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *AHR* 38 (April 1933): 448–74; Lewis Hanke, ed., *Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory* (New York, 1964). For other comparative proposals, see Jay Gitlin, "On the Boundaries of Empire: Connecting the West to Its Imperial Past," and John Mack Faragher, "Americans, Mexicans, Métis: A Community Approach to the Comparative Study of North American Frontiers," in Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, *Under an Open Sky*, 71–109. On Canadian and Latin American frontiers in comparative perspective, see David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, eds., *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, Del., 1994); Alistair Hennessy, *The Frontier in Latin American History* (London, 1978); Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, Conn., 1930); W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534–1760* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," in Carl Berger, ed., *Approaches to Canadian History* (Toronto, 1967), 63–83; and Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto, 1988).

⁶ On the Florida-Georgia borderlands, see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1982); on Central America, see Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socio-Economic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973); on northeastern Brazil, see John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of Brazilian Indians, 1500–1760* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); and on the River Plate, see Alberto Armani, *Ciudad de Dios y Ciudad del Sol: El "Estado" jesuita de los guaraníes, 1609–1768* (Mexico City, 1982). See also Roger Tignor, et al., *An Introduction to World History, 1300 to the Present* (New York, forthcoming).

WE BEGIN IN THE GREAT LAKES, where imperial rivalries allowed the greatest degree of Indian autonomy and where the bordered future first dawned. The Great Lakes region that now forms the boundary between the United States and Canada, what the French called the *pays d'en haut*, was contested territory before there was a United States, Canada, or even a New France. It was, however, Europeans' drive for the North American peltry that turned these woodlands into borderlands. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the fur trade molded the pattern of imperial competition and indigenous responses from one end of the Great Lakes to the other. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the focus of British-French rivalry had shifted to this region straddling the Great Lakes. Taking advantage of European dependence on Indian allies and traders, indigenes shaped the parameters of intercultural trade and military engagement. But, during the second half of the eighteenth century, the equation changed. If warfare brought these borderlands into existence, it also undid them: a series of wars—the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812—shattered the balance of forces and transformed the Great Lakes borderlands into a boundary between emerging nation-states. In the process, Indians lost first their power to determine the terms of exchange and, subsequently, were stripped of most of their lands.

Big changes, it should be emphasized, were already afoot in the century prior to "contact." In the fifteenth century, the League of the Iroquois emerged among the previously conflict-ridden villagers of western New York. As Matthew Dennis has argued, the league aspired to "cultivate a landscape of peace." Among the peoples of the Iroquois' symbolically extended long house, violence diminished. Outside the confederacy, however, bellicose ways still prevailed.⁷

European colonialism exacerbated existing enmities by altering the means and ends of intra-Indian conflicts. Across the breadth of the Great Lakes country, European microbes triggered epidemics in places where Europeans were barely known. In and around Iroquoia, populations declined by 50 percent. As in precolonial times, replenishing numbers by taking and then adopting captives remained a chief rationale for warfare. But the pressures were much greater than before, and, with Dutch-supplied firearms, the Iroquois had new means to wage combat. More important, they had new ends: where precolonial ways of war venerated symbolic demonstrations of courage while limiting actual bloodshed, seventeenth-century Iroquois raids aimed at gaining control of fur-bearing and fur-trading territories. A series of forays against Huron towns and later against Ohio and Illinois villages caused the disappearance of some peoples and the dislocation of others. Refugees scattered south, east, and especially west, regrouping in multi-ethnic communities around Lake Michigan and Lake Superior.⁸

The fur trade grafted onto as much as it transformed the divisions between Great

⁷ Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman, Okla., 1987), 13–28; Gordon G. Whitney, *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North America, 1500 to the Present* (New York, 1994), 39–120; Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 76–115; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 8–49.

⁸ Daniel Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 60 (October 1983): 528–59; Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians* (Lanham, Md., 1991); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians,*

Lakes Indians. That many of them were already engaged in the trade made it easier for Europeans to adapt to an existing material culture and tap into precolonial rivalries. Indian producers, however, had other ideas, and here, more than any other North American frontier, symbiotic exchange shaped the patterns of Indian-European relations.⁹

Traders led the French advance into the Great Lakes hinterland, followed by missionaries. From a base in the St. Lawrence, French traders fanned out into the interior, adopting aboriginal technologies for communication and transportation. During the seventeenth century, traders on both sides of the ethnic divide became skilled negotiators over the price and political significance of the exchange. Thus this intercultural trade quickly evolved into political allegiances, bringing Algonquian and Huron peoples, whose commercial links stretched as far as the upper Great Lakes, into alliance with the French.¹⁰

French penetration and the advantage given to Indian groups north of the Great Lakes brought French allies into conflict with Iroquois to the south—who themselves were engaged in analogous relations first with the Dutch and later English through the Hudson River waterway. This rivalry over the Great Lakes would prove devastating, especially to Huronia, and set the tone for a persistent competition for the gateway to northern North America.¹¹

By the mid-seventeenth century, the rivalry began to congeal. As beaver stocks were depleted, Iroquois-Huron competition mounted, culminating in the destruction of Huronia in the 1640s. Coupled with the defection of the fur-trading firm of Groseillers and Raddison to the English and the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, French traders rushed to reconstruct exchange networks, to rebuild the Huron intermediating roles, and to defend against other European traders. The pattern of diplomatic-commercial relations did not radically change with the evisceration of Huronia, but the mere coexistence that typified the French-Huron alliance yielded to more intimate bonds. In accord with Indian customs, nuptial alliances and *métissage* became the metaphor for political entente. Moreover, purely commercial calculations were subordinated to the mandates of intercultural diplomacy. So long as Indians were in the position to demand gifts as

Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815 (New York, 1991); Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York, 1994), 110–30.

⁹ Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston, Ont., 1986), 161, 183. Although he would later turn his back on this insight, Turner himself noted the importance of pre-Columbian aboriginal circulation: "It was on the foundation, therefore, of an extensive inter-tribal trade that the white man built up the forest of commerce." Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution* [1891], David Harry Miller and William W. Savage, Jr., eds. (Norman, Okla., 1977), 9.

¹⁰ H. A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. edn. (Toronto, 1970), chaps. 2–3; Eccles, *Canadian Frontier*, 130–47; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, chap. 4; and for descriptions of missions, especially between and among French and Algonquians and Hurons, see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, 1985), 23–127; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 84–139.

¹¹ Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 75–254; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York, 1984); Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1987).

the price of alliance, the administrators of the French Empire had little choice but to sacrifice profits to presents.¹²

Global imperial struggles heightened these political imperatives. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), the French moved to hem the English in along the Atlantic seaboard. Doing so required a more extensive presence in the interior, and the fur trade gained additional geo-political significance. The French deepened the central practice forged in the Huronia days—to combine indissolubly economic exchange relations with a network of political alliances.

From the Algonquians' vantage point, the alliances constructed on trade and diplomacy offered greater security and improved material conditions. For those Great Lakes peoples who aligned themselves with the French "father," French protection and firearms deterred Indian enemies, including the Fox of the Illinois country, as well as the Sioux to the west. The flow of trade goods contributed to Indian well-being, even as they altered household and village relations. Clothing, sewing implements, and hunting supplies inducted Indian women into trade and made many traders' wives pivotal brokers of intercultural exchanges.¹³

Competition from the Hudson's Bay Company in the north and Anglo-American traders to the south fueled the drive to consolidate the sprawling *postes du nord*. By the 1730s and 1740s, permanent posts were built as far as the Lower Saskatchewan River, checking the encroachment of the Hudson's Bay Company. These posts—with hubs at the present-day Straits of Mackinac and Detroit, Michigan—served as nodal points for formalized commercial-diplomatic relations. The French never proclaimed territorial sovereignty, merely the right of passage to posts, thus enabling Indians to shape considerably the terms of exchange. For the French, preserving the fealty of Indian allies involved greater attention to reciprocity and rising investments in "gifting." Herein flourished the political economy of what Richard White has called "the middle ground."¹⁴

However, this tenuous common world forged by French men and Algonquian men and women—replete with ethnic mixing, syncretism, and cohabitation—rested on the contingencies of imperial rivalry. And these contingencies in turn depended on underlying shifts in metropolitan power balances. The growing population of the British colonies and English traders' increased presence in the traditional bailiwicks of New France destabilized the inclusive foundations of French-Algonquian relations. For the four decades after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), New England and New France lived in tense, competitive peace, interrupted by an inconclusive war in 1744, and ultimately brought to a close by the events of 1759, with the fall

¹² On "fur trade domesticity" and the role of women in creating trade alliances, see Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver, 1980); Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": *Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg, 1980).

¹³ Dean L. Anderson, "The Flow of European Trade Goods into the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715–1760," in Jennifer S. H. Brown, et al., eds., *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference* (East Lansing, Mich., 1994), 93–115; see also Arthur J. Ray, "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century," in Carol Judd and Arthur J. Ray, eds., *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto, 1980), 255–71, for the Hudson's Bay trade; Thomas Wien, "Exchange Patterns in the European Market for North American Furs and Skins, 1720–1760," in Brown, *Fur Trade Revisited*, 19–37; R. David Edmunds and Joseph L. Peyser, *The Fox Wars: The Mesquakie Challenge to New France* (Norman, Okla., 1993).

¹⁴ White, *Middle Ground*.

of Quebec and Niagara. Ironically, France was winning the battle for control of the fur trade; Albany could not meet the Montreal challenge so long as the French were prepared to forsake profits in favor of presents. Gift giving and alliances had their costs: so long as the peltry trade dominated the economic concerns of merchant capitalists in Montreal and policy makers in France, population growth through arable agricultural settlement was at best a secondary goal. For the French, continental sprawl did not translate into large-scale permanent settlement of the frontier or a particular interest in the commodification of Indians' primary resource: subsistence lands.¹⁵

British encroachment and French defensiveness presented Indians in between with possibilities—and perils. Many Indians favored English goods and drove harder and more expensive bargains with their French allies. Nor were the military bonds quite as solid as the French hoped; Indians were content to refer to the French as “fathers” to reinforce French obligations, but this did not imply deference to ethnic hierarchies. Among the Miami of the Wabash River, who had long ties with the French, splits emerged by the middle of the eighteenth century. Neighboring peoples also shifted between Anglo and Franco-orientations. For a moment, power balances preserved the patina of Indian autonomy and seemingly strengthened their bargaining position.¹⁶

Warfare jeopardized this borderland balance. Once its strength, French reliance on Indian allies became a debility. The thin reach of the French in North America made its hinterland the weak point of empire, and it was here—not in Europe—that the British chose to strike its decisive blows in the Seven Years' War (1756–63). Hemmed in, the British began changing borderland rules. Intercultural diplomacy gave way to a spirit of outright conquest. Territorial colonization replaced exchange. To be sure, at the very edges of their domain, especially in the Ohio Valley, the British partially respected borderland ways. Only with the French gone and imperial rivalry eclipsed did the British, with Jeffrey Amherst as commander-in-chief and governor-general leading the way, attempt to impose unilateral commercial rules. Thus, in North America, the British sphere became the first to host the transition from borderland to frontier colonies.¹⁷

This was the first chapter in the waning of these borderlands. If Amherst aimed to accelerate the obliteration of borderland ways to emphasize the unrivaled presence of the British, his plans inspired a series of loosely coordinated uprisings among the Indians of the Great Lakes country from 1763 to 1764. Here, the British saw the lurking French hand. Indeed, the Indians fought to restore, if not the

¹⁵ Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, chap. 5; W. J. Eccles, “The Fur Trade and 18th Century Imperialism,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 40 (July 1983): 341–62; White, *Middle Ground*, 94–185; Harold A. Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, 1956), 141–45.

¹⁶ Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York, 1997), 3–45; Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), 1–25; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln, Neb., 1992), 89–112; Steele, *Warpaths*, 179–96; White, *Middle Ground*, 186–222; Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988).

¹⁷ Steele, *Warpaths*, 179–247; White, *Middle Ground*, 223–365; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 23–46; Jack M. Sosin, *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760–1775* (Lincoln, Neb., 1961).

French presence, then the borderland legacy. In the wake of the Indian revolt, the British recoiled from ushering in a phase of full-throated, unmediated frontier dominion.¹⁸

The next phase in the demise came with the American Revolution. Like the British after the Seven Years' War, American authorities picked up on Amherst's aborted designs. They, too, attempted to dictate the terms of intercourse. Furthermore, the national independence of the American republic removed the restraining influence that British policy had attempted to exert on the expansion of colonial settlement. In the wake of the revolution, swarms of westering settlers pursuing personal independence through private land ownership poured into the Ohio Valley. As never before, the lands of Great Lakes Indians became the targets for European occupation. This was a decisive moment in the shift from borderlands to bordered lands.¹⁹

But the borderland era was not over yet. What gave it new life was the short-lived rivalry between the American republic and the holdover British domain in Canada. Effectively, once the British were left with nothing but the old French terrain by 1783, they began acting increasingly as their old foe had. When overhunting depleted the supply of animals in the Great Lakes, trade ceased to be the locus of British-Indian relations. What bound Great Lakes Indians to the British was less mutual material gain than political survival. Once again, the diplomatic component of Indian-European relations on the north side of the border should not be diminished. British North Americans found in "Indian resistance" a decisive military resource with which to thwart republican ambitions to annex Upper Canada.²⁰

The Indians, in turn, found in the British offer of alliances cause for confidence in their struggle to retain control over their livelihood and land against an expansionist settlement drive further south. Between French withdrawal and the War of 1812, Great Lakes Indians followed a variety of strategies to thwart further American occupation of their countries and to force British partners back to the terms of exchange that had prevailed in the French era. At least until the French Revolution, Great Lakes Indians won significant British compliance. Into the early 1790s, a multi-ethnic Indian confederacy more than held its own against a confederation of American states that seemed anything but united.²¹

The late eighteenth century, though, was the twilight for the Great Lakes borderland. The old peltry grounds south of the lakes became the negotiating chips between British and American authorities. Britain in 1783, like France in 1763, chose to make peace with its political rival by abandoning its Indian allies in the

¹⁸ White, *Middle Ground*, 269–314; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (New York, 1972), 75–103; McConnell, *Country Between*, 159–206.

¹⁹ Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 65–89; Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore, Md., 1996), 29–57; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), 129–81; Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires*, 134–83.

²⁰ Keith R. Widder, "Effects of the American Revolution on Fur-Trade Society at Michilimackinac," in Brown, *Fur Trade Revisited*, 299–316; White, *Middle Ground*, 387–412; Colin G. Calloway, *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783–1815* (Norman, Okla., 1987); Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815* (Toronto, 1992), 40–86.

²¹ Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 90–115; White, *Middle Ground*, 413–68.

hinterland. But the upheaval of 1789 undid Anglo-American detente. The French revolutionary wars pitted the United States against the British once more in the early 1790s. The colonial masters north of the Great Lakes again turned to Indian allies to check southern expansionists. But the hungry and fractured Indian forces were defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and what was a limited military blow became a diplomatic catastrophe when the British decided that their fear of Jacobinism outweighed their fear of republicanism. Betraying Great Lake Indians, the British forfeited the western posts south of the lakes to the United States in Jay's Treaty (1794). The following year, Indians surrendered their sovereignty over much of Ohio in the Treaty of Greenville.²²

The War of 1812 signaled the last gasp of the Great Lakes borderland. The British flirted once again with their Indian allies, raising hopes of a world restored. Too much can be made of this misalliance, and we wish to underscore that British North Americans embraced Indian allies not out of an ontological disposition but out of contingent necessity. As Upper Canadian agriculture began developing in the 1790s with the settlement of refugees from the wars south of the border, the inclusiveness of the Great Lakes borderland was even imperiled in its core. The War of 1812 nurtured a brief revival of mutual dependency, but the peace brought by the Treaty of Ghent marked a new diplomatic order that solidified the border between the American republic and British North American possessions. The Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817 permanently disarmed the Great Lakes.²³

Thereafter, international diplomacy between sovereign states fixed the lines separating political communities in northern North America. As liberal constitutionalism became the idiom of rights, entitlements, and membership within political communities, no one consulted—as they might have even a generation earlier—Indians. As the border between Canada and the United States extended westward, Indian territories became home to independent proprietors, idealized citizens of liberal regimes, to the exclusion of its original dwellers.

IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, the practice of expulsion seeped from the Great Lakes down the Mississippi and up the Missouri valleys. By its actions and its inactions, the American republic quickly dissolved decades of borderland accommodation. As in the Great Lakes, inclusive relations gave way to exclusive occupations in the Missouri Country. And yet, as in the Great Lakes, this was not a simple, linear story.

For millennia, where the Ohio and Missouri rivers joined the Mississippi, more ethnic streams met than anywhere on the North American continent. A thousand years ago, the middle Mississippi Valley boasted the largest urban complex north of Mesoamerica. At its peak, the trade networks that passed through Cahokia (Illinois) pulled peoples in from more than fifty villages scattered across the lower Ohio and Missouri valleys. Beyond these immediate hinterlands, archaeological evidence confirms the almost continental reach of Cahokia. Even after Cahokia's

²² Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies*, 88–166; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Indians of Ohio and Indiana prior to 1795: The Greenville Treaty, 1795* (New York, 1974).

²³ Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 123–47; White, *Middle Ground*, 469–517.

decline, the confluence of major rivers continued to bring distant peoples together. Chief among the Lower Missouri peoples were the Osages, who complemented horticulture and hunting with extensive trade up and down the Missouri river system.²⁴

From the south, Spaniards wandered near this region in the middle of the sixteenth century. They left without a trace, save their microbes. A little more than a century later, French traders from the Great Lakes introduced their brand of colonialism to the Mississippi Valley. The earliest French settlers (*habitants*) resided in the Illinois country on the eastern side of the Mississippi, but in the middle of the eighteenth century, Sainte Genevieve became the first French village across the river. Settled primarily from the Great Lakes, Sainte Genevieve and subsequent French towns in the Missouri Country, not surprisingly, resembled Canadian riverine villages. Still, the presence in these towns of a small number of slaves of African descent showed the influence of the lower Mississippi Valley on the new settlements in the Missouri Country.²⁵

In addition to the origins of its colonists and the layout of its towns and fields, eighteenth-century Missouri followed the Great Lakes in the character of its intercultural relations. Few in number and far from the Laurentian heartland of New France, European colonists found good reason to extend "the middle ground." Once again, the imperatives of the fur trade provided the best reason to pursue amicable ties with resident Indian peoples. As in the Great Lakes, marriages between French men and Indian women proved the most effective means to cement trading bonds and forge diplomatic alliances.²⁶

Here, as in the Great Lakes, trade and peace were imperfectly preserved. During the mid-eighteenth century, Osages and Missouri Indians occasionally raided Sainte Genevieve and other west bank settlements to steal horses. These forays disturbed the peace, but little blood was shed. Indeed, both raiders and raided seemed intent on avoiding killings that might escalate into widening rounds of retaliatory violence. Still, the disturbances continued, and by the early 1790s, a general war seemed in the offing.²⁷

²⁴ Thomas E. Emerson and R. Barry Lewis, eds., *Cahokia and the Hinterlands: Middle Mississippian Cultures of the Midwest* (Urbana, Ill., 1991); James B. Stoltman, ed., *New Perspectives on Cahokia: Views from the Periphery* (Madison, Wis., 1991); Carl H. Chapman and Eleanor F. Chapman, *Indians and Archaeology of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1983), 71–118; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "An American Indian Gateway: Some Thoughts on the Migration and Settlement of Eastern Indians around Early St. Louis," *Gateway Heritage* 11 (Winter 1990–91): 44–45; William R. Iseminger, "Culture and Environment in the American Bottom: The Rise and Fall of Cahokia Mounds," in Andrew Hurley, ed., *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis* (St. Louis, Mo., 1997), 38–57.

²⁵ Carl Ekberg, *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times* (Urbana, Ill., 1998); Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve: An Adventure on the Mississippi Frontier* (Gerald, Mo., 1985), 1–47; Neil H. Porterfield, "Ste. Genevieve, Missouri," in John Francis McDermott, ed., *Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley* (Urbana, 1969), 141–47.

²⁶ Tanis C. Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1996), 53–72, 91–97.

²⁷ Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve*, 86–124; Carl H. Chapman, "The Indomitable Osage in Spanish Illinois (Upper Louisiana) 1763–1804," in John Francis McDermott, ed., *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762–1804* (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 293–95; Willard Rollings, *The Osages: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains* (Columbia, Mo., 1992), 1–13, 96–212; James R. Christianson, "The Early Osage: 'The Ishmaelites of the Savages,'" *Kansas History* 11 (Spring 1988): 2–21; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 77–79, 106–08.

By then, of course, France had long since ceded its claims in the Mississippi Valley to Spain. But, on its own, the change in colonial regimes does not account for the breakdown in Indian-European accommodation. As with previous Spanish expansion (to be discussed below), defensive considerations prompted the move into the heartland of North America: to extend a buffer against the ability of European rivals to threaten the silver-rich districts of Mesoamerica. But the transfer that opened the "Spanish years" in Louisiana did not bring many Spaniards to the Mississippi Valley. Only a handful of Spanish officials actually set foot in Missouri. Most of the lieutenant-governors who administered the Illinois and Upper Louisiana territories continued to be French creoles. Nor did Spanish authorities attempt to hispanicize the customs, manners, or language of the *habitants*. For most colonists, the change in colonial regimes made little difference.²⁸

For many Indians as well, life went on as before. Abandoning the conquest and tribute-taking policies that had prevailed in the borderlands to the southwest, Spanish administrators decided instead to follow the French lead. Just as the British in the 1760s emulated French policies, so, too, the Spanish adopted the model of borderland accommodation. Spanish emissaries assured Missouri's Indians that trade would be encouraged and gifts would be given. Some even tried to persuade Mississippi Valley Indians that the French and Spanish were one people, that the real and fictive kinship networks cementing the old commercial-diplomatic alliance were as solid as ever.²⁹

Developments beyond the borders of Louisiana undermined Spanish efforts to fill French shoes. The end of the American Revolution allowed Anglo-American expansion into the Ohio Valley once again. Some of the displaced Indians moved across the border north of the Great Lakes; others sought refuge across the Mississippi in Spanish Louisiana. During the 1780s, over a thousand Shawnees and several hundred Delawares crossed the Mississippi to settle in southeastern Missouri. Because Spanish officials also feared Anglo-American expansion, they welcomed westering Indians into Missouri. These pioneers, it was hoped, would defend Spanish Louisiana against their "cruellest enemies" and would provide a buffer between colonial settlements and Osage raiders.³⁰

For the same reasons, but especially in hopes of checking American expansion, Spanish officials paradoxically began to encourage the migration of Anglo-

²⁸ John Francis Bannon, "The Spaniards in the Mississippi Valley: An Introduction," in McDermott, *Spanish in the Mississippi Valley*, 3–15; Abraham Nasatir, *Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976), 6–50.

²⁹ Louis Houck, ed., *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1909), 1: 44–48, 141–51, 2: 308–12; John C. Ewers, "Symbols of Chiefly Authority in Spanish Louisiana," in McDermott, *Spanish in the Mississippi Valley*, 272–84; Gilbert Din and Abraham P. Nasatir, *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley* (Norman, Okla., 1983), 51–176; Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of Missouri, 1785–1804*, 2 vols. (St. Louis, Mo., 1952), 1: 58–74.

³⁰ Lieutenant Governor Cruzat to Governor General Estéban Rodriquez Miró, August 23, 1784, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1763–1794*, 3 parts, Vols. 2, 3, and 4 of American Historical Association Annual Reports for 1945 (Washington, D.C., 1949), 2: 117–18; Lynn Morrow, "New Madrid and Its Hinterland: 1783–1826," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 36 (July 1980): 241; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (January 1981): 147–51; Usner, "American Indian Gateway," 43–47.

Americans into Missouri. Spain's inability to people Louisiana with Catholic European émigrés forced colonial authorities to reverse the policy that had blocked Anglos from settling across the Mississippi. Taking advantage of the new policy, an influx of Kentuckians and Tennesseans came to Missouri during the 1790s in search of land. From St. Louis to New Madrid, Anglo-Americans established farmsteads on the west side of the Mississippi and up the lower reaches of the Missouri. By 1800, newcomers outnumbered creoles in Missouri.³¹

Instead of securing the Spanish regime, the immigration policy created more problems than it solved. The relocation of Ohio Valley Indians and Anglo-Kentuckians forced Osages to share their hunting lands and threatened their control over the lower Missouri fur trade. Not unlike the responses of Great Lakes Indians to similar encroachments, the Osages adopted a twofold strategy of migration and confrontation. On the one hand, they moved their villages south and west away from contested lands. On the other, they stepped up their raids against interlopers. During the early 1790s, horse stealing became even more of a problem in creole towns. But Osage warriors only killed selectively: they reserved that fate for Indian refugees and (especially) Anglo-American migrants from the Ohio Valley.³²

The Spanish inability to preserve relative borderland calm led to inconsistent policies—a sign that the Madrid Bourbons were running out of effective options for defending their peripheral outposts. Alarmed at the mayhem, Spanish authorities resorted to militarizing control: they suspended diplomatic gift-giving and curbed trade. This made things worse. The Osages intensified their attacks, threatening to embroil the region in wholesale bloodletting. Seeking to avert a full-scale war against the Osages, the Spanish returned to a strategy of commercial-diplomatic alliance. The chief architect of the truce was the creole fur trader Auguste Chouteau. Along with six Osage chiefs, Chouteau traveled to New Orleans and brokered a new arrangement. The 1794 agreement called for the Spanish to build a fort near Osage villages and granted Chouteau a monopoly over trade with the tribe. Although Chouteau's exclusivity caused some grumbling among rival merchants, it did reopen the lower Missouri fur trade. And while the Spanish-Osage alliance lacked the intimate foundations of the Great Lakes borderland, it did temporarily restore peace to the Missouri Country.³³

Still, the influx of Anglo-Americans eroded the basis for a lasting Spanish regime in the Mississippi Valley. Behind the solicitation of Anglo-Americans was the expectation that they (or at least their descendants) would convert to Catholicism

³¹ Gilbert C. Din, "The Immigration Policy of Governor Esteban Miró in Spanish Louisiana," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73 (October 1969): 155–75; Din, "Spain's Immigration Policy in Louisiana and the American Penetration, 1792–1803," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 76 (January 1973): 255–76; C. Richard Arena, "Land Settlement Policies and Practices in Spanish Louisiana," in McDermott, *Spanish in the Mississippi Valley*, 51–60; Morrow, "New Madrid and Its Hinterland," 242; James R. Shortridge, "The Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (October 1990): 67.

³² Chapman, "Indomitable Osage in Spanish Illinois," 295–300; Ekberg, *Colonial St. Genevieve*, 95–103.

³³ Din and Nasatir, *Imperial Osages*, 217–90; John Francis McDermott, "Auguste Chouteau: First Citizen of Upper Louisiana," in McDermott, *Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley*, 1–13; William E. Foley and C. David Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), 36–71.

and become loyal subjects of the Spanish crown—even assisting in the defense of the colony against any invasion from the United States. Widespread discontent in Kentucky and the weakness of national attachments among trans-Appalachian pioneers gave Spanish officials reason to hope. But it was American officials who most delighted in the success of the Spanish policy. “I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation,” wrote Thomas Jefferson to George Washington. To Jefferson, the immigration of Americans into Louisiana promised to deliver “to us peaceably what may otherwise cost a war.”³⁴

Jefferson was prophetic. As president, he completed the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana and opened up for Anglo-American householders an “empire for liberty.” Of course, if the experience of Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Indians was any guide, the expansion of the American republic promised Indians only an end to liberty.

The incorporation of Missouri into the United States did not immediately foreclose borderland ways. In southeastern Missouri, westering Indians and westering Anglo-Americans coexisted for a decade after the Louisiana Purchase. Along the Mississippi and the lower Missouri, communities of refugee Indians were interspersed among clusters of Anglo-American farms. If they had been mapped, the borders between Indian and Anglo settlements would have been difficult to make out as yet. In the *mutual* process of “frontiering,” both Indians and pioneers had developed novel arrangements, blending material cultures, subsistence systems, and common landscapes. Both sets of pioneers united against Osage threats, and both joined in more friendly rituals such as hunting, horse racing, gambling, drinking, and dancing.³⁵

Marital unions facilitated this easy familiarity and peopled a melting pot with mixed-ancestry offspring. On the lower Missouri frontier in the early nineteenth century, claimed John Mack Faragher, “a syncretic society” emerged and persisted. Certainly, the character of social intercourse and the prevalence of ethnic mixing made Missouri distinctive—although these distinctions often troubled contemporary observers. The population of Missouri was “composed of the dregs of Kentucky, France,” and Indians, wrote the English traveler Thomas Ashe in 1806. It was “even more motley than Mackinaw,” according to Washington Irving.³⁶

Irving stretched the truth. Compared with the Great Lakes, early nineteenth-century Missouri was a middle-ground failure. Neither Jefferson nor Jeffersonian officials displayed much understanding for the common world and the commercial-diplomatic alliance made by Algonquians and French (and sometimes emulated by the British) in the Great Lakes. Assimilation, not mutual acculturation, was the

³⁴ Jefferson quoted in Din, “Spain’s Immigration Policy in Louisiana and the American Penetration,” 255.

³⁵ James F. Keefe and Lynn Morrow, eds., *The White River Chronicles of S. C. Turnbo: Man and Wildlife on the Ozarks Frontier* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1994), 1–13; Usner, “American Indian Gateway,” 46–47; Morrow, “Trader William Gilliss and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri,” 151; John Mack Faragher, “‘More Motley Than Mackinaw’: From Ethnic Mixing to Ethnic Cleansing on the Frontier of the Lower Missouri, 1783–1833,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 304–26.

³⁶ Irving quoted in Faragher, “‘More Motley Than Mackinaw,’” 314; Ashe quoted in Morrow, “New Madrid and Its Hinterlands,” 242.

highest ideal of republican leaders. And when Indians failed to assimilate quickly enough, Jefferson and his agents jettisoned high ideals in favor of a more pragmatic policy that involved persuading Indians to cede lands and move west. To be sure, federal officials offered annuities to vanquished peoples and spoke of commercial-diplomatic alliances with Indians who remained too powerful to conquer. As long as American leaders worried about European rivals in the Mississippi Valley, they treated Missouri Indians carefully. Ohio Valley refugees were left alone, and Osages were entreated with presents and trading posts. But maintaining Missouri as an intercultural borderland was never a goal of American statesmen.³⁷

Following the War of 1812, the focal point of imperial competition shifted west of the Mississippi Valley, and the American republic stepped up pressure against Missouri's Indians. Actually, in Missouri, it was not so much what territorial officials and national soldiers did as what they failed to do: protect Indian claims against the tens of thousands of Anglo-Americans who moved to Missouri and squatted on Indian lands after the Treaty of Ghent. Already before the war, the competition for lands between emigrant Indians and emigrant Anglo-Americans was heating up. Then, however, Governor Meriwether Lewis had issued a stern proclamation, warning squatters to depart "punctually." Afterward, as the population of the Missouri territory skyrocketed, the pressure on Indians increased. Territorial authorities went mute. Where previously distant federal authorities had allowed fur-trading interests to dominate territorial offices, the administration of Missouri came under more democratic rules after the War of 1812. Local control ushered the triumph of outspoken agrarians, who promised to secure land titles for their white male constituents. Officials who stood in the way of democratic demands by defending Indian rights found their positions untenable. In much the same way, outsiders who opposed the extension of slavery faced the wrath of Missouri voters.³⁸

While the War of 1812 marked a critical divide between Missouri's borderland past and its "border state" future, the speed with which the "syncretic society" unraveled suggests that the blending was always more incomplete than it appeared. The convergence of Indian and Anglo-American ways had also occurred in the Great Lakes. But there and in Missouri, what made Indians and pioneers similar did not make them the same. The patriarchal household relations brought west by Anglo-American men did not mesh well with Indian gender systems. Nor was the quest for private landholdings easily reconciled with woodland Indian property regimes. As Anglo-American pioneers overwhelmed and displaced their syncretic predecessors, Missourians reinvented borderlands as virgin lands. This reinvention legitimated the consolidation of privatized property, making Missouri a gateway for

³⁷ Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973); Russell M. Magnaghi, "The Belle Fontaine Indian Factory, 1805-1808," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (July 1981): 396-416.

³⁸ Proclamation by Governor Lewis, April 6, 1809, in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1949), 14: 261; R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Society in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia, Mo., 1992), 24-50; William E. Foley, "The American Territorial System: Missouri's Experience," *Missouri Historical Review* 65 (July 1971): 403-26; Jerome O. Steffen, *William Clark: Jeffersonian Man on the Frontier* (Norman, Okla., 1977), 105-28; David March, "The Admission of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 65 (January 1971): 427-49.

the westward expansion of the United States and providing the girders for "manifest destiny."³⁹

Unlike the Great Lakes, the lower Missouri borderlands did not become an international border. Up and down the Mississippi and all along the Missouri River, American sovereignty faced no colonial or national rival after the War of 1812. With no other contestant for regional hegemony, American officials treated Indians as subject peoples. To century's end, Indians in the upper Missouri Valley resisted the occupation of their lands, but they lacked the power of peoples in between to thwart American expansion.

THE NORTHERN BORDERS OF NEW SPAIN were for Bolton the classic, indeed only, borderlands. Yet, ironically, the greater Rio Grande was the last region to become a true borderland. Well into the eighteenth century, Spain continued to deal with Indian peoples as subjects and not partners. Only belatedly, in response to threats from colonial rivals, did Iberian authorities turn to the diplomacy of gift-alliances and commercial exchange. Their heirs in the Mexican Republic, however, could not solidify these tentative borderland arrangements. Thus it was that in northern Mexico the United States deployed manifest destiny to mount a war of conquest, attempting first to eviscerate the borderlands and then to push the border between the United States and the Republic of Mexico south to the Rio Grande.

Spain's initial policies regarding its North American claims derived in large part from the empire's early experience in which indigenous peoples were treated as subjects of the crown and not sovereign in their own right. Spain's first mainland contact and conquest involved confrontation with a stratified and extended empire, the Aztecs. If the French and British made contact with, and eventually gained prominence over, far less complex and sedentary societies, the Spanish developed policies designed to incorporate vast tributary domains. In the main, these efforts culminated with military conquest in the truest sense of the term. The idea was to integrate Indian fiscal and tributary structures to serve Madrid's dynastic ambitions. This ethic of empire governed policy choices for the northern periphery of New Spain, even though the peoples of this semi-arid region differed remarkably from those of the Valley of Mexico. Not until the eighteenth century did the Spanish recognize the necessity of experimenting with borderland-style accommodation.⁴⁰

The natives of northern Mexico resembled their cousins to the north more than they did the Aztecs to their south. Living in loose groupings of scattered settlements—"pueblos" spanning a spectrum of people from the Penutian-speaking Zunis to Uto-Aztecan Hopis—some relied on stable settlements and arable

³⁹ Stephen Aron, "The Legacy of Daniel Boone: Three Generations of Boones and the History of Indian-White Relations," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 95 (Summer 1997): 225–30; R. Douglas Hurt, *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier* (Columbia, Mo., 1998), 78–193. On the mutual process of frontiering by which Indian and Anglo-American ways converged and diverged in the Ohio Valley, see Stephen Aron, "Pigs and Hunters: 'Rights in the Woods' on the Trans-Appalachian Frontier," in Cayton and Teute, *Contact Points*, 175–204.

⁴⁰ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (New York, 1995), esp. chap. 3; Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

agriculture. Furthermore, semi-sedentary peoples followed migratory routes of mobile arable agriculture. Extensive trading networks fanned out as far as current-day Panama. But far-flung villages, linguistic heterogeneity, and localism inhibited the pattern of conquest exemplified in the Aztec domain, the decapitation of which enabled Spaniards—with greater or lesser resistance—to lay claim to extended tribute-paying populations.⁴¹

The Spanish aim, what might be called paternalistic pacification, was riddled with deep ambivalences. On the one hand, the crown sought to protect Indians from excessively brutal Spaniards. On the other, authorities advocated gradual assimilation through Christianization and, where possible, tribute payment or labor services. Both objectives were collapsed in the concept of the *República de los Indios*, a juric domain separate from the mainstream Hispanic population but no less loyal to the crown. By this means, paternalistic pacification sought to ensure the fealty of subjects. In contrast to the traders of New France and the land-hungry Anglo-American pioneers, public officials and missionaries composed New Spain's vanguard. Spain's frontier policy was neither inclusionary à la the middle ground, nor exclusionary in the Anglo-American mold. It can better be described as integrating far-flung Indian peoples for the sake of dominion but not dispossessing them entirely.⁴²

Having discovered major silver deposits in the region of Zacatecas in the 1540s, Spanish conquerors spread their domain further north and established in 1563 the vast northern province of Nueva Vizcaya, embracing the frontier region from southern Chihuahua to Saltillo, from which all expeditions into New Mexico and the Mississippi would be staged. Until the late seventeenth century, the north was of little interest, for tribute payment was difficult, the population too dispersed to serve as effective sources of mining labor, and the establishment of *encomiendas* a discredited option for incorporating new territories (especially after the New Laws of 1542, designed to protect Indians from Spanish exploitation). After Juan de Oñate's ill-fated New Mexican venture, the northern frontier became a "military-missionary venture." A combination of missions, mainly Franciscans and later

⁴¹ The Yaquis inhabited arable agricultural zones of river valleys, living off maize, beans, and pastoral production, and they traded between villages. In contrast, Hopis maintained an isolated semi-nomadic existence on highland *mesetas*. The largest single group was probably the Uto-Aztecan speaking Tarahumares, who displayed a variety of settlements from valley-floor pueblos to cave dwellings. Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Peasant Rebellion in the Northwest: The Yaqui Indians of Sonora, 1740–1976," in F. Katz, ed., *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 141–75. The same holds for Pueblos of New Mexico and Pimas of Arizona. Edward Spicer, in a classic formulation, described this spectrum of native responses to intruders as "fusion," "compartmentalization," and "rejection." Spicer, "Spanish-Indian Acculturation in the Southwest," *American Anthropologist* 56 (August 1954): 663–78. See also Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 77; John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821* (New York, 1970), 37. On the modal pattern established by Spanish-Aztec relations, see Charles Gibson, "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, (Cambridge, 1984), 2: esp. 389; and Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964).

⁴² Enrique Semo, *The History of Capitalism in Mexico: Its Origins, 1521–1763* (Austin, Tex., 1993), 48–62; Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 199–204. For a recent effort to reduce the centrality of Spanish juridical reconstruction of Amerindian society, see James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

Jesuits, and presidios—military outposts—staked out the Spanish claim. Pioneered by the vanguards of military conquest and religious conversion, Spanish civilians never migrated en masse to this region, nor for that matter to Spain's other northern provinces.⁴³

If Bolton conceived of frontier missions as one-way vectors to strip aboriginals of their native cultures, he left half the story out: Indians resisted much of Catholic penetration or used friars as buffers against civilian Spanish exploitation. The long-term effect was as varied as the people the friars encountered. On the whole, they did better among sedentary villagers, such as the Yaquis, than semi-nomads such as the Apaches. Indeed, settlements of mission converts (*reducciones*) made easy prey for predators. The combination of the Spanish spreading from the south and natives fleeing from the north and east compressed the subsistence base, especially of nomads, forcing them into sustenance by plunder. Undaunted, missionaries continued to carry out their purposes.⁴⁴

Military outposts also dotted the land. In the wake of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Spanish officials called for greater investment of manpower, resources, and a comprehensive pacification of Indians. As it was, frontier Indians were increasingly forced to rely on the defenses of Spanish presidios as Apache nations proved a greater menace to their livelihoods than Spanish acculturation. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, military outposts existed largely to ward off Apaches—other Indians were willing to accept the Spanish protective umbrella.

One might ask why the Spanish bothered to protect such a troublesome and unremunerative territory. A simple answer lies in the importance of the mainstay of Spanish New World imperialism: silver. The ebb and flow of precious metal dictated the economic rationale behind frontier expansion. If Zacatecas was the mother lode, Nueva Vizcaya boasted its own lucrative mines in Santa Barbara, the Valley of San Bartolomé, and after 1630 the bonanza at San José del Parral. However, predatory Indians made mining camps and settlements their targets for lucrative raiding. The "Great Northern Revolt" provoked by the pueblo uprising of 1680 led to Indian attacks as far south as Durango, leaving many mining centers razed. Mining also intensified local demand for foodstuffs and pastoral products. Some

⁴³ P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge, 1971); Philip Wayne Powell, "North America's First Frontier, 1546-1603," in G. Wolfskill, ed., *Essays on Frontiers in World History* (College Station, Tex., 1982), 12-41. The term "military-missionary venture" is borrowed from Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman, Okla., 1979), 3; see also William Merrill, "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601-1767," in Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 129-63.

⁴⁴ For a classic statement of the mission as a Spanish frontier bulwark, see Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies" [1917], in John F. Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, Okla., 1964), 187-211; and a useful comment, David G. Sweet, "Reflections on the Ibero-American Frontier Mission as an Institution in Native American History," in Weber and Rausch, *Where Cultures Meet*, 87-98; Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988), 99-104; Merrill, "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico," 132-33, 139; Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 133-41. See Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), esp. 146-48, for a treatment of New Mexico; and Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 70-75.

regions, such as the Santa Barbara Valley, became a vital source of wheat for the miners. Throughout the north, cattle became the key frontier staple. Highway traffic, mines, and cattle herds of the Mesa became exposed targets for plunder by nomads, especially Apaches.⁴⁵

What made this increasingly violent frontier region into a borderland was the arrival of the French at the mouth of the Mississippi in the 1680s. This accentuated the vulnerability of New Spain's northern frontier. The Spanish governor, fearing Indian alliances with the French intruders and more alarmed at the prospect of a French overland threat to Mexican silver (previously, European rivals restricted their attack on the Spanish silver supply to high-seas plunder and maritime contraband), ordered military expeditions to drive the French back up the Mississippi as far as the Missouri. But France's threat was clear: in coming down from the Great Lakes to seal off the English and seeking overland access to New Spain's silver, they encroached on the porous northern frontier and posed a direct challenge to Spanish sovereignty. No longer a Spanish-Indian frontier, this had become an imperial borderland.⁴⁶

Confrontation with France drew Spanish interest to Texas, hitherto a backwater of Iberian concern so long as the silver wealth of central and northern Mexico faced no overland threat. In 1691, Texas was officially created as a frontier province to buffer the "silver provinces." After the War of the Spanish Succession, Spanish officials, with the help of a renegade French trader, Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, struggled to reoccupy Texas. The linchpin of borderland policy involved a profound mutation of Spanish approaches to Indian populations. Rather than create vassal subjects through conquest, eighteenth-century Iberian envoys went north with instructions to imitate the French and English patterns of signing treaties with Indians, implying a mutual relationship between autonomous peoples and abandoning the principle of paternalistic pacification.⁴⁷

Treaties and alliance formation did not signify a wholesale revision of imperial

⁴⁵ Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 66–71; Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 126–28; Eric Van Young, "The Age of Paradox: Mexican Agriculture at the End of the Colonial Period, 1750–1810," in Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986), 64–90. The most useful account is Terry G. Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1993), esp. chap. 5.

⁴⁶ Just as Spain adopted a defensive interest in its northern Mexican hinterland, the French switched tack, from La Salle's diminutive military escapade, to encroachment by trade. Especially after the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), French concern with English aggrandizement prompted Governor Cadillac, Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, in Canada to extend trade networks into Spanish possessions, founding the trading post of Natchitoches on the Red River in 1713 as a launching pad for small trading expeditions to the Rio Grande. Cadillac's plan was to use commerce to drive into the heart of the northern silver provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and establish North America's first continent-wide imperial trading network. As it was, beyond the Mississippi, rivers drained into the Gulf of Mexico, and unlike the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay basins did not facilitate easy cross-continental transportation. Overland transportation costs remained an important obstacle to Cadillac's ambitions. This structural impediment notwithstanding, regular appearances of French traders in Spanish pueblos, presidios, and towns as far as Durango struck fear in the heart of viceregal authorities that the French might devise an effective continental contraband machine to siphon Mesoamerican silver. Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 148–59.

⁴⁷ In 1688, Juan de Retaña was sent to sign a series of treaties to ensure the alliance of Indian groups on the other side of the Rio Grande. In 1716, Governor Ramón sought to establish an alliance with the people of the Hasinai confederacy, and especially the Tejas. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, 117; Jones, *Los Paisanos*, 43–44.

policy to indigenes. Spain did not abandon missions and presidios. Guns and bibles, however, made poor substitutes for consumer goods. One of the reasons why Spanish authorities continued to rely on their own, not particularly successful, measures to galvanize Indian loyalty to the crown was the latter's commercial debility. Effective alliances relied less on hortative claims of fealty than on the exchange of goods, either by trade or gifts. Compared to the French, the Spanish had great difficulty using commerce to establish—and defend—an imperial presence. Throughout the empire, French and British contraband sucked the specie out of Spanish commercial veins. French traders were reported to be crawling all over New Spain's northern frontier, enticing Indians with guns and other goods and thereby weakening Spain's commercial grip on its hinterland.

Spain lost control over more than the terms of intercultural trade. French, and increasingly British, competition in the borderlands comprised only half the problem. The other half came from the very Indians that European competitors displaced from their territorial homelands and then armed. The focal point of conflict was the Apaches, pressed from behind by Comanches, who in turn had been driven out of their homelands on the Great Plains by French-armed Pawnees. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Apaches responded to this squeeze by trying to block Spanish defensive expansion, relying on two bequests of imperialism: the horse from Spain and the gun from France. The Texan and New Mexican equipose, with the presidio and mission as outer-edge bulwarks of the Spanish presence, could not withstand Apache raids. Efforts to subdue Apaches by sending conciliatory missionaries failed. Accustomed to conquering sedentary populations, Spanish officials seem never to have understood the implications of Indian access to firearms and horses, nor to have appreciated the changing geo-politics of Indian rivalries.⁴⁸

Imperial warfare was, once again, a watershed. The Seven Years' War forced Spain to adopt more consciously a borderland-style approach to the frontier. This was paradoxical: French defeat in 1762 might have brought relief to northern Mexican outposts: gone were the French trading parties plying their contraband through the silver provinces, gone was the French military threat from Louisiana. Viceregal authorities breathed a premature sigh of relief. They did not account for the defensive agency of Indians themselves, for Comanche-Apache conflict only intensified. Reinforcement and reform did little to alleviate the damage. By the 1770s, these borderlands were becoming a dark and bloody ground. Apache raids struck deep into the heart of Nueva Vizcaya, leaving behind charred remains in the Valle de San Bartolomé, Parras, Saltillo, and the royal mines of Guarisamey. These were not pre-political acts of banditry: many raiding parties were made up of multi-ethnic peoples, Indians, Africans, Europeans, and mestizos, with complex internal hierarchies and elaborate espionage networks. Nor did they sabotage

⁴⁸ William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750–1858* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988), 19–30; Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, 125–26; Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 191–95. This, of course, did not prevent northern New Spain from becoming a site for *mestisaje* and some degree of coexistence of pueblo dwellers, mixed bloods, and landless Spaniards. See Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 300–05.

commodity flows: raiding parties systematically sold their loot to rival European buyers.⁴⁹

To such mayhem, the Spanish responded by abandoning all local pretense of paternalistic pacification in favor of a policy of calculated deceit through negotiation. Some Spanish authorities, most notably Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, urged the adoption of "the French model," by which he meant that Spain should trade guns with, rather than aim them at, Indians. Of course, this was not reciprocity as the French sometimes practiced it. The Spanish combined this arms trade, lubricated with generous doses of alcohol, to lure the Apaches. For the recalcitrant, Spain's viceregal *compañías volantes* and thirteen squadrons of provincial militias began a series of devastating battles, crippling Apache autonomy. By the 1780s, the Apaches were both increasingly dependent on Spanish trade and ever more vulnerable to Comanche assaults. In 1790, the Commander in Chief of the Interior Provinces, Jacobo de Ugarte, signed peace treaties with Apache bands all along the western front and into Texas. For the exhausted and war-weary Spanish and Apaches, these pacts ushered in a period of uneasy coexistence.⁵⁰

Thus, by the 1790s, Spain was inching away from paternalistic pacification and adopting a borderland stance of accommodation and reciprocal exchange with Indian peoples. If this signified a more solid Spanish presence in the Rio Grande region, Spain's hold over the territory quickly slipped. The inter-imperial truce after the Seven Years' War provided only short-lived respite from European interloping. Spain lost Florida but kept Cuba; it acquired Louisiana by default, thereby extending silver's buffer into the Mississippi Basin. But U.S. independence in 1783 posed a new problem for Mexico. Just as Spain embraced borderland tactics, the Iberian flank faced the emerging territorial threat of the United States.⁵¹

Belatedly and ineffectually, Spain turned to the commercial-diplomatic option, the hallmark of a more fully borderland-style approach to Euro-Indian affairs. Presidios became the home for protected Apache families (among many others) who tilled lots and raised livestock that they sold on local markets. Spanish outposts also furnished food and trading goods to allies. Accentuating Indian bargaining power, Iberian policy makers also violated longstanding commitments to monopolistic concessions: viceregal authorities threw open the Mississippi to all licensed Spanish traders, hoping that more active commerce would align Indians with Bourbon authorities. In the end, however, the Spanish merchants' response was unenthusiastic, so the crown created the Missouri Company in 1793 as a conglomerate to meet the Anglo-American threat (although, as we have already noted, most members of this commercial conglomerate were French and not Spanish traders).

⁴⁹ Between 1771 and 1776 alone, 1,674 Spaniards were killed, 154 captured, and 68,256 head of livestock were stolen in Indian raids. In 1781, the Yuma Revolt wiped out the settlements of San Pedro and San Pablo, with the women and children seized as captives. William Merrill, "Cultural Creativity and Raiding Bands in Eighteenth Century Northern New Spain," in William B. Taylor and Franklin Pease G. Y., eds., *Violence, Resistance, and Survival in the Americas: Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 124–52; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 190–201; Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 204–15.

⁵⁰ Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace*, 30–49; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 215–16.

⁵¹ Jones, *Los Paisanos*, 47.

Patchy efforts to sign treaties coupled with commercial liberalization suggested the genesis of a new frontier policy.⁵²

These borderland ventures of the 1790s added up to too little, too late. Spain never knew how to handle its North American acquisition, partly for lack of experience handling non-tributary aboriginal peoples, and thereby failed to embrace treaties and alliance formation with Indians. Moreover, Spain (like France before it) was unable to sustain the escalating costs of gift giving. Spain ineffectively met the commercial challenge posed initially by French traders and subsequently on an unparalleled scale by Anglo-Americans offering muskets, alcohol, and all manner of cheaper and more useful manufactured goods as gifts and commodities to potential Indian partners. This failure lost Spain a potentially crucial and possibly decisive political resource: tight alliances with the aboriginal population—a pattern mastered by the French and English in their battles over the Great Lakes and the Missouri.

This belated and half-hearted shift from a frontier policy of pacification to borderland accommodation meant that, over the course of a generation, Spain and then independent Mexico lost all its claims from the Ohio to the Rio Grande. First came the French Revolution, whose bellicose fallout hammered the fiscal base of the Iberian war machine on both sides of the Atlantic. In desperation, the Spanish Bourbons opted for diplomatic conniving to thwart competitors swarming from the heartland of North America. Having betrayed his English ally by aligning with France, Charles IV let his chief minister, Manuel de Godoy, curry favor with the United States to prevent open English attacks on its New World possessions. Spain was, above all, alarmed at the threat of the Royal Navy on the seas and British traders' overland penetration. The Treaty of San Lorenzo del Escorial (1795) ceded all Spanish claims to the Ohio Valley and granted American traders free navigation of the Mississippi. This calculation, however, had the combined effect of allowing the spread of U.S. goods into the Spanish borderlands, and left Spain's hitherto allies, the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, all within the territory of the United States, thereby losing the confederation of southeast tribes as a buffer against American expansionism. In desperation, fearing both a French invasion of the peninsula and American marauding of the borderlands, Godoy was persuaded by Napoleon to cede Louisiana back to France in the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800). (To be fair to the otherwise venal minister, the treaty did stipulate that the territory not be transferred to a third party.)

This, the minister hoped, would restore the buffer between the greater Rio Grande and the swarming North American heartland. The gamble backfired: Napoleon, in an effort to galvanize American support (or neutrality) in his rivalry with Great Britain, sold the sprawling province to Jefferson in 1803. New Spain was thrust back into the defensive position it had in 1762. But the menace of American expansion eclipsed anything posed by the French or British in an earlier day.⁵³

By turning its back on local, borderland alliances, Spain exposed itself to shifting, capricious allegiances in Europe. Napoleon betrayed Spain twice over, first by

⁵² Ignacio del Río and Edgardo Lopez Mañón, "La reforma institucional borbónica," in Sergio Ortega Noriega and Ignacio del Río, comps., *Historia general de Sonora* (Hermosillo, 1985), 2: 223–47.

⁵³ Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*, 289–91.

selling the Louisiana territory to the United States and second by duping Ferdinand VII into a false entente in 1808. To be sure, the Spanish crown had been plotting a large-scale settlement of Texas, but the plans never transcended the paper stage. Viceregal authorities also induced Indians, the Alabamas, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Coushattas, Pascagoulas, Shawnees, and Delawares, from U.S. territories to Texas to create a buffer against rivals. It would be interesting to speculate whether or not these measures might have worked. At best, these were too late. Certainly, Iberian difficulties sent the erstwhile loyal Apache *rancherías* into their own orbits. Either way, desperate efforts to keep the borderlands were overwhelmed by the constitutional crisis in Spain in 1808 and the long-expected French invasion.⁵⁴

Transatlantic warfare forced Spain into an increasingly borderland-style policy, but the depth of the imperial rivalry over Spain's precious dominions made them prey to interlopers' thirst to claim these possessions as their own. In due course, the borderlands became a bordered land between a hobbled republic to the south and an expanding regime to the north. Ferdinand VII's house arrest at the hands of Napoleon, a spreading insurrection in Central Mexico, and eventually the declaration of Mexican independence by Augustín de Iturbide in 1821 did not lead to a stable constitutional order for a reconstituted political economy. Instead, the vacuum accelerated Mexico's collapse into civil war. Bereft of central authority, Mexico City's grip on the northern borderland slipped. To compound matters, the consolidation of the North American heartland as the site of territorial occupation pushed borderland Indians south and west. The Osages jostled with the Cherokees for shrinking hunting grounds, culminating in fierce raiding and counter-raiding in 1818 and 1819. By 1820, East Texas was dotted with hamlets of Cherokee refugees. To their west, semi-sedentary Wacos, Tawakanis, and Taouayas struggled to defend compressed homelands whose own western flank lay open to mobile and ever more armed Comanches. Indian appeals for Mexican treaties, gifts, and territorial guarantees to stabilize the borderlands fell on the fiscally deafened ears of Mexico City rulers. If the region still seemed like a borderland, it was only because one colonial rival was too weak to stake territorial claims, while the other was too busy inducting the Missouri borderland into its frontier designs.⁵⁵

This was more of a borderland by default than by arrangement. Indians defended their dwindling independence with renewed vehemence. Comanche and Lipan Apaches stepped up their raiding—to which the Cherokees replied with offers to Mexican authorities to help stymie nomad assaults if the Americans could be kept

⁵⁴ Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Reforma y disolución de los imperios ibéricos, 1750–1850* (Madrid, 1985); David Brading, "Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America*, (Cambridge, 1984), 1: 433–39; Brian R. Hamnett, *La política española en una época revolucionaria, 1790–1820* (Mexico City, 1985); Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁵⁵ Dianna Everett, *The Texas Cherokees: A People between Two Fires, 1819–1840* (Norman, Okla., 1990), 14–29; Juan Domingo Vidargas del Moral, "La Intendencia de Arizpe en la Intendencia de Nueva España: 1810–1821," in Ortega Noriega and del Río, *Historia general de Sonora*, 2: 299–317; and on Mexico's transition to independence, see Timothy E. Anna, *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide* (Lincoln, Neb., 1990); and *The Fall of Royal Government in Mexico City* (Lincoln, 1978); Brian R. Hamnett, *Revolución y contrarrevolución en México y Perú: Liberalismo, realeza y separatismo, 1800–1824* (Mexico City, 1978).

out of Cherokee lands. When Mexico wavered, the Cherokees and Comanches even dallied with the idea of a common alliance against all white authority, to no avail. Eventually, the Comanches went their own way and honed their skills in guerrilla warfare. This was not recidivist war. Comanches used their ability to criss-cross the border for profit. They plundered and stole cattle, selling their booty to the other side. Apaches did the same. The Mexican government countered with an even more gruesome form of commodification: offering pecuniary rewards for Indian *piezas*, bits of indigenous bodies, like ears, scalps, and heads. The Mexican state created incentives for large private posses and armies to chase down armed borderlanders. The “scalp market” thrived.⁵⁶

Borderland warfare gave way to war over the border. Fearing Anglo-American penetration, northern Mexican authorities invited new occupants, hoping they would become reliable Mexicans and stabilize these unruly provinces. In effect, Mexico City abandoned the remnants of borderland policies in an effort to consolidate Texan allegiance to the south. It backfired, quite like Spain’s former gamble in Missouri. Newcomers turned against their political hosts. The Missouri *empresario* Moses Austin (father of Stephen) set out for San Antonio bearing a proposal to the Texan government (which was still loyal to the fissiparous regime) to settle 300 families in the region. After much wrangling, the Mexican government approved the plan in early 1821. Moses died that year, but Stephen Austin carried out his father’s plan. By 1823, settlers were flooding in—to the alarm of local Indians. Cherokees complained to the mayor of Nacogdoches of “illegal” American occupation of their lands. Still, some saw the Cherokees as potential allies against raiding. Stephen, for one, relied on brokers like Richard Fields to secure some measure of Cherokee loyalty. But settler numbers mounted, eviscerating any hope of borderland accommodation. Indian raiding increased; Mexican authority plunged into civil war. Anglo-American, and even sparse Hispanic dwellers, could not count on protection from the south. It was not long before a local settler chorus rose for switching fealty from Mexico to Washington.⁵⁷

The stage was set first for Texan secession in 1836 and subsequently New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada’s annexation to the United States in 1848. An impoverished Mexican state could not secure Indian allies, defend local settlers, or thwart American aggrandizing aims. Texan-American traders like Charles Stillman of Brownsville extended their reach from Matamoros as far as Saltillo and San Luis Potosí, nursing dreams of making the Rio Grande into a great riverine conduit for commerce. Grandiose plans never materialized, but businessmen-cum-frontier consolidators were happy to back a war to incorporate defini-

⁵⁶ Ralph A. Smith, “The Comanches’ Foreign War: Fighting Head Hunters in the Tropics,” *Great Plains Journal* 24–25 (1985–86): 21–44; Smith, “Indians in American-Mexican Relations before the War of 1846,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* (February 1963): 34–64.

⁵⁷ For a classic account of U.S. colonization of Texas, see Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement, 1801–1821* (Austin, Tex., 1912); also Jack Bauer, *The Mexican War, 1846–1848* (Lincoln, Neb., 1974). On the turmoil after 1808, see Donald Fithian Stevens, *The Origins of Instability in Early Republican Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1991); and Jan Bazant, “Mexico from Independence to 1867,” in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America* (Cambridge, 1985), 3: 423–70. On latter-day Indian roles as brokers between Comanches and Euro-Americans, see H. Allen Anderson, “The Delaware and Shawnee Indians and the Republic of Texas, 1820–1845,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 44 (October 1990): 231–60; Everett, *Texas Cherokees*, 30–42.

tively much of the borderland region into the territorial reach of the American republic. In early 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo inscribed the Rio Grande as a border. Within the U.S. side of this line, former Indian lands were given over to occupation and Hispanic ranchos yielded to the surveyors of and claimants to private property. In turn, albeit later during the regime of dictator Porfirio Díaz, the *porfiriato* (1876–1911), Mexico, too, brought the intra-border region into the domain of an enclosed proprietary structure for capitalist occupation. This did not put an end to the relatively unobstructed border crossings of Indians and Mexicans, but they did so most often in search of a wage rather than to escape commercial colonialism—and they did so precisely because border fixing allowed an entirely different commercial rationale to prevail over the erstwhile borderlands. Either way, border peace brought trans-border collusion among nation-states to curb the mobility and autonomy of borderlanders. For many borderlanders on the Mexican side, public armies and private head hunters waged little less than a war of extermination.⁵⁸

THIS EXPLORATION OF THE TRANSITION in North American history from borderlands to borders has emphasized the connections between imperial competition and intercultural relations. Stated simply, where the former flourished, the latter more likely featured inclusive frontiers. Where European colonial domains brushed up against one another, Indian peoples deflected imperial powers from their original purposes and fashioned economic, diplomatic, and personal relations that rested, if not entirely on Indian ground, at least on more common ground. During the eighteenth century, the Spanish, the French, and the British would not have survived their North American rivalries without Indian allies. As the French struggled to restrict British colonists to the east of the Appalachians, as the Spanish sought to slow the drainage of specie to French and British traders, and as the British worked to enlarge their share of North American resources, each empire had to come to terms with Indian peoples. The French learned the art of intercultural mediation, the Spanish abandoned their longstanding policy of paternalistic pacification, and the British, most ironically, on the eve of the American Revolution, showed signs of mastering the diplomacy of the middle ground. To varying degrees in the borderlands that were the Great Lakes, the lower Missouri Valley, and the Greater Rio Grande, intermarriages and gift exchanges cemented political alliances.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Joseph F. Park, "The Apaches in Mexican-American Relations, 1848–1861," *Arizona and the West* 3 (Summer 1961): 129–45; Smith, "Comanches' Foreign War," 29–37, on the difficulty the border posed for Indians; David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986* (Austin, Tex., 1987), 19–59; David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 13–19; Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley, 1994), 26–29, for the decline of the Californios and dispossession of Mexican rancheros.

⁵⁹ The twists and turns of European expansionism should dispel the temptation to see frontier history as the unfolding of national ontologies. For a taste of such reductionist history, see Claudio Véliz, *The New World of the Gothic Fox: Culture and Economy in English and Spanish America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), which offers an especially timeless treatment of European "styles" of aggrandizement. There is something of this approach, though much more sophisticated, in Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*,

But borderlands born of imperial rivalry and cross-cultural mixing became borders when the costs of ethnic alliances surpassed their benefits and when European empires decayed. The demise of the Great Lakes fur trade and the territorial expansion south of the lakes forced the custodians of the old *pays d'en haut* to abandon their existing diplomatic commitment to Indian partners in favor of a new diplomatic commitment to the peaceable coexistence of states on either side of an international border. Deprived of imperial rivalry, Indians of the Great Lakes struggled on in a futile effort to defend remaining homelands and to preserve the fraying ligaments of cross-cultural exchange. The same held true for the peoples of the Rio Grande. If the Spanish came late to borderland ways of alliance making, nomadic and pueblo Indians did try to manipulate Bourbon frailty to their advantage—although it was this very weakness of Spanish and later Mexican territorial control that led to annexation by the United States.

Thus Indian agency posed contingencies with which European powers had to contend, forcing them to adapt their expansionist ways. Cross-cultural brokering and conflict shaped but did not determine the patterns of coexistence. In the end, Old World conflicts and eighteenth-century warfare provided the decisive markers for hinterland processes. The crucial turning point in the above narratives came with the age of “democratic revolutions”—a process that sundered all three empires of North America and gave way to liberal statemaking. The American and French revolutions shattered the delicate equipoise of borderland adaptations and put Indian peoples on the permanent defensive. The fate of the Missouri Valley exemplified this aboutface most dramatically. The American Revolution and the Jeffersonian ascendance that followed wrecked generations of syncretic and symbiotic Indian-European arrangements by unleashing a virulent model of homestead property. In Missouri, two rival regimes of occupation converged: one based on slave labor, the other on free, and both had unlimited appetites for land. Thus did Missouri change from borderland to border state. But the conflict between free and slave labor, which for Americans proved to be the biggest difference (and culminated in the carnage of the 1860s), made little difference to Indians, who were displaced by both forms of exclusive occupation.⁶⁰

The Age of Revolution and the ensuing Napoleonic Wars also remapped the borderlands in the Great Lakes and Rio Grande regions. Heightened military conflict not only shattered the French and Spanish regimes in North America and initiated Britain's gradual withdrawal, it also laid waste the rival commercial and intercultural links of the borderlands. As the continental wars spread to North America, culminating in the War of 1812, they wrote the final chapter in the Great Lakes evolution from borderlands to border. Thereafter, border fixing gave way to

179–93. Seed dubs these continuities “habits.” For a more general discussion, see Jeremy Adelman, “Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History,” in Adelman, ed., *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (New York, 1999), 1–13.

⁶⁰ On the effects of hardening borders in a single community, see the classic study by Oscar J. Martínez, *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez since 1848* (Austin, Tex., 1978); and his more recent *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Tucson, Ariz., 1994). For reflections on another “peripheral” zone, of border making in the revolutionary age, and how the French Revolution gave the notion of territoriality a “national” content, see Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrennes* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

the birth pangs of Canadian statehood and the coming of age of the American republic.

The War of 1812 finalized American control of the Mississippi Valley as well. Earlier, in a last-ditch effort to retain their foothold in the North American heartland, the Spanish sought to inoculate the Louisiana territory against American expansion by inviting in American pioneers. Paradoxically, this policy created an explosive mix that the Spanish defused by ceding the territory back to the French. Three decades later, Mexico, now independent, repeated the same mistake. In the midst of their own civil strife and struggling to preserve the fealty of northern borderlanders and the integrity of their northern borders, Mexican officials opened the doors of Texas to Anglo-American refugees from the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Here, too, the upshot of war was a redrawing of international boundaries and remapping of borderlands into borders.

To be sure, borders formalized but did not foreclose the flow of people, capital, and goods. Even if the eclipse of imperial rivalries afforded less space for Indian and métis/mestizo autonomy, the prolonged weakness of nation-states left some room to maneuver. International boundaries remained dotted lines that took a generation to solidify. Up to the 1880s, Apaches flaunted the conventions of border crossing—that is, until General Díaz consolidated Mexico City's hold over the nation's north, and General George Crook managed to contain Geronimo and his followers. Almost simultaneously, the Canadian–United States border solidified. For the Canadian Métis, the surviving extension of the Great Lakes middle ground, border drawing narrowed the range of movement, imperiling their folkways and ultimately setting the stage for the uprising of Louis Riel (1869–70, 1885). Lest readers see Apache resistance or Métis freedom as unique, borders and the consolidation of nation-states spelled the end of autonomy for Yaquis, Comanches, Sioux, Blackfoot, and countless other peoples who once occupied these North American borderlands. Hereafter, the states of North America enjoyed unrivaled authority to confer or deny rights to peoples within their borders.

If borders appeared juridically to divide North American people, they also inscribed in notions of citizenship new and *exclusivist* meanings. They defined not only external sovereignty but also internal membership in the political communities of North America. Defended by treaties, borders separated new nation-states; they also helped harden the lines separating members from non-members within states. The rights of citizens—never apportioned equally—were now allocated by the force of law monopolized by ever more consolidated and centralized public authority.

For those included, this unleashed new eras of freedom and autonomy; for the excluded, life within nation-states more often meant precisely the opposite—the loss of political, social, and personal status. Furthermore, ossified borders reduced the freedom of “exit,” at a minimum the ability to leave and at best the power to play off rival rulers. With the consolidation of the state form of political communities, borderland peoples began the long political sojourn of survival within unrivaled polities.

Over the long run, excluded or marginal former borderlanders began to reconcile themselves to accommodation, and eventually assertion within multi-ethnic or even multinational states (especially in Canada). In the parlance of census takers and

apostles of national integration, borderlanders became “ethnics”—minorities distinguished by phenotype or language from the “national” majority. It took some remarkable political dexterity to transform this particularizing and separating category into a basis for challenging the unitary claims of North American national-statists. Of late, the idiom of self-determination has enabled borderlanders to champion the idea of community sovereignty with rights that even transcend nation-states. This, however, is a recent phenomenon, and should not be projected backward onto peoples who, a century ago, cared little for states and less for nations. Whatever lands Indian and métis/mestizo peoples may reclaim will be won as much in national courts as in their own councils. These triumphs, however, will hardly restore the power and autonomy once enjoyed by the peoples in between.⁶¹

⁶¹ On the problem of citizenship in multi-ethnic polities, see Michael Walzer, “The Politics of Difference: Statehood and Toleration in a Multicultural World,” in Robert McKim and Jeff McMahon, eds., *The Morality of Nationalism* (New York, 1997), 245–57; Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (New York, 1995), 10–26.

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Review Essay
Convergence or Divergence?
Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing

DAQING YANG

AS AN “EVENT AT THE LIMITS,” the Nazi Holocaust highlights one of the fundamental dilemmas for historians at the end of the twentieth century: if historical inquiry is admittedly a subjective endeavor, are historians still capable of establishing some form of stable truth and rejecting certain emplotments such as denial? Recent years have seen a proliferation of works that attempt to wrestle with such issues in historiography and memory, including their moral implications. Historian Martin Jay, among others, has called attention to the mechanism that militates against the unfettered freedoms of historians to narrate arbitrarily, arguing that history is not so much a single historian emplotting the past “but rather the institution of historians, now more often credentialed than not, trying to convince each other about the plausibility of their reconstruction.”¹ The “common, if not universal, acceptance” of a historical narrative, in his view, depends on the “intersubjective judgment of the community rather than on any congruence with the ‘truth’ of what really happened.”² Advocating “practical realism,” Joyce Appleby and others characterize historians as “seekers of a workable truth communicable within an improved society.”³ In this sense, consensus or even convergence in the community of historians may take on the significance of a reasonable measure of truthfulness.

Obviously, whether a strategy of intersubjective judgment can satisfactorily reconcile the contradiction in historical inquiry concerns historians in all fields. In view of its wider implication for the issue of historical truth, this essay addresses the question of whether there has been any significant convergence among historians writing on the Rape of Nanjing, or the Nanjing Massacre, which is often considered the single most notorious Japanese atrocity during the entire Asian-Pacific War.⁴

An early version of this essay was presented at the Work in Progress workshop in the Department of History at George Washington University. The author thanks his colleagues, Edward McCord in particular, John Dower, three anonymous readers at the *AHR*, as well as many other individuals for helpful comments.

¹ Martin Jay, “Of Plots, Witnesses, and Judgments,” in Saul Friedländer, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the “Final Solution”* (Cambridge, 1992), 105.

² Jay, “Of Plots, Witnesses, and Judgments,” 105.

³ Joyce Appleby, et al., *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 283.

⁴ Chihiro Hosoya, et al., eds., *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: An International Symposium* (New York, 1986), 216. Incredibly, one British writer even calls it “the largest single atrocity of the twentieth century.” Kevin Baker, “The Rape of Nanjing,” *Contemporary Review* 267, no. 1556 (September 1995): 124. Throughout this essay, I use the “Rape of Nanjing” and “Nanjing Massacre” interchangeably.

On the surface, this question itself may seem preposterous: few events in twentieth-century East Asian history have stirred up more emotions and controversies in recent years than the Rape of Nanjing. In Japan, the so-called "Debate over the Nanjing Massacre" is already in its third decade and has produced several dozen popular and scholarly books. The publication of *The Rape of Nanjing: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* by Iris Chang provided another vivid reminder.⁵ A runaway bestseller in the United States, the book provoked angry reactions among some Japanese even though a full Japanese translation has yet to appear, which in turn has led the Chinese government to come to Chang's defense.⁶ To many observers, the Rape of Nanjing thus represents an emotionally charged and highly politicized subject, a symbol of East Asia's "unmastered past."⁷

The points of contention are certainly important in their own right and deserve careful analysis; yet focusing on them exclusively, as often has been done, distorts the whole picture and inevitably obscures those areas of agreement that may be *historiographically* significant. Have years of debate and research produced any convergence among historians or actually widened their differences? What factors have conditioned their understanding of this particular event? What is the prospect of the community of historians, if there is one, producing a more truthful narrative of the past?

The publication of several influential works on the Rape of Nanjing in Japan, China, and the United States around its sixtieth anniversary offers an appropriate opportunity to consider these questions. The paperback entitled *Nanjing Jiken* (The Nanjing Incident), written by a leading Japanese historian on wartime Japanese atrocities in China, Kasahara Tokushi, is selling briskly in an already crowded market in Japan.⁸ The 680-page *Nanjing Datusha* (The Nanjing Massacre), co-authored by Sun Zhaiwei and others is by far the most comprehensive scholarly work on the subject written in Chinese.⁹ Already published in two Chinese translations and soon to appear in other languages, Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* may well become the single most widely read book on the subject.¹⁰ Even if these publications are nothing more than the tip of the proverbial iceberg and cannot represent commentary in each country as a whole, they may serve as useful starting points in surveying a vast and still expanding body of historical writings on this subject. This essay will first situate the three works in the historiographical landscape of their respective countries and then, making references to other

⁵ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, 1997).

⁶ *The Rape of Nanking Readers Guide* (New York, 1998), 6–8. This small pamphlet is issued by Penguin Putnam, Inc., which published the paperback edition of Chang's book in 1998.

⁷ I adapt this term from Charles S. Maier's insightful study, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988). Although the Nazi Holocaust and the Rape of Nanjing are two fundamentally different events, I believe that they pose some similar methodological problems to historians.

⁸ Kasahara Tokushi, *Nankin jiken* [The Nanjing Incident] (Tokyo, 1997). This book is issued as *shinsho*, a typical format for scholarly works written for the general public in Japan.

⁹ Sun Zhaiwei, et al., *Nanjing datusha* [The Nanjing Massacre] (Beijing, 1997).

¹⁰ Chang's book has been published in Taiwan as *Bei yiwang de datusha* [The forgotten massacre], Xiao Fuyuan, trans. (Taipei, 1997), and in mainland China as *Nanjing baoxing: Bei yiwang de datusha* [The Nanjing Atrocity: A forgotten massacre], Sun Yinchun, et al., trans. (Beijing, 1998). The translators acknowledge having made a small number of deletions. Among them is Chang's brief reference to the "Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989."

significant works on the subject when necessary, compare and evaluate how they approach the most salient aspects of the Rape of Nanjing.

WIDELY REPORTED IN THE WESTERN AND CHINESE PRESS during the war, the event known as the Rape of Nanjing became a major case at the military tribunals in Tokyo and Nanjing shortly after Japan's surrender. Altogether, at least five Japanese officers were executed after being found guilty of either participating in the atrocities in Nanjing or failing to stop them. As the verdict of the Tokyo trial put it, the Japanese troops in Nanjing engaged in organized and wholesale murder, committed indiscriminate killing and rape, as well as looting and destruction. Over 200,000 Chinese civilians and POWs were believed to have been murdered in the Nanjing area during a six-week period in the winter of 1937–1938, while approximately 20,000 cases of rape occurred within the city alone.¹¹ The verdict of the Nanjing trial was similar, except for a higher death toll of over 300,000.¹² Almost entirely based on Western and Chinese records and testimonies, these verdicts would serve as a surrogate history of the event for decades to come.

It would take another twenty years before the Japanese historian Hora Tomio published the first historical study of this infamous incident in 1967, using mostly tribunal transcripts and a few postwar Japanese recollections.¹³ However, it was not until the early 1970s, shortly before the historic visit by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei to China, which ended the state of war and established diplomatic relations between the two countries, that the Nanjing Massacre (*Nankin daigyakusatsu*) resurfaced to become the center of a public controversy in Japan. In late 1971, Honda Katsuichi, a well-known reporter for the leading newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, published a series of startling accounts of Japan's wartime atrocities in Nanjing and elsewhere in China based on interviews with Chinese survivors.¹⁴

Enormously influential, Honda's articles also drew harsh denunciations in Japan. In an exposé entitled *The Illusion of the "Nanjing Massacre,"* a nonfiction writer named Suzuki Akira cast doubt on the massacre for lack of "reliable first-hand documentation" and accused Honda of presenting Chinese exaggerations and propaganda. Largely based on his own interviews with Japanese veterans, Suzuki concluded that the story recounted by Honda's Chinese informants of two Japanese officers engaging in a contest to kill Chinese with their swords near Nanjing—a highly publicized episode that led to their execution after the war—actually had been a fabrication by the wartime Japanese press to drum up war fever at home.¹⁵

¹¹ R. John Pritchard and Sonia Magbanua Zaide, comps., *International Military Tribunal for the Far East: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 22 vols. (New York, 1981–87), 49604–08. The verdict on Matsui Iwane, however, states that "upwards of 100,000 people were killed"; 49815.

¹² The Second Archives of China, et al., *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha dang'an* [Archival materials on the Nanjing Massacre by the invading Japanese troops] (Nanjing, 1987), 603–12.

¹³ Hora Tomio, "Nankin jiken" [The Nanjing Incident], in *Kindai senshi no nazo* [Puzzles in modern military history] (Tokyo, 1967), 55–172.

¹⁴ Honda Katsuichi, *Chūgoku no tabi* [A journey to China] (Tokyo, 1972), 255–300; *Chūgoku no Nihongun* [The Japanese troops in China] (Tokyo, 1972), 93–148.

¹⁵ Suzuki Akira, *Nankin daigyakusatsu no maboroshi* [The illusion of the Nanjing Massacre] (Tokyo, 1973). Although the book won a prize in the genre of nonfiction, the case of the "killing contest" has not been closed, as there was evidence suggesting the officers might have actually killed many Chinese

A short but intense debate ensued, with somewhat inconclusive results. During the 1970s, historian Hora Tomio tenaciously combated what he considered “efforts to make the Nanjing Massacre into an illusion” and published a number of scholarly monographs and documents on Nanjing that generally upheld the verdicts of the trials. On the other hand, a 500-page official history on army operations in China during the first seven months of the conflict, published by the Self-Defense Agency, still literally relegated the “Nanjing Incident” to a long footnote.¹⁶

After a brief hiatus, the debate was reignited with increased ferocity after 1982, as the controversy over the Japanese government’s screening of history textbooks for unflattering content drew protest from neighboring Asian capitals and raised the political stakes of issues related to Japan’s wartime record.¹⁷ Tanaka Masaaki, who had labored diligently after the war to discredit the war crimes trials and to exonerate the condemned Japanese commander-in-chief, Matsui Iwane, authored *The Fabrication of the Nanjing Massacre*, a book that came to be heralded by commentators in Japan who denied that a large-scale massacre ever took place.¹⁸ Even the subsequent discovery that Tanaka, who edited the published diary of Matsui, had made upwards of 900 alterations to minimize suggestions of atrocities did not seem to hurt his reputation or halt his publications.¹⁹ The battle over history raged in the mass media, where literary critics, journalists, and self-styled specialists seem to have eclipsed professional historians.

By the late 1980s, the heated debate in Japan had produced some tangible results for serious historians. First, a variety of new evidence, including the private diaries of several commanding Japanese generals in Nanjing as well as those of many ordinary soldiers, was made public for the first time.²⁰ Official military records of a number of the Japanese units involved also became available. In addition, a number of Japanese veterans began openly to admit to atrocities in the Nanjing area.²¹

POWs. For an in-depth discussion, see Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, “Mountains and Molehills: The Nanjing ‘100-Man Killing Contest,’” paper presented at “The Nanjing Atrocities Reexamined,” March 19, 1999, York University.

¹⁶ Self-Defense Agency War History Office, *Shina jihen rikugun sakusen (1)* [Army combat operations in the China Incident (1)] (Tokyo, 1975), 436–38.

¹⁷ Japan’s Ministry of Education was widely reported to have demanded revisions in high school history textbooks in an effort to minimize Japan’s past aggression. In fact, initial reports were inaccurate regarding the date and scope of the revisions. For a recent study in English, see Caroline Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case Study in Decision-Making* (London, 1998).

¹⁸ Tanaka Masaaki, “*Nankin gyakusatsu*” *no kyokō* (Tokyo, 1984). The book was subsequently translated into Chinese to serve as an example of the virulent revisionist onslaught in Japan. See translators’ note in “*Nanjing datusha*” *shi xugou* [The fabrication of the “Nanjing Massacre”], Pan Junfeng, *et al.*, trans. (Beijing, 1985), 1–19.

¹⁹ Tanaka Masaaki, comp., *Matsui Iwane taishō no jinchū nisshi* [The wartime diary of General Matsui Iwane] (Tokyo, 1985). For an examination of these alterations, see Itakura Yashiaki, “Matsui Iwane taishō ‘jinchū nikki’ kaizan no ayashi” [Suspicious of tampering with the “wartime diary” of General Matsui Iwane], *Rekishi to jimbutsu* (Winter 1986): 318–31. However, Tanaka went on to publish *Nankin jiken no sōkatsu: Gyakusatsu hitei jūgo no ronkyō* [The summary of the Nanjing Incident: Fifteen arguments denying the massacre] (Tokyo, 1987).

²⁰ Some of the soldiers’ diaries can be found in Iguchi Kazuki, *et al.*, comp., *Nankin jiken Kyōtō shidan kankei shiryōshū* [Materials concerning the Kyoto Division in the Nanjing Incident] (Tokyo, 1989).

²¹ The latest example is Okumiya Takeshi, *Watashi ga mita Nankin jiken* [The Nanjing Incident as I saw it] (Tokyo, 1997). Earlier memoirs by veterans include Sone Kazuo, *Shiki Nankin gyakusatsu* [A personal account of the Nanjing Massacre] (Tokyo, 1984); Yamamoto Takeshi, *Ichī heishi no jūgun*

Official military histories could no longer ignore the events of 1937. In 1989, Kaikōsha, the fraternity organization of former Imperial Japanese Army cadet academy graduates, published a history of the Battle of Nanjing, together with many Japanese battle records, diaries, and testimonies of Japanese officers.²² Although the book was largely concerned with military operations, it made numerous references to the executions of captured Chinese soldiers.

Based on these new Japanese sources, a new wave of scholarly works appeared. A number of historians in the Nanjing Incident Study Group, founded by Hora and Honda after the textbook controversy, published their research works as well as documents translated from English and Chinese.²³ Since they have not wavered in their insistence that the Japanese military committed a large-scale atrocity in Nanjing, they have been dubbed the “massacre faction,” while those like Tanaka Masaaki who see the massacre as a fabrication have come to be known as the “illusion faction.” Historian Hata Ikuhiko, who placed himself in a “moderate” group between these two groups, also published an influential monograph in 1986.²⁴ In what came to be called the “Debate over the Nanjing Massacre” in Japan, the battle lines seemed to have become fixed largely on the basis of differences over the scale and nature of the atrocities. The gap between these groups seems unbridgeable, with animosity between them frequently running high.

Kasahara Tokushi, author of *Nankin Jiken* (The Nanjing Incident), is a member of the Nanjing Incident Study Group. Known for his many critical works on the Japanese atrocities in China, he has served as an expert witness for the historian Ienaga Saburō in his lawsuit against the Ministry of Education over textbook screenings.²⁵ In one of his recent monographs, Kasahara became the first historian to weave the records of American missionaries and Japanese and Chinese sources into a gripping account of the terror brought on the Chinese population in Nanjing by the Japanese troops.²⁶ If the title of *The Nanjing Incident* may suggest to some a less shocking image than the term “Nanjing Massacre,” it does not make the book less of an indictment of the Japanese military brutalities in Nanjing. Kasahara has written it not as a polemic but rather as an attempt to create a new synthesis based on existing scholarship, even including works published in China.

kiroku [A soldier's record of army life] (private edition, 1985); Azuma Shirō, *Waga Nankin purāton* [Our Nanjing platoon] (Tokyo, 1987).

²² Kaikōsha, *Nankin senshi* [A history of the Nanjing Battle] (Tokyo, 1989); and *Nankin senshi shiryōshū* [A history of the Nanjing Battle: Collection of source materials] (Tokyo, 1989, 1993).

²³ Fujiwara Akira, *Nankin daigyakusatsu* [The Nanjing Massacre] (Tokyo, 1985); Yoshida Yutaka, *Tennō no guntai to Nanjing jiken* [The emperor's army and the Nanjing Incident] (Tokyo, 1986).

²⁴ Hata Ikuhiko, *Nankin jiken: “Gyakusatsu” no kōzō* [The Nanjing Incident: Structure of the “Massacre”] (Tokyo, 1986). The book is now in its nineteenth printing. For a brief discussion of the atrocities in a general history he published more than two decades before, see Hata, *Nitchū sensō shi* [A history of the Sino-Japanese War] (1961; Tokyo, 1979), 284–86.

²⁵ For a record of this latest round of court actions, see National Joint Committee in Support of the Textbook Trials, *Nankin daigyakusatsu, Chōsen jinmin no teikō, 731 Butai* [The Nanjing Massacre, resistance by the Korean people, Unit 731] (Tokyo, 1997), 1–100. Materials related to an early phase of the trial can be found in Honda Katsuichi, comp., *Sabakareta Nankin daigyakusatsu* [The Nanjing Massacre under judgment] (Tokyo, 1989).

²⁶ Kasahara Tokushi, *Nankin nanminku no hyakunichi* [A hundred days inside the Nanjing Refugee Zone] (Tokyo, 1996). For a sampling of these records, see *American Missionary Eyewitnesses to the Nanking Massacre, 1937–1938*, Martha Lund Smalley, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1997).

In contrast to Japan, the outpouring of Chinese publications on the Nanjing Massacre is a more recent phenomenon and has proceeded without a lively internal debate. Largely in response to the textbook controversy in Japan but also due to the increasing emphasis on patriotism, Chinese historians published several historical overviews of the Japanese atrocities in Nanjing and released some Chinese documents in the late 1980s.²⁷ The Nanjing Massacre became the subject of a wide variety of presentations, from a popular semi-fictional work that incorporated interviews with survivors to feature-film productions.²⁸ In 1985, a grand memorial dedicated to the victims of the Japanese massacre opened in Nanjing. In the meantime, several historians in Taiwan also published brief studies of the subject, and a few mainland authors have had their work published in Taiwan.²⁹ Almost all the Chinese writings share a spirited defense of the verdicts of the postwar trials as well as condemnation of those Japanese who either deny or question the Nanjing Massacre.

Given the existing conditions in China, one may expect *The Nanjing Massacre*, a collaborative work completed in 1995, to be simply a repetition of familiar themes. It indeed bears much resemblance to those earlier publications: it starts with a discussion of Japan's aggression in China, followed by the different categories of Japanese atrocities in Nanjing, and concludes with the postwar military tribunals. While the book has significantly expanded the use of Japanese and Western-language sources already in Chinese translation, it is still based mostly on Chinese materials, such as survivors' testimonies and official trial records. Despite the absence of major breakthroughs, the book is suggestive of some new directions taken by Chinese historians. Many of these come from Sun Zhaiwei, the chief author of the volume, who has also written several studies of the Chinese defense in Nanjing based on archival sources.

If the Rape of Nanjing was rediscovered in Japan in the 1970s and in China a decade later, the same process unmistakably reached the United States in the 1990s. For decades, while many English-language works on World War II would mention the Rape of Nanjing in passing, only a handful of them described it in great detail, almost none by academic historians.³⁰ Such seeming neglect in mainstream English

²⁷ Gao Xingzu, *Rijun qin-Hua baoxing: Nanjing datusha* [Atrocities of the invading Japanese troops: The Nanjing Massacre] (Shanghai, 1985); Committee for the Compilation of Sources Relating to the Nanjing Massacre and the Library of Nanjing, comp., *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha shiliao* [Historical materials on the Nanjing Massacre by the invading Japanese troops] (Nanjing, 1985); The Second Archives of China, *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha dang'an*; Committee for the Compilation of Sources Relating to the "Nanjing Massacre," *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha shigao* [A draft history of the Nanjing Massacre by the invading Japanese troops] (Nanjing, 1987).

²⁸ Xu Zhigeng, *Nanjing datusha* [The Nanjing Massacre] (Beijing, 1987). The two feature films about the Nanjing Massacre are *Tu cheng xuezheng* [Blood-stained proof of the Massacre] (1988) and *Nanjing datusha* [The Rape of Nanjing] (1995).

²⁹ Noteworthy works included Li Enhan, *Ribenjun zhanzheng baoxing zhi yanjiu* [A study of the war atrocities of the Japanese military] (Taipei, 1994); Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Rijun zai-Hua baoxing: Nanjing datusha* [Atrocities of the Japanese army in China: The Nanjing Massacre] (Taipei, 1986, 1987).

³⁰ David Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York, 1971); Dick Wilson, *When Tigers Fight: The Story of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-45* (New York, 1983). Academic historians who discussed the event at some length include Robert J. C. Butow, *Tojo and the Coming of War* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 100-03; Lloyd Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship: Smuggling, Puppets, and Atrocities during the War, 1937-1945," in Akira Iriye, ed., *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions* (Princeton, 1980), 292-98; Martin Bagish and Hilary Conroy, "Japanese Aggres-

publications of Chinese suffering during the war in general and that in Nanjing in particular has produced a new wave of works in recent years, mostly by Chinese Americans alarmed by the frequently reported denials of the massacre in Japan. Historian Wu Tien-wei founded a bilingual journal devoted to the study of Japanese aggression in China, whereas journalist Shi Young co-produced a bilingual English-Chinese work on the Rape of Nanjing, which was termed “the forgotten Holocaust.” Subtitled an “undeniable history in photographs,” the book included many Japanese documents translated into English for the first time. Other recent English-language works on the Nanjing Massacre, including two well-received television documentaries, were also predominantly the creations of Chinese-American artists and journalists.³¹

It is then perhaps no coincidence that it was a second-generation Chinese-American journalist who authored the first non-fiction book on the topic written in a Western language.³² Iris Chang’s *The Rape of Nanking* is also one of the most comprehensive accounts that explores not only the atrocity but also its postwar remembrance. Chang accomplishes this remarkable feat by incorporating much of the recent work on the subject by Chinese and Chinese-American historians, including many disturbingly graphic photographs and a number of the translated documents. But Chang also has made her own discoveries. The diary of German businessman John Rabe, who headed the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone, is perhaps the most well-publicized. Chang tries to describe the Japanese atrocities in Nanjing from three angles—Chinese victims, Japanese perpetrators, and Western eyewitnesses—in what she calls the “Rashōmon perspective.” She is most effective in introducing individual voices and highlighting the previously under-acknowledged role of those Westerners who protected Chinese lives in Nanjing. The book gains its popularity at least in part as a vivid and highly moving human drama, seldom found among the works of professional historians.

Sixty years after it took place, the Rape of Nanjing has returned to capture popular and scholarly imagination, as the stakes of wartime memories seem to reach unprecedented heights around the world. Historians—inasmuch as those writing historical accounts of the Nanjing Massacre can be considered historians—are still a diverse group in which professional historians are by no means a majority. Having situated these works in their own context, we can now examine how each of them approaches this traumatic event. While the Rape of Nanjing was no doubt a multifaceted and complex event, historians in particular have been concerned with its scale as well as its causes. How it has been remembered after the war has also become a subject of inquiry. It is therefore helpful to examine these issues in some detail.

sion against China: The Question of Responsibility,” in Alvin Coox and Hilary Conroy, eds., *China and Japan: Search for Balance since World War I* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1978), 328–30.

³¹ *Journal of Studies of Japanese Aggression against China* (Carbondale, Ill., 1990–); Shi Young and James Yin, *The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs* (Chicago, 1996). The two documentary films are *Magee’s Testament* (1991), directed by Peter Wong; and *In the Name of the Emperor* (1995), directed by Christine Choy and Nancy Tong.

³² The semi-fictional work by Chinese author Xu Zhigeng had been published in an English translation in China as *Lest We Forget: Nanjing Massacre, 1937* (Beijing, 1995).

WHETHER IT IS APPROPRIATE TO REFER TO the Rape of Nanjing as the Nanjing Incident, the term often used in Japan, sometimes becomes a source of dispute. Occasionally, the dispute descends into a game of semantics, with some Japanese insisting that the term Nanjing Massacre is inappropriate because it suggests a Chinese bias. Despite their distinctive titles, it is significant that these three books essentially agree on the definition of the event: what happened in Nanjing was more than just a mass murder of Chinese soldiers and civilians. The Nanjing Massacre Incident, as Kasahara defines it, encompasses all the atrocities committed by the Japanese troops against Chinese soldiers and civilians, in violation of international combat rules and humanitarian law, during the attack and initial occupation of Nanjing.³³ Sun and Chang in particular, like Kasahara in his numerous other publications, devote much space to describing the rampant rapes committed by Japanese soldiers, as well as their wanton destruction and looting in the city. It is through such descriptions that these authors express their sympathy to the Chinese victims and rescue the event from abstraction.

Any attempt to gauge the scale of the Rape of Nanjing has to address its duration and geographical area. Most of the earlier accounts—including the initial reports dispatched by American journalists and the verdicts of the postwar military tribunals—recorded the Japanese atrocities in Nanjing after it fell on December 13, 1937. In this regard, Kasahara's account is unusual in that nearly half of the book is devoted to developments before that date. He begins with the aerial bombings of Nanjing by the Imperial Japanese Navy after August 15, 1937, which he considers the "prelude" to the later atrocities. He then goes on to describe how the successive waves of Japanese troops devastated much of the area west of Shanghai in their rush to take the Chinese capital. Here, Kasahara builds on the pioneering work of journalist Honda Katsuichi. More than anyone else, Honda has singlehandedly demonstrated through extensive interviews with Chinese survivors as well as numerous Japanese documents that the pattern of Japanese atrocities, such as the murder of POWs and the rape of women, was already established with the battle of Shanghai.³⁴ Kasahara does consider the Rape of Nanjing a distinct event that started with the final Japanese attack on the city in early December and lasted until the founding of the puppet government in late March 1938. The area he proposes to examine is considerably broader than the walled city; he justifies the inclusion of the six counties that constituted the Nanjing Special Municipality on the grounds that the entire area was overrun by Japanese troops in the Battle of Nanjing.³⁵ Chinese historian Sun also considers it "more scientific" to include those six rural counties, adding that they were covered in a 1938 survey of war damages in the Nanjing area.³⁶

Their general agreements on definitions notwithstanding, these three works have reached somewhat different conclusions regarding the total number of Chinese

³³ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 214.

³⁴ See Honda Katsuichi, *Nankin e no michi* [The road to Nanjing] (Tokyo, 1987). For an English translation of the revised Japanese edition, see Honda, *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame* (Armonk, N.Y., forthcoming).

³⁵ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 214.

³⁶ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 5–6. The survey is Lewis S. C. Smythe, *War Damage in the Nanjing Area: December 1937 to March 1938* (Shanghai, 1938).

victims in the Rape of Nanjing. While earlier Chinese sources have quoted higher figures, Sun essentially confirms the figure of 300,000 Chinese victims, which was first given in the verdict of the tribunal in Nanjing and has been cited in most Chinese accounts since 1985.³⁷ After a discussion of various estimates, Chang embraces the range 260,000 to well over 300,000.³⁸ In contrast, Kasahara's estimate of the Chinese victims is more measured and cautious, if by some standards frustratingly ambiguous. As he puts it, "over 100,000, perhaps nearly 200,000 or even more Chinese soldiers and civilians became victims in Nanjing."³⁹

The key difference between Kasahara and the other two authors is the basis of their estimates. Like most Chinese writers, Chang and Sun base their calculations largely on the evidence presented at the postwar trials, including the burial figures by Chinese charity organizations and Chinese eyewitness accounts. Another piece of corroborating evidence used by Chang and Sun is a confession made by a Japanese officer in Chinese custody in 1954; he claimed that, in December 1937, Japanese troops had disposed of a total of 150,000 Chinese corpses, many thrown into the Yangtze River.⁴⁰ With the exception of the burial records of the Red Swastika Society, all such evidence has been called into question in Japan during the course of the debate. For example, according to one Japanese source, the Japanese officer who made the confession arrived in Nanjing a few days later than he stated, thus undermining his credibility.⁴¹ Given this, it is understandable that Kasahara chooses to build his case by relying primarily on the available Japanese records in order to convince his readers in Japan. Kasahara concludes that, out of a Chinese defense force totaling 150,000, at least some 80,000 Chinese soldiers were murdered in captivity or as stragglers by Japanese troops.⁴² The death toll of Chinese civilians in the Nanjing area, he points out, is even harder to calculate since the Japanese records had little to say about them. Noting that civilian casualties were greater outside the city, Kasahara cites the calculation of 26,780 civilian deaths in a 1938 sampling survey by University of Nanking sociology professor Lewis S. C. Smythe as well as a rough estimate of 50,000–60,000 given by John Rabe.⁴³

How the evidence is evaluated therefore is of crucial importance. Sun makes some useful clarification about the Chinese burial records, noting that two of these

³⁷ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 435–40.

³⁸ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 99–103.

³⁹ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 228. "Over 100,000" is a rough translation of the Japanese phrase "jūsūman," which literally means "one hundred and tens of thousands."

⁴⁰ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 384–88; Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 101.

⁴¹ On the discrepancy between the confession of Ōta Toshio and the diary of Kajitana Takeo, see *Nankin senshi shiryōshū*, 2: 420–38.

⁴² While Kasahara's estimate of the Chinese defense at around 150,000 largely draws from Sun's research, others give smaller figures of between 50,000 to 100,000. More recently, Sun has argued that Chinese soldiers killed in combat should not be counted as "compatriot victims" in a strict sense. Placing Chinese combat casualties at around 10,000, Sun concludes that between 80,000 and 90,000 Chinese soldiers were murdered after laying down their arms. See Sun Zhaiwei, "Nanjing datusha yunan tongbao zhong jiu jin you duoshao jun ren" [How many soldiers were among the compatriot victims of the Nanjing Massacre], *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* 26 (April 1997): 8–17.

⁴³ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 223–24. In his report to Adolf Hitler, John Rabe noted that the Chinese estimate of 100,000 civilian deaths was perhaps too high, and that "we Europeans put it between 50,000 and 60,000." John H. Rabe, *Nankin no shinjitsu* [The truth about Nanjing], Japanese translation of *Der Gute Deutsche von Nanking* by Hirano Kyōko (Tokyo, 1997), 317; in its English translation, however, the estimate refers to all victims, see *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*, John E. Woods, trans. (New York, 1998), 212. Smythe, *War Damage in the Nanjing Area*.

charity organizations—the Red Swastika Society and the Red Cross—compiled their records during or immediately after their work in 1938. While maintaining that another organization named Chong Shan Tang (meaning “Charity House”) had engaged in burial works, Sun admits that its record of over 110,000 burials was not submitted until the Nanjing trial after the war.⁴⁴ This distinction is important. Without additional information on when and how Chong Shan Tang compiled these figures, which contained an improbably high number of burials (over 100,000) in the last month of its four-month operation, Kasahara is therefore justified in exercising caution with such sources.

Even perfectly reliable evidence, if taken out of proper context, cannot always speak for itself. One example is a Japanese diplomatic telegram sent from the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo to the Japanese embassy in Washington in early 1938, which noted “not less than three hundred thousand Chinese civilians slaughtered” in Nanjing and elsewhere. Having examined a Chinese translation of the telegram, which had been intercepted by the United States and declassified a few years ago, Sun considers it “important corroborating evidence” of the scale of the massacre, since the Japanese government relayed the telegram to alert its embassies abroad.⁴⁵ Chang goes a step further and—as it turns out—too far. Mistakenly believing that it was written by the Japanese, she presents this telegram as “compelling evidence that the Japanese themselves believed at the time of the massacre that the death toll at Nanjing may have been as high as 300,000.”⁴⁶ As another intercepted telegram clearly states, Japan’s Foreign Ministry was actually transmitting as an enclosure a news cable written by H. Timperley, Far Eastern correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, that had been suppressed by the Japanese censors in Shanghai.⁴⁷

Different interpretations of the same evidence can yield different conclusions, partially explaining the fact that Kasahara’s estimate of Chinese victims is considerably higher than those given by a number of other Japanese writers who ventured an estimate. Hata Ikuhiko, for example, concluded that approximately 30,000 Chinese soldiers and 12,000 civilians had been “illegally murdered” by the Japanese troops in Nanjing. Breaking down the Chinese casualties into a number of categories, Hata suggested that many Chinese soldiers in the process of surrendering (*tōkōhei*) as well as the stragglers (*haizanhei*) should be excluded from the “victims” of the Japanese atrocity on the grounds that they were killed in an extension of combat.⁴⁸ Adopting an even narrower definition and explicitly

⁴⁴ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 402–10. Sun cites records of this organization dating from 1938–1939 as well as postwar recollections of its members.

⁴⁵ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 436.

⁴⁶ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 103–04. This claim has been repeated in a number of other publications; see Shi and Yin, *Rape of Nanking*, 262, 276–78.

⁴⁷ The Japanese Consulate General in Shanghai forwarded Timperley’s cable, designated as #176 (S.I.S. #1263), to the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo, which sent it to the embassy in Washington on January 17, 1938. Two days later, Tokyo forwarded the explanatory note (S.I.S. #1257), which was received from Shanghai as #175. Both telegrams are in Japanese Diplomatic Messages, “Red Machine” (1934–1938), Box 1, Record Group 457, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Chang clarifies the authorship in the notes of the paperback edition but does not change the main text.

⁴⁸ Hata, *Nankin jiken*, 187–205. Hata placed the Chinese defense strength at 100,000 and reached the 30,000 figure on the basis of available Japanese military records. He seems to have applied the concept of “illegal murder” to Smythe’s survey result of civilian casualties, arriving at 8,000–12,000 for civilian victims. More recently, Hata accepts the estimate of 40,000–60,000 victims as also plausible. See

excluding Chinese soldiers who had discarded their uniforms and weapons, Itakura Yoshiaki, a businessman-turned-historian on this subject, concluded that the total number of Chinese “illegally murdered” by the Japanese fell between 13,000 and 19,000.⁴⁹ Like his colleagues in the Nanjing Incident Study Group, Kasahara strongly disagrees with such classifications. The Japanese troops in Nanjing were waging a battle of encirclement and annihilation, and taking no prisoners, they argue, so that many Chinese stragglers were killed outright rather than captured. Characterization of those Chinese soldiers who had put on civilian clothes to save their lives as “plain-clothes soldiers” (*ben’ihei*) not entitled to POW treatment according to existing international law amounts to a thinly veiled attempt to minimize the scale of Japanese atrocities.⁵⁰

As such an allegation suggests, the issue of Chinese death tolls in Nanjing is more than simply an academic matter. In part, this is because the 300,000 figure (or even the lower figure of 200,000 given in the verdict at the tribunal in Tokyo) has been invested with much symbolic meaning and has since taken on a life of its own. Many, especially in Japan, regard these figures as symbols of what they consider the “victors’ justice” at the postwar tribunals, where Japan was condemned as the sole aggressor. In the recent work of Tokyo University professor Fujioka Nobukatsu, it becomes his “deliberate strategy” to disprove these figures in order ultimately to raise doubts about the entire so-called “Tokyo War Crimes Trial view of history.”⁵¹ Seen in this light, the unwavering Chinese insistence on 300,000 or an even higher estimate also typifies what is called the “Chinese-style exaggeration” with total disregard for evidence. For many Japanese, therefore, research on the Nanjing Incident has become synonymous with disproving Chinese claims rather than establishing what did happen in Nanjing.

On the other hand, for many Chinese in particular, this figure has come to symbolize the justice, legality, and authority of the postwar trials that condemned Japan as the aggressor. Given the much-publicized attempts by some Japanese to discredit the postwar trials in recent decades, any doubt in this figure is easily associated with sinister motives.⁵² The 300,000 figure, engraved on the walls of the memorial erected in 1985 and dedicated to the victims of the massacre in Nanjing,

Hata Ikuhiko, “Nankin gyakusatsu jiken: Kazu no kōsatsu” [A numerical study of the Nanjing Atrocity], paper presented at the Fourth International Symposium on the History of Sino-Japanese Relations, November 1997, Keio University, Tokyo, 7. In its English translation, however, the 40,000–60,000 figure was considered the civilian toll. See “The Nanking Atrocities: Fact and Fable,” *Japan Echo* 25, no. 4 (August 1998): 51.

⁴⁹ Itakura Yoshiaki, “‘Nankin jiken’ no sūryō teki kenkyū” [A numerical study of the “Nanjing Incident”], *Gunji shigaku* 26, no. 1 (June 1990): 54–70. Itakura estimates that out of a total Chinese defense force of 75,000, roughly one third were killed in combat and another third were taken captive. Among them, 16,000 were executed, but only 8,000 to 12,000 can be considered “illegally murdered.” He likewise argues that only half to one third of the civilian casualties in Smythe’s survey can be blamed on the Japanese.

⁵⁰ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 222–23. See Yoshida Yutaka, “Jūgonen sensōshi kenkyū to sensō sekinin mondai” [Research on the history of the Fifteen Years’ War and the problem of war responsibilities], in Hora Tomio, et al., eds., *Nankin jiken o kangaeru* [The Nanjing Incident considered] (Tokyo, 1987), 69–94.

⁵¹ Fujioka Nobukatsu, *Jiyūshugi shikan to wa nani ka* [What is the liberal view of history?] (Tokyo, 1997), 49.

⁵² Li Enhuan, “Nanjing datusha de tusha shumu wenti” [The issue of death tolls in the Nanjing Massacre], in Li, *Ribenjun zhanzheng baoxing zhi yanjiu*, 1–54.

also provides a much-needed symbol for many to remember an otherwise opaque event in the receding past. Shi Young, the Chinese-American journalist who co-authored the bilingual photographic history of the atrocities in Nanjing, gives a “minimum death toll of 369,366” on the basis of his calculation of various burial figures and testimonies. Ambiguity in numbers, he argues, “creates more controversy as well as opportunities for those who would like to erase the ‘Rape of Nanking’ from history books.”⁵³ Finally, in an apparent effort to stress the full horror of the Japanese crimes in Nanjing, still others seek to “establish a quantitative record to qualify the event as one of the great evil deeds of history.” Despite her own explicit admonition against such a practice, Chang goes on to make the assertion that the Rape of Nanjing surpassed a whole slew of other atrocities in history, from the Romans at Carthage (“only 150,000 died in that slaughter”) all the way to the “combined death toll of the two atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.”⁵⁴

Although the Chinese death tolls have become problematic symbols in a polemic, historians generally agree that the issue is too important to be brushed aside completely. Considerable differences still remain, however, partly because of political reasons but certainly exacerbated by the lack of definitive evidence and disagreement over definitions. Many historians in Japan consider it nearly impossible to reach a precise count today, but, like any other subject of historical inquiry, reappraisal is inevitable. There are indications that even some Chinese historians have come to similar conclusions. In the preface to *The Nanjing Massacre*, Sun observes that as long as historians acknowledge the fact that Japanese troops wantonly slaughtered Chinese people in large numbers in Nanjing, the issue of whether the figure of 300,000 Chinese victims needs to be modified “somewhat upward or downward” can be discussed.⁵⁵ Sun’s suggestion is as subtle as it is important, and has been echoed among other Chinese historians.⁵⁶ Revision must be conducted responsibly with a view of the whole event rather than in isolation, as discussions that focus exclusively on the death figures often manage to say virtually nothing about other kinds of Japanese atrocities in Nanjing such as mass rape.⁵⁷ Worse, an obsession with figures reduces an atrocity to abstraction and serves to circumvent a critical examination of the causes of and responsibilities for these appalling atrocities.

⁵³ Shi and Yin, *Rape of Nanking*, 267, 242.

⁵⁴ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 5, 101. By defining the event primarily in terms of exact figures, such a comparison may serve as an obstacle against further reappraisal but also comes perilously close to the “revisionist” argument that if the 300,000 figure does not stand, then the great massacre in Nanjing did not happen.

⁵⁵ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 9–10.

⁵⁶ See the review of Sun’s book by the Nanjing University historian Zhang Xianwen in *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* 26 (November 1997): 196–205.

⁵⁷ There is also considerable difference over the exact number of rape victims in Nanjing. Whereas the verdict of the Tokyo trial put the figure at “20,000 within the first month,” Wu Tien-wei gives a much higher estimate that at least 80,000 Chinese women had been raped throughout the whole period, although he does not provide a full explanation. See Wu Tien-wei, *Let the Whole World Know the Nanjing Massacre: A Review of Three Recent Pictorial Works on the Massacre and Its Studies* (Carbondale, Ill., 1996).

MANY HISTORIANS IN JAPAN have already stressed the need to move the discussion beyond what some consider “a sterile argument over body counts.” There has been no lack of explanations for what transpired in Nanjing, some of which even date back to when the atrocities were still happening. While some contemporary observers regarded the event as a deliberate Japanese campaign of terrorism, others considered it to be a temporary breakdown of discipline in the Japanese army. There has been considerable progress in this area, especially since the publication of Division Commander Nakajima Kesago’s diary in 1985, which revealed that the massacre of Chinese POWs was an organized affair.⁵⁸ Still, the challenge to the historian remains to go beyond mere speculations to construct the most plausible explanations based on the available evidence.

Like most Chinese works, *The Nanjing Massacre* offers modern Japanese militarism as the ultimate explanation for the atrocities in Nanjing. Presenting the full-scale Japanese invasion from 1937 on as the culmination of Japan’s continuous aggression against China since the Meiji period (1868–1912), this book treats the massacre as above all a premeditated Japanese attempt to subdue China by sheer terror.⁵⁹ In part as a result of lack of access to Japanese sources, the book portrays the Japanese military as a monolith and attributes orders for killing surrendered Chinese soldiers and civilians to all levels of the Japanese military hierarchy, beginning with Commander General Matsui Iwane.⁶⁰

In a long introduction to the book, however, Sun suggests a more complex explanatory framework by dividing the causes of the atrocities into several categories. In his view, the “brutal nature of Japanese militarism and the heroic resistance by Chinese troops” are the most fundamental. It is perhaps not a surprise that Sun takes pains to emphasize that the fierce Chinese resistance, while a factor in intensifying the Japanese revenge, should in no way excuse the perpetrators of the atrocities. As secondary factors, Sun notes that Nanjing’s significance as the capital of China contributed to the Japanese ferociousness, just as the failure of the Chinese commander General Tang Shengzhi to organize a successful retreat increased the loss of Chinese lives.⁶¹ By going beyond the earlier generalizations about Japanese militarism and taking into consideration the particular conditions of the battle in Nanjing as well as the wartime psychology, Sun’s framework offers potential for a more nuanced understanding of the event than previously suggested in China.

At several points in her book, Chang also attempts to explain why such horrific atrocities took place in Nanjing. If most dramatic accounts inevitably rely on simplification, Chang’s broad strokes are no exception. Chang may be aware of the complexities of her subject and occasionally acknowledges them by quoting academic historians, but her own description and analysis tend to show a contrast of black and white as well, with little gray in between. Citing Sun’s research on the Chinese defense, Chang considers General Tang’s belated decision to withdraw “to

⁵⁸ “Nankin kōryakusen ‘Nakajima dai-16 shidanchō nikki’” [The diary of the commander of the 16th Division, Nakajima, in the attack on Nanjing], *Rekishi to jimbutsu (Zōkan): Hishi Taiheiyō sensō* (1984): 252–71.

⁵⁹ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, chap. 1, 88–92.

⁶⁰ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 92.

⁶¹ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 10–18.

have resulted in one of the worst disasters in Chinese military history.”⁶² Whereas Sun highlights Chinese resistance (perhaps to a greater length than necessary), Chang comes close to dismissing the often fierce resistance altogether, since Chinese soldiers defending Nanjing “felt little sense of cohesiveness or purpose.”⁶³

While Chang’s quotations of a few Japanese reminiscences provide revealing glimpses into the psychology of ordinary Japanese soldiers in the battlefield, her explanation of Japanese atrocities ends up as a reductionist analysis of the social psychology of the Japanese people. Homogeneity is assumed and particularities disappear in the book, as seen in the ubiquitous use of the collective “Japanese”: be it “the state of the Japanese mind in Nanking” or “the Japanese capacity for human degradation and sexual perversion in Nanking.”⁶⁴ Regarding the Japanese chain of command in Nanjing, Chang is basically correct that much of it is still shrouded in mystery due to lack of published evidence. Her failure to consult the numerous available Japanese records or scholarly works, however, has led her to rely on the flawed and dated work of popular historian David Bergamini, even while she makes a token acknowledgement of his shortcomings. For example, she repeats Bergamini’s questionable argument downplaying the role of General Matsui, who had in fact pushed for the attack on Nanjing in the first place. Following Bergamini, she holds Prince Asaka, commander of the Shanghai Expeditionary Force, ultimately responsible for issuing orders to kill Chinese prisoners but mistakenly places Asaka in charge of all Japanese army units around Nanjing.⁶⁵ These problems make her explanation of the Japanese atrocities less persuasive than her vivid description of them based on Chinese and Western sources.

Some of Chang’s problems could have been avoided had she consulted the recent works by Japanese historians on causes and responsibilities. As many new Japanese sources have come to light, it is not surprising that Japanese historians have made the greatest progress in explaining the atrocities, although they may still differ in their emphasis. For instance, earlier works by Hora Tomio, Fujiwara Akira, and Yoshida Yutaka emphasized the oppressive nature of Japan’s pre-war military system and the emperor-centered nationalist ideology, which led to a contempt for the Chinese people. They also considered the deterioration of discipline and the fierce fighting in Shanghai as factors affecting the troops’ behavior in Nanjing. On the other hand, while Hata Ikuhiko paid greater attention than those above to the wartime psychology and the breakdown of discipline in his 1986 study, he also blamed the pre-war Japanese military’s maltreatment of POWs and considered the brutality of Japanese troops “an inevitable product of fascist troops in a war of aggression.”⁶⁶

In *The Nanjing Incident*, Kasahara builds on these earlier Japanese works and also discusses the disastrous consequences of the Chinese defense. By following the developments within the Japanese forces, Kasahara demonstrates that senior Japanese commanders in Central China, beginning with General Matsui, acted

⁶² Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 74.

⁶³ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 71.

⁶⁴ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 54, 94.

⁶⁵ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 38–39. In fact, Lieutenant General Yanagawa Heisuke remained in charge of the 10th Army, which apparently also issued orders to execute Chinese prisoners.

⁶⁶ Hata, *Nankin jiken*, 216–34.

against the wishes of the army general staff in Tokyo by launching a hasty strike at Nanjing with the hope of bringing about China's quick and final capitulation. That they did so without making adequate preparation for supplies or taking sufficient precautions to maintain army discipline after taking the city would have disastrous effects on the Chinese population in and around Nanjing.⁶⁷ At the same time, Kasahara also holds Japanese divisional and regimental commanders in the field directly responsible for ordering the execution of disarmed Chinese soldiers and failing to discipline their troops despite widespread atrocities against Chinese civilians.⁶⁸ Kasahara's analysis in his slim 1997 book is embedded in his narratives, but elsewhere he offers a lucid summary of the causes for the behavior of Japanese troops. In addition to the lack of clearly defined war aims, he suggests that the contempt for the Chinese people as well as sexual abuse of women, both deeply rooted in pre-war Japanese society, were also fundamental causes of the atrocities in Nanjing.⁶⁹

A multi-layered explanation of the atrocities in Nanjing seems to be prevailing in Japan over either a blanket condemnation of Japanese militarism and the emperor system or a reduction of the infamous event to accidental factors.⁷⁰ In his 1997 book on the Japanese troops in Nanjing, historian Fujiwara Akira—he had the rather unique experience of being a junior officer in China during the later stage of the war—goes into greater depth. He not only examines the impact of the fierce fighting in Shanghai on the Japanese troops but also sheds new light on the structural dynamics within the Japanese military. He examines general characteristics of the Imperial Japanese Army such as the irrational emphasis on “spirit” and disregard for human life and, despite the demand for total submission by the ordinary soldiers, the recurring phenomenon of *gekokuujō*—junior officers rebelling against their superiors. In particular, Fujiwara demonstrates through a detailed examination of unpublished military records that the deterioration of the quality of the troops was related to the high proportion of poorly disciplined reserve soldiers in the China theater and to the narrow military education of commanders and staff officers, which contributed to the lack of respect for civilian lives and international law.⁷¹ Compared with those writings that still place greater emphasis on Japanese intentions, these Japanese works shed more light on both circumstances and contingent factors as well as the pre-war Japanese military and society as a whole. It is all the more significant, therefore, that some professional historians in China like Sun have proposed a similar approach to examining both immediate and long-term causes of the atrocities.

⁶⁷ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, chap. 2. See also Kaikōsha, *Nankin senshi*, 17–28.

⁶⁸ On handling Chinese captives, *Nankin senshi* also blamed the army leaders in Tokyo and in China for issuing an “incomprehensible” directive and not making adequate preparations. Kaikōsha, *Nankin senshi*, 337–45.

⁶⁹ Kasahara Tokushi, “Historical Causes of the Nanjing Massacre,” paper presented at the symposium “Nanjing 1937,” November 22, 1997, Princeton University.

⁷⁰ Attributing the atrocity to accidental factors has not lost all its popularity, however. *Nankin no hisame* [Icy rain in Nanjing] (Tokyo, 1989), though expressing sympathies for Chinese victims, nonetheless explains the massacre of Chinese POWs solely as a consequence of the fierce fighting in Shanghai.

⁷¹ Fujiwara Akira, *Nankin no Nihongun* [The Japanese troops in Nanjing] (Tokyo, 1997).

IN RECENT YEARS, HOW THE RAPE OF NANJING was treated after the war is becoming as controversial as the event itself. Given the still common allegation by some Japanese that the Rape of Nanjing was fabricated at the postwar military tribunals to tarnish Japan's name,⁷² the issues of judgment and remembrance have come to have their own importance.

Perhaps not surprisingly, *The Nanjing Massacre*, written by Chinese historians, firmly stands by the verdicts of the postwar military tribunals, but it also finds them inadequate. One author claims that "all officers above division commander rank and those officers and men with Chinese blood on their hands" should have been tried, and goes on to list seventeen "responsible Japanese officers who had escaped justice," including Prince Asaka.⁷³ Such a view expresses a new consensus among historians in China, and seems to be shared by Chang as well.⁷⁴ On the other hand, Kasahara has his criticism of the postwar military tribunals, but for more complex reasons. He finds the case against division commander Tani Hisao, the only high-ranking Japanese officer prosecuted in Nanjing, not entirely convincing on the basis of the evidence presented. If a full investigation of the whole incident were carried out, he suggests, higher level commanders, army leaders, and even the emperor could have been implicated. Kasahara thus draws a careful distinction between accepting the entire verdict of the tribunals uncritically on the one hand and "recognizing the facts of the atrocities brought out by the tribunal" on the other.⁷⁵ It is clear from all three works that a reevaluation of the postwar tribunals and the reexamination of the Rape of Nanjing are inseparable.⁷⁶

Kasahara asks why there is still reluctance on the part of some Japanese to accept these "facts of atrocities" even today. While he finds postwar conservative politics in Japan to be a major reason, he also considers it important that the Japanese people did not learn of these atrocities in "real time" during the war. Thus they did not experience the shock felt in China and the United States.⁷⁷ In Japan, wartime censorship of current events, both imposed and voluntary, was without question strict. The recent publication of the *full* text of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's "The Living Soldiers," a fictional work that described the brutality of Japanese soldiers in Nanjing based on the author's visit to the front in January 1938, reveals the great extent of self-censorship it underwent before it was published in Japan.⁷⁸ As the historian Yoshida Yutaka has suggested recently, however, the wartime Japanese

⁷² For a recent example of this line of argument, see Fuji Nobuo, "Nankin daigyakusatsu" wa kō shite tsukurareta: Tōkyō saiban no giman [How the "Nanking Massacre" was made up: The deception of the Tokyo trial] (Tokyo, 1995).

⁷³ Sun, *Nanjing datusha*, 623–37.

⁷⁴ See essays by He Tianyi, "Dongjing shenpan de fansi" [Reflections on the Tokyo trial], in *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha shi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* [Collected papers of the International Symposium on the Nanjing Massacre], Chen Anji, ed. (Hefei, 1998), 397–410; Qi Fuling, "Luelun Nanjing Riben zhanfan shenpan" [A brief discussion of the trial of Japanese war criminals in Nanjing], 411–30. Chang is more ambivalent about Matsui. See *Rape of Nanking*, chap. 8.

⁷⁵ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 233–34.

⁷⁶ For a recent critical reexamination of the Tokyo trial, see John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York, 1998), chap. 15.

⁷⁷ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 231–32.

⁷⁸ Ishikawa Tatsuzō, "Ikiteiru heitai" [The living soldiers], *Chūō Kōron (Rinji Zōkan): Gekidō no Shōwa bungaku* (November 1997): 274–350. While it is well known that Ishikawa's much sanitized piece in the March 1938 issue of *Chūō Kōron* magazine ran into trouble with the police, readers now can see the large sections of texts that had already been deleted *prior* to its publication.

blackout on atrocities in Nanjing was not as complete as it was once thought to be. Still a student in 1937, historian Hora Tomio was already greatly disturbed when he realized that mass executions of Chinese captives must have taken place, based on his careful reading of Japanese newspapers. He seems to have been an exception, however. A probing question has been raised whether the majority of the Japanese during the war would have considered it an atrocity even if they had known, for instance, about the killing of disarmed Chinese soldiers.⁷⁹

The issue of Chinese memories of the Nanjing Massacre was only partially discussed in a chapter entitled “Eternal Commemoration” in Sun’s collective volume. A director of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial describes its establishment as a response to the 1982 textbook controversy in Japan and details its activities since its opening in 1985—themselves examples of how history is used to instill patriotism in China. In his preface to a recent collection of survivors’ testimonies compiled by the memorial, for instance, a local party official spelled out the lessons of the Nanjing Massacre as “backwardness invites bullying” and “if the country is not strong, its people suffer.”⁸⁰ A nationalist orientation has unmistakably replaced the earlier emphasis on class struggle common before the 1980s in Chinese writing at all levels.

Sun’s book is conspicuously silent about the virtual absence of public commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre before 1982. In fact, a group of Nanjing-based historians had researched the subject back in the early 1960s, but apparently for political reasons their work was not published except in the form of an “internal publication” in 1979.⁸¹ Such issues remain sensitive and are rarely discussed in China. An exception is a recent essay by Mei Xiao-ao, the son of the Chinese justice at the Tokyo trial, who offers some telling clues. In the early 1960s, his father called on Chinese historians to study the Nanjing Massacre, after having learned about a Japanese publication on the destruction caused by the atomic bombs. However, he was later accused of “stirring up national hatred and revenge” against the Japanese people, and some even considered that his writing about the Chinese defeat and misery in Nanjing amounted to hidden praise for the strength of Japanese troops.⁸²

Clearly, remembering is always a selective process. This is especially true in countries where “memory making” and “history writing” have been largely dictated by the state or influenced by other powerful institutions. Could it be that memories of other traumas—domestic conflicts among them—were deemed more urgent by many citizens and therefore threatening to the state? Forgetting may also have multiple causes, not all of them sinister. Memories of traumatic events could be too

⁷⁹ Yoshida Yutaka, “Nankin wa honto ni mienakkata no ka” [Was Nanjing really invisible?], paper presented at the Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre, December 13, 1997, Tokyo. A major effort to address this question is Tsuda Michio, *Nankin daigyakusatsu to Nihonjin no seishin kōzō* [The Nanjing Massacre and the Japanese mentalities] (Tokyo, 1995).

⁸⁰ See Chen Anji’s preface to Zhu Chengshan, ed., *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha xinchunzhe zhengyanji* (Nanjing, 1994), 4. Some 642 testimonies are included.

⁸¹ This was a publication for “internal circulation” by the Nanjing University Department of History in 1979, *Riben diguo zhuyi he Nanjing datusha*, largely based on a study completed in the early 1960s. For an English translation by Robert Gray posted on the World Wide Web, see <http://www.cnd.org/njmassacre/njm-tran/>.

⁸² Mei Xiao-ao, “Nanjing datusha ji qita: Xianfu Mei Ruao de ixie kanfa” [The Nanjing Massacre and so on: Some views of my late father, Mei Ruao], in Chen, *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha shi*, 446–53.

painful for survivors to want to remember. Postwar memories of the Rape of Nanjing are discussed at considerable length in Chang's book, although it does not consider these broader questions of remembrance and suppression. As its subtitle "The Forgotten Holocaust" indicates, Chang's book is a strong and to some intentionally provocative indictment of what she considers the act of "forgetting" in mainland China, Taiwan, the United States, and particularly Japan. This wide scope alone makes her book unique. She blames the mindset of the Cold War as well as other political and economic motives for making the governments in the United States, mainland China, and Taiwan forget Japanese atrocities in World War II.

Without any question, Chang reserves her strongest indictment for Japan, which she considers the main culprit in the postwar cover-up—what she calls "the second rape." Although, at the end, Chang gives credit to "a vocal minority" in Japan that strives to raise public awareness of these issues and to pursue Japanese responsibility, for the most part she comes close to a sweeping condemnation that the "Japanese as a nation are still trying to bury the victims of Nanking" into "historical oblivion."⁸³ Clearly, this is a gross oversimplification, although her suggestion of still formidable forces in Japan that oppose atonement for the atrocities does not seem to be entirely off the mark. For example, in an effort to refute Chang's accusation, *Japan Echo*, an English-language journal published in Japan, produced a lengthy list of recent articles on the Nanjing atrocities published in mass-circulation Japanese magazines. A glance at their titles, surprisingly, reveals that the majority would serve to confirm her claim.⁸⁴ In this sense, even if her prognosis for Japanese society may be misconstrued, students of history and public memory still have to address these issues Chang has raised so provocatively.

IN AN ESSAY ON THIS SUBJECT written a decade ago, I myself described the heated debate in Japan over the Rape of Nanjing as "a twentieth-century Rashōmon," in the sense that, as the multiple, divergent narratives of the same event seemed irreconcilable, historical truth probably would never be found.⁸⁵ That analogy seems much less appropriate now. As this essay has shown, there has been an emerging convergence among most professional historians on several important issues related to the Rape of Nanjing. For instance, that the Japanese troops committed a variety of atrocities on a massive scale in Nanjing some sixty years ago is beyond any doubt. Mass executions of Chinese POWs, in particular, were apparently carried out under orders rather than being random acts of soldiers out of control. The atrocity in Nanjing is increasingly seen as an outcome of both the brutalization of war in China and deep-rooted tendencies in pre-war Japan. Grave tactical errors and utter confusion on the part of the Chinese defense, as even Chinese historians now acknowledge, contributed to the staggering loss of Chinese life in Nanjing. The International Safety Zone organized by Westerners is now

⁸³ Chang, *Rape of Nanking*, 219–20.

⁸⁴ "The Nanking Massacre in Print: A Recent Bibliography," *Japan Echo* 25, no. 4 (August 1998): 58–59. This is not the case in the category of books, where circulation is not considered.

⁸⁵ Daqing Yang, "The Nanjing Atrocity: The Making of a Twentieth-Century Rashōmon" (MA thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1989). Part of the thesis was published as "A Sino-Japanese Controversy: The Nanjing Atrocity as History," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 3, no. 1 (November 1990): 14–35.

widely recognized as having played a positive role in saving many Chinese. Even if such a convergence is still limited and sometimes under-acknowledged by the protagonists themselves, its historiographical significance must be acknowledged.

How did such a convergence come about, and what are its future prospects? What implications does this phenomenon have for the quest for a truthful representation of a major atrocity in history? Clearly, communication and discourse have played a part in narrowing some of the differences, even though historians studying the subject are nowhere near forming a community. Still, such developments are clearly visible within Japan, if they often take the form of heated, bitter debates. Studies of the Nanjing Massacre are also becoming international, although political, cultural, and even linguistic barriers remain formidable, and differences are sometimes magnified in cross-national exchanges. At a major international symposium on the history of the Nanjing Massacre held in Nanjing in 1997, over fifty papers were presented, many by Japanese participants. The Japanese historian Kasahara summarized his work in a paper discussing the "whole picture" of the Nanjing Massacre Incident. Of no small significance is the fact that, although his estimates of the death figures differed from Chinese accounts, he has not been disputed by his Chinese counterparts, and his paper has already been published in the conference proceedings in China.⁸⁶ In addition, many Japanese works have been translated into Chinese, and vice versa. Even though some of Hata Ikuhiko's views have met strong objections among many Chinese, his important 1986 book on this subject has been published in a Chinese translation in Hong Kong as a scholarly work to "further readers' understanding of the event."⁸⁷

Much of this convergence would not be possible without the new evidence that has come to light in the past two decades. The Japanese veterans' organization Kaikōsha offers perhaps the most dramatic example. In the mid-1980s, the organization launched a major effort to gather information from its 18,000 members to refute the "Nanjing Massacre." It had to reverse its original stand of complete denial later in the face of mounting incriminating evidence.⁸⁸ In a more recent case, the wartime diaries of a dozen or so Japanese soldiers collected by a Japanese factory worker provided crucial details of possibly the largest single mass execution of Chinese captives in Nanjing, laying to rest some of the disputed claims.⁸⁹

Understandably, any discovery of "new evidence" would arouse great interest among historians and the general public, even in different countries. The 1996 discovery of John Rabe's diary is a good recent example. In less than eight months,

⁸⁶ See Kasahara, "Nanjing datusha de quanmao" [The full picture of the Nanjing Massacre], in Chen, *Qin-Hua Rìjūn Nanjing datusha shi*, 31–39.

⁸⁷ See Translator's Note in Hata Ikuhiko, *Nanjing datusha zhengxiang: Riben jiaoshou de lunshu* [The truth of the Nanjing Massacre: Findings of a Japanese professor], Yang Wenxin, trans. (Hong Kong, 1995), xxiv.

⁸⁸ "Iwayuru 'Nankin jiken' ni kansuru jōhō teikyō no onegai" [A request for providing information concerning the so-called Nanjing Incident], *Kaikō* 395 (November 1983): 35–37; Katokawa Kōtarō, "Shōgen ni yoru Nankin senshi: Sono sōkatsu teki kōsatsu" [A battle history of Nanjing according to testimonies: A summary investigation], *Kaikō* 411 (March 1985): 9–18.

⁸⁹ Ono Kenji, et al., comp., *Nankin daigyakusatsu o kirokushita kōgun heishitachi* [Imperial (Japanese) Army soldiers who recorded the Nanjing Massacre] (Tokyo, 1996). For an account of Ono's efforts, see Charles Smith, "One Man's Crusade: Kenji Ono Lifts the Veil on the Nanjing Massacre," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 157, no. 34 (August 25, 1994): 24–25.

the Chinese published a complete translation of the diary describing the events in Nanjing, even ahead of its publication in the original German.⁹⁰ A major publisher in Japan brought out an abridged Japanese translation two months later, and an English translation was released in 1998.⁹¹ While some have acknowledged its limitations, most historians welcome the publication of such a “first-rate source by a third party observer,” which has the potential of lifting the debate to a new level.⁹²

Yet another factor that has contributed to the greater convergence is the renewed recognition of the importance of empirical research among historians. Zhang Kaiyuan, a well-known historian in China, published a study of the Nanjing Massacre based on the unpublished papers of Dr. Miner Seale Bates, an American professor present in Nanjing during the atrocities. Zhang criticized the earlier Chinese allegations of “collaboration between the International Safety Zone Committee and the Japanese authorities” in Nanjing as “politically motivated,” and called for a “more objective approach to such a period of complex history.”⁹³ With all its apparent excesses, the long and acrimonious debate in Japan has compelled all serious historians to be more scrupulous with their sources and analysis. Even photographic evidence, as many of them have come to realize, can be fraught with danger if its origins cannot be ascertained. When a conservative Japanese daily newspaper made a news story out of a wartime photograph used with the wrong caption in Kasahara’s book, he offered a swift public apology for his negligence and replaced the photograph.⁹⁴ One of Kasahara’s historian colleagues has included a cautionary note about the use of photographic evidence in a college textbook on historical sources, using the Rape of Nanjing as an example.⁹⁵

Intellectual historian Dominick LaCapra is correct to suggest that historical understanding “is not furthered by routine oppositions between ‘scientific history’ and the ‘other,’ which often appears in the form of myth, ritual, or memory.”⁹⁶ This need not undermine the importance of empirical research itself, nor suggest that strict standards only apply to academic historians. Historical works lacking such vigor have often fueled the accusation of willful distortion by all sides in the debate

⁹⁰ John H. Rabe, *Labei riji* [The Rabe diary], Chinese translation of *Bomben über Nanking* by Liu Haining, et al. (Nanjing, 1997). Some 702 pages are devoted to Rabe’s diary and journals. Rabe’s tombstone has been brought to rest in the massacre memorial in Nanjing.

⁹¹ Rabe, *Nankin no shinjitsu*. Rabe’s diary is on 21–273, and his report to Hitler on 288–321; Rabe, *Good Man of Nanking*.

⁹² Several Chinese writers emphasize that Rabe underestimated both the size of the Chinese population as well as the number of victims because his information was severely limited. See, for example, Duan Yueping, “‘Labei riji’ de shiliao jiazhi ji lishi juxianxin” [The Rabe diary as a historical source and its limitations], in Chen. *Qin-Hua Rijun Nanjing datusha shi*, 503–12. Published appraisals in Japan range from calls for Japanese self-introspection to allegations of Rabe’s pro-Chinese bias.

⁹³ Zhang Kaiyuan, *Nanjing datusha de lishi jianzheng* [An eyewitness’s historical records of the Nanjing Massacre] (Wuhan, 1995), 260–65.

⁹⁴ Kasahara, *Nankin jiken*, 73. Kasahara had borrowed the photograph and caption from a wartime Chinese publication on Japanese atrocities.

⁹⁵ Kimijima Kazuhiko, “Nankin jiken no gyakusatsu shashin,” in *Shiryō Kyōyō no Nihonshi* [Historical sources: Japanese history for education], Takeuchi Makoto, et al., eds. (Tokyo, 1991), 218. In her recent article on wartime images in photography exhibits in Japan, Julia A. Thomas briefly alludes to the debate over whether visual images can serve as historical evidence. Thomas, “Photography, National Identity, and the ‘Cataract of Times’: Wartime Images and the Case of Japan,” *AHR* 103 (December 1998): n. 3.

⁹⁶ Dominick LaCapra, “Representing the Holocaust: Reflections on the Historians’ Debate,” in Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation*, 126–27.

on the Rape of Nanjing. This has happened with the various photographic histories of the Nanjing Massacre, as well as with the earlier egregious tampering with General Matsui's diary by Tanaka Masaaki.⁹⁷ Any problematic use of photographs and other types of evidence in many recent publications, even if due to negligence, should be a cause of concern for all historians, professional or otherwise. Unfortunately, Chang's highly popular book suffers from these and other flaws, including inadequate footnotes⁹⁸ and numerous factual inaccuracies that range from incorrect dates or personal names to a broader misunderstanding of facts.⁹⁹ Although many of the glaring errors and irregularities in the book could have been eliminated by vigorous editing (certainly before being reissued in the paperback edition) and in themselves may not directly affect the main thrust of her argument, their frequency does undermine the book's value as a reliable work. Despite her emphatic claim to rescue history from distortion, these flaws have indeed made her own work vulnerable to attacks by deniers of the massacre in Japan and disturbing to scholars who have meticulously exposed Japan's wartime activities.¹⁰⁰

The trend toward historiographical convergence over the Rape of Nanjing is likely to continue, if slowly and unevenly. It would be naïve to expect the remaining differences to disappear soon or be resolved completely, however. To begin with, historical research is not about producing consensus; neither available written evidence nor empirical research alone can produce an objective history of what really happened in Nanjing that is beyond any dispute. Moreover, even a casual observer cannot fail to notice that such terms as "historical facts" or "truth" appear in almost every piece of Japanese and Chinese writing about the Nanjing atrocity. In this sense, the Rape of Nanjing poses a considerable epistemological challenge to all historians writing about traumatic events in the recent past.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Chinese historian Gao Xingzu, for example, considers it important enough to correct the mistakes in a pictorial history of the Nanjing Massacre published in China in 1995. See Gao Xingzu, "Du 'Nanjing datusha tuzheng'" [Reading Pictorial Evidence of the Nanjing Massacre], *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* 23 (February 1997): 22–29.

⁹⁸ Several sources are simply attributed to "author's interviews with survivors." On one occasion, Chang apparently quotes verbatim my own translation of a 1952 Chinese article but neglects to make an acknowledgment in the endnote (185, 277). Compare Yang, "Sino-Japanese Controversy," 16.

⁹⁹ For samples of factual errors, see the review by Joshua A. Fogel in *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 3 (August 1998): 818–19; Hata Ikuhiko has written about the factual mistakes in some detail and goes on to attack Chang's "feminist rhetoric." See "Nanking Atrocities: Fact and Fable," 47–57. Hata himself apparently confuses one of the photographs in Chang's book (Photograph 1) with a different photograph (depicting a similar scene of Japanese executions of Chinese POWs and similarly copied in a photo shop by a Chinese). For the latter picture, see Hora Tomio, et al., eds., *Nankin daigyakusatsu no genba e* [Toward the sites of the Nanjing Massacre] (Tokyo, 1988), 221.

¹⁰⁰ In February 1999, Kashiwa Shobo in Japan suspended the publication of Chang's book in Japanese translation, which would have included some corrections of her factual errors; in May, the publication contract was canceled. Chang and her American publisher disagreed with Kashiwa Shobo over the latter's plan to publish a separate book that contains criticism of her work, and later over the inclusion of the translator's notes and annotations as well as the appropriateness of some proposed changes. These substantive differences, against the backdrop of unrelenting pressure from conservative media and right-wing groups, became the direct cause of the suspension and subsequent cancellation. Japanese historians who work with Kashiwa Shobo on this project have all published works critical of Japan's wartime conduct. English-language reports, such as a feature article in the *New York Times* (May 20, 1999, B1), often do not adequately clarify these complexities.

¹⁰¹ For a more detailed discussion, see my essay "The Challenges of the Nanjing Massacre: Reflections on Historical Inquiry," in *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, Joshua Fogel, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., forthcoming).

First of all, an event like the Rape of Nanjing challenges the limits of positivist empiricism. The contentious debate in Japan, where the empirical tradition has always commanded particular reverence, has sometimes produced an obsession with “verifiable facts.” One tendency is to reject an entire source—usually, incriminating ones—on account of the smallest irregularities. For instance, Itakura Yoshiaki, the businessman-cum-“expert of the Nanjing Incident,” published a short study in 1997 ostensibly to address the issue of responsibility. After scrutinizing the battle records of two Japanese army units widely believed to have followed orders to execute Chinese captives, Itakura claimed to have found discrepancies in the sources and concluded that, “based on available evidence, orders to execute prisoners cannot be ascertained.”¹⁰² And some writers like Ara Ken’ichi, for instance, are prone to the “fallacy of negative proof,” arguing that whatever is denied by Japanese officers and journalists who had been in Nanjing or is not found in written sources becomes synonymous with non-existing events.¹⁰³ A most alarming example is Higashinakano Osamichi, a professor of intellectual history who published a book in 1998 that dismisses the Nanjing Massacre as a postwar concoction. After demonstrating that the “Nanjing Massacre” could not be found in many English-language and Chinese publications issued around the first anniversary of the event, he argues that “[the atrocities] were not recorded because they did not happen.”¹⁰⁴ Higashinakano’s effort to explain away the incriminating evidence is equally blatant. For just one example, he devotes a chapter to proving that “not taking prisoners,” as used in Lieutenant General Nakajima Kesago’s wartime diary, meant setting all captured Chinese soldiers free, and thus there was no massacre. Yet Higashinakano deliberately ignores the fact that, a few lines later, Nakajima himself wrote about “finding a pit large enough to dispose of these 7,000–8,000 persons.”¹⁰⁵

The issue of intention aside, such practices raise the question of how historical reality can be established with some certainty on the basis of written evidence alone, which was inevitably fragmentary and itself constructed in the first place. This problem is particularly significant, since much of the crucial evidence concerning the events in Nanjing still remains unavailable and some may never be found. Official records of over 70 percent of the Japanese military units involved in the operations in Nanjing have not been published or located. Documentation concerning several key Japanese officers, especially figures like Prince Asaka and staff officer Chō Isamu who have been alleged to have issued the order to execute POWs, is scant at best. Such circumstances require historians, as the Holocaust scholar Saul Friedländer has suggested, to accept simultaneously “two contradictory moves: the search for ever closer historical linkage and the avoidance of a naive

¹⁰² Itakura Yoshiaki, “Nankin jiken: ‘Gyakusatsu’ no sekinin ron” [The Nanjing Incident: Concerning the responsibility of the “massacre”], *Gunji shigaku* 33, nos. 2–3 (December 1997): 182–96.

¹⁰³ Ara Ken’ichi, *Kikigaki Nankin jiken* [The Nanjing Incident based on interviews] (Tokyo, 1987). It has been criticized by many historians, including Hora and Hata.

¹⁰⁴ Higashinakano Osamichi, “Nankin gyakusatsu” no tettei kenshō [A thorough examination of the “Nanjing Massacre”] (Tokyo, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ Higashinakano, “Nankin gyakusatsu,” chap. 6; see Nakajima’s diary in “Nankin kōryakusen,” 261. Elsewhere, there were indeed suggestions, apparently never implemented, of sending Chinese POWs to a concentration camp on an island or to Shanghai as laborers. See *Good Man of Nanking*, 76; *Nankin senshi shiryō shū*, 1: 164.

historical positivism leading to simplistic and self-assured historical narrations and closures.”¹⁰⁶

A relatively recent traumatic event like the Rape of Nanjing also raises the difficult issue of the role of individual memory in historical reconstruction. To varying degrees, the three main works discussed here all rely on the reminiscences of Chinese survivors and confessions of Japanese soldiers. For example, Chang attributes some of the most gruesome descriptions of massacre and torture to “interviews with survivors.” At the same time, it is this type of testimony, like that in Honda Katsuichi’s famous investigative reportage, that has been often dismissed in Japan as outright fabrication since it cannot be confirmed by reliable written records. Not all such accusations are without merit. The exact count of 57,418 Chinese killed in a mass execution given by a single Chinese witness should raise legitimate doubts in the mind of the historian, even though the testimony of “just one witness,” as Carlo Ginsburg has argued, may well contain some form of truth.¹⁰⁷ While uncritical use of reminiscences as evidence undermines historical scholarship, a total exclusion of living memories of participants in the event will impoverish a historical narrative. James E. Young, who has written extensively on Holocaust commemorations, calls for an integration of “the *factual truths* of the historian’s narrative and the *contingent truths* of the victims’ memory.”¹⁰⁸ In this way, he suggests, “no single, overarching meaning emerges unchallenged; instead, narrative and counter-narrative generate a frisson of meaning in their exchange, in the working through process they now mutually reinforce.”¹⁰⁹ In this sense, a better understanding of an event such as the Rape of Nanjing, as these Holocaust scholars have suggested, requires nothing less than a reconsideration of some of the most basic tenets of historical inquiry.

Even then, some differences, especially concerning the meaning and significance of a historical event, may persist or even intensify due to what Martin Jay calls “the interference of nondiscursive elements.”¹¹⁰ As issues related to the war and atrocities have become closely intertwined with politics and national identity, the ethical and moral pitfalls can be quite apparent. While it is ahistorical to attribute atrocities such as those in Nanjing to some abstract notion of human nature in time of war, it is as morally misguided as it is intellectually inadequate for historians to be trapped in prefixed categories of Japanese perpetrators versus Chinese victims.¹¹¹ Suzuki Akira and Tanaka Masaaki, on the other hand, have chosen to emphasize atrocities in China’s own past in an effort to prove that Japanese atrocities in Nanjing had been either unlikely or not so bad.¹¹² Comparisons become

¹⁰⁶ Saul Friedländer, “Trauma, Transference, and ‘Working Through’ in Writing the History of the Shoah,” *History and Memory* 4 (Spring–Summer 1992): 52–53.

¹⁰⁷ Carlo Ginsburg, “Just One Witness,” in Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation*, 82–96.

¹⁰⁸ James E. Young, “Toward a Received History of the Holocaust,” *History and Theory* 36, no. 4 (December 1997): 39. In fact, the historian’s truth may be more appropriately considered contingent, since it depends on his or her evidence and interpretation, while the victim’s truth is more experiential.

¹⁰⁹ J. Young, “Toward a Received History of the Holocaust,” 39.

¹¹⁰ Jay, “Of Plots, Witnesses, and Judgments,” 105.

¹¹¹ For a lively discussion of the “reproduction of victimhood,” see essays in the recent *AHR Forum* “Genocide in the Twentieth Century,” especially Omer Bartov, “Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 771–816; and *AHR* 103 (October 1998): 1177–94.

¹¹² Suzuki, *Nankin daigyakusatsu no maboroshi*, 32–43; Tanaka, *Nankin gyakusatsu no kyokō*, 240–55.

equally problematic when those highlighting the Chinese torment in Nanjing downplay other distinctly painful experiences of human suffering.

Like those who write about the Nazi Holocaust, historians studying the Rape of Nanjing have to face the issue of “transference” vis-à-vis their subject. Some historians, Kasahara Tokushi and Zhang Kaiyuan among them, have already shown such self-awareness in their writings. Ultimately, as LaCapra has remarked, all historians must “articulate the relation between the requirements of scientific expertise and the less easily definable demands placed on the use of language by the difficult attempt to work through transferential relations in a dialogue with the past having implications for the present and future.”¹¹³ This is a tall order. Only with such a commitment, however, can there be a community of historians with shared standards of historical inquiry and common ideals of humanity, which in itself offers historians the best hope of a more truthful reconstruction of the Rape of Nanjing.

¹¹³ LaCapra, “Representing the Holocaust,” 126–27.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 536. \$30.00.

Over the past fifteen years, David Hackett Fischer has written or edited substantial books on varied aspects of North American history: on the history of Concord, Massachusetts, between 1750 and 1850; on the regional cultures transplanted from England to its North American colonies; on the expansion of the Virginia frontier in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and on Paul Revere's ride in the American Revolution. Now he has extended his scholarly net wider to write an unusual account of price revolutions and their impact on world history from the twelfth century to the present. Around half of the book is taken up with a text devoted to this theme, accompanied by many tables, graphs, and splendid maps; besides endnotes, the rest of the book includes extensive appendixes and a discursive bibliographical essay detailing the primary and secondary sources on prices used. As usual with Fischer, bold themes are addressed, complex arguments developed, and connections made between disparate data that other scholars would not be inclined to explore.

Concerned not with price cycles nor with narrowly focused economic history, Fischer's book is devoted to the impact of price movements—what he terms great waves—on the economic, political, social, and cultural development of Western society since the year 1100. Identifying four main periods of price inflation in the thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth centuries, he argues that each great wave differed in its magnitude, duration, and range but was similar in its structure. At the risk of simplifying a complex argument, his understanding of the structure of these waves seems to be as follows. Each began with slow price advances in prosperous periods; the previous equilibrium was eventually broken and prices started to fluctuate markedly both upward and downward; price inflation was then perceived as a long-term trend; and, finally, prices climbed higher and became unstable, leading to severe price shocks. These price trends, argues Fischer, coincided with major changes in intellectual history, influencing the nature of philosophical,

artistic, and literary works in different epochs. Fischer discusses the social scientific models that can explain these developments, and he also wants his conclusions to reach the general reader.

Unfortunately, the book contains serious flaws. Fischer's explanation of major price waves is shunted to the end, where he raises and dismisses seven causal models without allowing space for their application to each specific period discussed. Thus, historicist models are given one short paragraph (p. 246) and Malthusian and Marxist explanations are discounted in less than two pages (pp. 242–4). One might want to jettison certain economic and social theories, but to dismiss so lightly important hypotheses about the cause of price trends that other historians have taken seriously runs the risk of being cavalier. Fischer refers to his own model for explaining the price waves as autogenous, with five separate phases. One wonders, since he does no more than assert this as the main explanatory model, how four price waves widely separated in time could be subject to such a schematic explanation. In addition, the confidence with which the author draws connections between price waves and the cultural history of certain epochs leads to a severely reductionist account of artistic achievements. Thus, in discussing the general crisis of the seventeenth century, Fischer briefly links what he terms "a mood of increasing pessimism and despair" (p. 100) to the "dark visions of a disordered world" (p. 100) in William Shakespeare's tragedies and to "the demonic fantasies of Pieter Brueghel" and "the spiritual suffering of El Greco" (p. 100). These sort of connections can be found throughout the book. A case can be made, of course, for the influence of material conditions on artistic production, but to do so in this way, by giving potted histories of great writers and painters, risks caricaturing major cultural achievements. The book is poorly written: paragraphs are frequently two or three sentences long; the names of historians mentioned are invariably prefaced by "historian" or "economic historian," as if the reader might be in doubt; tautologies such as "Britain's Berkshire County" (p. 132) are retained. The index is poor; there are no entries for Brueghel, El Greco, autogenous, and so on. The ideas in this book are not applied convincingly to the evidence presented,

and the style and care with indexing and copyediting are not up to expectations.

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DAVID HENIGE. *Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 532. \$47.95.

David Henige is above all a historiographer, and in particular a historiographer with an impressive range of linguistic skills and bibliographic knowledge. As such, he has become profoundly irritated by the careless treatment of historical sources by historians and anthropologists working on the history of early European contact with Native peoples of the Americas. This book resulted from his desire to grapple with a particular subgenre of this work: the historical demography of American Native people before, during, and subsequent to contact with Europeans, and especially arguments during the last thirty years for a very large precontact population brought low by European disease in a remarkably short period of time. The focus on critical source study is evident: fully half of the 532 pages are devoted to notes and bibliography.

Henige is at pains to make several points. First, he argues that although precontact American Native populations may have been much larger than was originally assumed by early historians and ethnographers, the efforts made so far by a particular group of researchers to whom Henige applies the epithet "High Counters"—including Sherburne Cook, Woodrow Borah, and Henry Dobyns and their students and colleagues—have been vitiated by their selective and careless use of sources, questionable mathematics, and (especially) refusal to enter into discussions with their critics. The intellectual history of the argument, along with the vicissitudes of unheard critiques (as that by Angel Rosenblat) and conversions of prominent authors (like Alfred Crosby and William McNeill) to the fold, is presented in dismaying detail. Interestingly, however, Henige does not raise the specter of political correctness as a motivation for the "High Counters," almost all of them Euroamerican. He does accuse the authors of the argument of gaining mindshare through frequent presentation to lay audiences via popular media, while refusing to respond to criticism within the academy.

The excesses of the "High Counters," Henige maintains, are based in large part on their literal and uncritical reading of European sources for the early postcontact history of the Americas. The problem is not so much the use of sources at all as their inappropriate use. Henige shows in detail how various specialists have offered critiques of the use of sources they study for demographic purposes, but to no avail: the sources have been taken literally by the "High Counters," regardless of the fact that excellent evidence for how they were assembled shows that they are poor evidence for the purpose. A crucial set of num-

bers for the very moment of first contact have been plucked from early exploration narratives; yet, as a significant part of the book demonstrates, the early chroniclers of conquest aped the practices of their historical forefathers by inflating numbers of American Native people in order to magnify their own deeds. Because these narratives fit the story the demographers want to tell, however, Henige argues that they have failed to assess the sources' literary qualities and to demand corroborating evidence.

There are several other important points argued in this book. The first is the misuse of what might be decent sources as the result of the incautious use of translations. This is a devastating claim, but it is systematically documented, and it is a familiar complaint against Americanist scholarship. Another problematic proceeding in the demographic literature is that some researchers make epidemiologically unlikely assumptions about disease transmission. This work also assumes almost universally that American Native people were passive victims virtually deprived of agency by the shock of contact, and that they were incapable of fleeing or otherwise tricking census-takers and slavers. Finally, Henige considers the statistical extrapolations of the "High Counters" mathematically suspect, because the underlying statistical theories themselves assume much better data than is available for the contact period.

Henige makes no pretense of temperate politeness in this book: it is an argument, and he does not bar many holds. Because the range of contexts in which the historical demographic literature is published is so wide, there are some very recent reconsiderations of both high numbers and epidemiological process that he has missed. The book also rambles far afield, citing contextualizing examples of inflated numbers from the entire canon of the Western historical tradition. But it should be noted that although Henige demonstrates that some sources simply cannot support demographic conclusions, he is far from arguing that it is impossible to determine which sources these are, or that some truth cannot be recovered from careful use of historical sources. While this is a sprawling and sometimes unfocused book, I believe it is one that should be read and its claims given careful consideration.

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WARD CHURCHILL. *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present*. San Francisco, Calif.: City Lights. 1997. Pp. xix, 531. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$19.95.

This book is written in a deliberately polemical and provocative style that reflects Ward Churchill's strength of feeling and his "commitment, not just to opposing genocide but to ending it" (p. 12). The reader should not be too distracted by errors and interpretations that seem to weaken the overall argument, an

argument that is far too important to be dismissed on such grounds.

Churchill provides very extensive footnotes, endnotes, bibliographies, and an index that together account for about a third of the book. While this burden of documentation can serve as a useful resource for the interested reader, it is far too voluminous to be checked and discussed in this brief review. It does seem worth noting, however, that the author seems quite prepared to ignore his own definition when it suits him. Thus, he does not explain how "Israel's ongoing genocide against the Palestinian population" (p. 74) fits into his definition of genocide.

The first two chapters deal with Holocaust denial to set the stage for a discussion of the importance of facing up to historical truth. In that context, the so-called "uniqueness" school is singled out for its many errors in trying to reserve a special place in history for the victimization of the Jews during the Nazi regime. Churchill's greatest charge against that position is that it is another form of denial: the denial of the genocides of other victim peoples.

The next two chapters deal with Christopher Columbus and the way in which conventional history has denied his devastating effect by making him a celebrated explorer rather than an early version of Heinrich Himmler. His contemporaries and successors expanded his conquests and depopulated Central and South America by their genocidal activities. These arguments are supported by a detailed examination of the evidence for the population decline due to the activities of the conquerors, who brought with them not only an insatiable greed and lust for power but also the inhuman methods for dealing with conflicts and wars than were then the norm in Europe.

The next chapter, which is by far the longest in the book, deals in great detail with the population estimates for North America to show how the indigenous population was decimated by disease, starvation, working to death, and outright killing. It provides much detail on the conquest of North America by Europeans who used genocidal methods to acquire land and to exploit the Indians by both governmental military actions and by "private citizen action." These methods continued into the twentieth century and the Cold War, which is discussed in terms of the impetus it provided for atomic development, which in turn led to the "internal colonization" of Indian lands where most of the uranium was found. The nuclear arms race was primarily located in desert areas that were mainly occupied by Indian reservations. The sequential processes of mining, milling, weapons research and production, weapons testing, and waste disposal all contributed to the contamination of the environment and the people living within it. Churchill argues that the scale of these processes is so enormous that they must be stopped to ensure the survival of humanity.

This is followed by a summary of the history of the United Nations Convention, the United States' efforts to undermine it, and the long delay in ratifying it. Such

a discussion becomes even more meaningful in the light of the current efforts of the United States to undermine the adoption and implementation of the agreement to establish an International Criminal Court.

The last chapter, "Defining the Unthinkable," provides a detailed history of the efforts of Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide" to get the United Nations to pass its Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948). Churchill then critically reviews the contributions by several scholars to the definitional debate that was engendered by dissatisfaction with the definition of genocide contained in the convention. This discussion is marred by the author's misunderstanding of the role of definitions: he believes that definitions can "retard or halt the steadily accelerating trend towards global proliferation of this most destructive of all human potentials" (p. 431). This quite original interpretation of the role of definitions then leads Churchill to propose a revised version of the genocide convention that he believes should be adopted. The implausibility of that prospect and the space limitation that the editors imposed on this review spare me the need to examine his proposal in detail here.

This is a difficult book to review. Its critiques of colonial enterprises, of the denial practiced especially in the United States, and of the literature on genocide are valuable contributions that are, however, marred by biased and even inconsistent expositions and use of sources.

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THEODORE HUTERS, R. BIN WONG, and PAULINE YU, editors. *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*. (Irvine Studies in the Humanities.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 500. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

R. BIN WONG. *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 327. \$39.95.

As G. W. F. Hegel reported it, Napoleon Bonaparte once said that "this old Europe" bored him. In his important, courageous, and timely new book, what bores R. Bin Wong is not so much Europe as "Eurocentric" social scientists. These he condemns for having failed to recognize that the late imperial Chinese state sometimes outperformed early modern European states and that contemporary social science will not work until it "achieves symmetry" by "looking at Europe from a Chinese perspective" (p. 282) as well as the other way around. Wong sets out to show how Chinese history differs from "the paradigmatic Western cases" and how projects in world history can be developed in which the questioning runs both ways. "Strategies of comparison" have to be created that get us beyond one or two key differences such as wet rice

agriculture or Confucian cultures. If nineteenth-century European "social theory"—by which Wong means, in practice, Karl Marx and Max Weber and twentieth-century standard bearers of Americanized Weberianism like Talcott Parsons—is to be rebuilt, we must do it by examining civilizational similarities, not the differences. In other words, although he does not say so, we need an academic version of the seventeenth-century Jesuit approach to China rather than the nineteenth-century Orientalist one. All this makes very good sense.

The book is courageous for a number of reasons. Wong does not try to subtract the politics from comparative history and take refuge in the global study of ecological processes, trading networks, disease epidemics, or migrations without fully connecting these things to the formation and deformation of political systems. Fully accepting that a convincing world history must compare states and their politics, he suggests that we compare such important state functions as tax collection and social control management. Indeed, the book is at its best when Wong examines tangible institutions and activities like granaries and tax resistance.

Wong is very eloquent indeed (pp. 101–104) about how little "European narratives of state formation" have to say about China. "None of the key dynamics for European modern state formation—warfare coupled with fiscal centralization and expansion or shifting authority relations from royal rule to popular sovereignty—matter to China's late imperial state dynamics" (p. 101). On the other hand, the Chinese state's maintenance of material welfare—through its granary system—was "beyond anything imaginable" in early modern Europe, whose states never even created "modest networks" of granaries. To think of welfare states as recent political forms thus makes sense only in Western terms, not Chinese ones. Moreover, the Chinese state's attempted surveillance of its population, including its peasants, also anticipated behavior that in Western historiography is thought to be modern, but in fact is not. So if we look at European state-making from a Chinese perspective, we will get a more useful, less Eurocentrically provincial, definition of institutional modernity.

In a telegram-sized review such as this one, it is impossible to summarize all the book's riches or insights. Nevertheless, it has to be said that its reach exceeds its grasp. The book is enormously praiseworthy for its ambition, erudition, and resourcefulness. But Wong tries to do too much within too small a framework. Some 294 pages of text cannot do full justice to industrial expansion in Europe and China, technological change there, social and political order and the search for material and moral control in Europe and China, prices and revenue collection, food riots and tax resistance in the two civilizations, with comparisons of the Chinese and French revolutions added. Not surprisingly the book's general effect is that of a very high altitude aerial photograph in which

individuals and groups on the ground are often hard to see. Perhaps its greatest achievement will be to start arguments and then help us to conduct the arguments it stimulates at intellectually higher levels than before.

If so, here is where some of the arguments may occur. To my taste, this book's picture of "Eurocentrism" and the intellectual opposition to it is too simple, and many of its targets (Anthony Giddens and Francis Fukuyama as well as the egregious Parsons) are too easy. Charles Tilly is praised (p. 198) for being "perhaps" the only person "since the Enlightenment" to study European states with Chinese-inspired perspectives. This tribute will undoubtedly enchant Tilly, but it is robbed of some of its persuasiveness by the fact that such major figures as Joseph Needham, Arnold Toynbee, William McNeill, and Barrington Moore—all of whom could be said to have tried this too in various ways—are ignored. (Compared to Moore, Wong is less of an economic determinist, but more inclined to regard the horrors and the passions of human history in "value-free" terms.) Then there are the best of the Chinese Marxist historians of the 1920s and 1930s who Sinicized Eurocentric historical philosophies in interesting ways, before party dogmas tightened; we also hear little of them. But symmetry, if that is what is desired, may come only with an awareness that the now globalized eurocentrism (call it neo-Eurocentrism?) is as pluralistic as it is "paradigmatic." Actually, Wong does not want to crush Eurocentrism so much as to adapt it; but he sometimes stumbles over his own simplifications in attacking the terrible simplifications of others.

Then there is the paradox that a book about "China transformed" stresses the reproduction of one sort of Chinese "agrarian empire" over many centuries, and even sees the Chinese communist people's republic as continuous with the dynastic empire. No new "logic" or "ideologies" of rule were developed by the Chinese empire after 221 B.C., it is said, perhaps because that empire did not have to compete within a "state system dynamics" like that of European states, and because its commercial world was "widespread" enough, early enough, to accommodate "disruptive" economic changes (pp. 199–200). Only now is the Chinese "unitary state" endangered. But this theme of "the persistence of the Chinese state" over the millennia risks giving those legions of known and unknown eurocentrists with little interest in Chinese history a chance to escape from the mass grave Wong is trying to dig for them. And to argue that it will take "some combination of Chinese and Western strategies" to remake the Chinese unitary state now risks implying that Western history is supreme: after all, Western states are not being remade by Chinese strategies.

But suppose the continuity of the Chinese state is a bit of an illusion, created by their dynasties' myth makers and our Western typological thinking. The great Western fondness, traceable back to Aristotle, for recognizing genuine political change only in terms of different constitutional ideal types, makes political

history more ordered, or intelligible, than it was in the experiences of the people who lived it. Yet there was certainly as great a perceived difference in eighteenth-century China, between Han dynasty township and neighborhood officials and Qing dynasty county officials, as there was a perceived difference between Roman senators and Hanoverian parliamentarians in eighteenth-century Britain. And even in broadly typological terms, it could be hypothesized that China's statist culture became stronger as Chinese social structure became more fluid and less rigid, that the two were related, and that what "persistence" the state enjoyed was thus a marker of dramatic changes elsewhere, not merely the result of no European-style state system and no alternative ideologies. Wong argues (p. 294) that advances in historical knowledge come from creating "order," through a reduction in the number of our theoretical assumptions about universal change. Certainly this is a credible position; and yet, given that there is not even any real consensus among European historians about the multiple causes of Western state formation, I am not so sure that good world history strategies at present can only come from the order-pursuing reduction of complexities. The danger is that all we may get is a more cosmopolitan form of the narrow positivism that so afflicted early postwar Western social scientists, although Wong himself avoids this.

Most of the essays in the collection edited by Wong, Theodore Hutters, and Pauline Yu contrast with Wong's book in taking essentially idealist approaches to the state, looking at problems of orthodoxy, ideology, literature, and religion. Most of them also contrast with Wong by abandoning his search for parallels between China and Europe. The book's cogent introduction nonetheless proposes that Western scholars have habitually slighted the capacities of the Chinese state, except for its ideological power. The authors wish to show that China's statist culture was the product of political outsiders as well as insiders, that the government itself lacked autonomy in defining that culture, and that we need to escape from the "European" tendency to separate state from society.

All of the book's fourteen essays are well done and worth reading. Here I can only mention a few. At the outset, Peter Bol shows how Chinese literati fought successfully between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries to get a Neo-Confucian examination curriculum that gave them "independence" from court authority; he is careful not to call their "independence" liberalism. Benjamin Elman extends the Bol discussion by describing the Neo-Confucian state orthodoxy, triumphant only in the 1400s, as an autocracy's "Confucian disguise"; the literati "could live with it" and shape it to serve their needs. Yu's excellent essay on Chinese poetry canon formation suggests that the exaltation of Tang poetry fulfilled a desire for a poetic style that "offered a mythic image of cultural unity" (p. 104). Kenneth Pomeranz studies the Goddess of Taishan religious cult, to which there was considerable elite

hostility, and uses it to question the "orthopraxy" theory of Chinese society that attributes its stability and coherence to shared ritual practices. (Pomeranz traces the theory to James Watson, but it could be regarded as an unintentional anthropological modernization of Montesquieu.) David Strand's enjoyable essay on Sun Yat-sen takes Sun seriously as an indigenous thinker who wished to create a state out of China's familial and communal traditions. Ann Anagnost concludes the volume by examining the promotion of village compacts in post-Mao China; she sees them as "split" objects, old and new both, ambiguous in law and in history, designed to preserve party power but combine it with a more participatory local politics.

The conference that produced this book finally got historians of the Ming and Qing dynasties into the same room with historians of the Song. Such an achievement is good but insufficient. We need the Han and Tang historians too. For the leviathan among questions about Chinese political history is this: how many different Chinese states were there between the Han and the Qing? And how much was their plurality disguised by the continuation of the monarchy at the very top and by a court ideology that needed to stress continuity, in a not too different manner from the way Bishop Bossuet used Biblical language to claim there was a link between Louis XIV and Moses? The most gratifying aspect of Wong's book, a landmark achievement for several reasons, is that it helps us as few others have done to realize that there is a crisis in our general representation of the history of political modernity. Now we may need to see as well that what Yu (p. 83) calls the "actual multifariousness of a mythically monolithic style" in Chinese poetry was true of imperial China's politics too.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MICHAEL N. PEARSON. *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. (The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 202. \$35.95.

Veteran historian Michael N. Pearson has extended his range of interest to a region that is new to him because, not being an African specialist, he believes he can apply historical precepts from other regions and disciplines to the Swahili civilization of East Africa. Since his training and prior research have been in Indian history during the early modern era, his comparisons largely are limited to India. Additionally, the framework in which he formulates his analogies is taken from "world systems" analysis, made famous by Immanuel Wallerstein. Pearson briefly explains this technique, then points to its obvious advantage: unlike other approaches, it specifically does not privilege Europe. African historians would applaud this. The

hazard, however, is that the author's analysis sometimes privileges India.

Indicative of this is Pearson's opening discussion in chapter two. Here, he describes East Africa's position in what he prefers to call the "Afrasian Sea," rather than the Arabian Sea, which thus subtly downplays the more powerful Middle Eastern influences on the East African coast. (Simultaneously, he has no such difficulties with the "Indian" Ocean because he situates India at its center and regions like East Africa at its "periphery.") Beyond this, and using the Mediterranean and western Sudanic worlds as examples, Pearson carefully defines coastal Swahili society as "littoral." The chapter especially limns the maritime, international character of coastal society, although Swahili ocean seafaring is itself debunked by Pearson (unreasonably, in this reviewer's opinion). Discussions of trade and manufacturing clearly are the author's *forte*, and he provides an excellent analysis for East Africa. He also presents a highly intelligent discussion of Islamic influences.

Chapter three tries to establish new ways of looking at coastal-interior relations, again based on the Indian paradigm. Discerning the paramount role played by the Indian broker, he finds nothing comparable in East Africa. Here Pearson is clearly mistaken: in the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta reported such individuals in Mogadishu and possibly elsewhere. Moreover, citing the greater availability of literature on the subject of India, he judges that this itself "reflects the [relative] sophistication of the two systems themselves" (p. 66). He is correct in his analysis that makes the northern towns commercial entrepôts and manufacturing centers, while the southern ports enjoyed much more extensive hinterland connections.

Chapter four represents Pearson's most interesting, and probably his best, contribution to East coastal studies. He describes the crucial frailty of dependency theory as a tool for understanding early modern Africa's dealings with the external world (following perhaps John Thornton's example); namely, that African economies were based primarily on commodities needed in daily use and only remotely secondarily on trade in luxuries. Pearson thus introduces "use" or "cultural" value as an instrument of comparison. Rather than being exploitative, he concludes that merchants, brokers, and producers all "did well," as East Africans were drawn gradually over the centuries into a widening commercial network until capitalism finally arrived in the eighteenth century.

Therefore, Pearson believes the Portuguese arrival in the late fifteenth century had little lasting impact on East Africa. African systems of production and exchange and western Indian Ocean networks presented the Portuguese with an established, "well-oiled," regional economic system they could draw upon for their own purposes. Portuguese attempts to enforce allegiance and tribute on East Africans and Asians failed. Although they succeeded in advancing an unprecedented, strategic coherence to their political system,

their inability to enforce it essentially only made their Indian Ocean empire premodern. Swahili resistance (directed from Pate and Uman) limited their ability to carry out their program: they had to adapt. Thus, their greatest successes came about through the *unofficial* actions of Portuguese and Africans alike, which involved codependency and intermarriage.

This book presents some fresh perspectives, frequently very good analyses, and a clear exposition of Pearson's material. He introduces some new ways of thinking about East Africa that are at least interesting, if not always as useful as he would hope (e.g. his discussions of terminology). Scholars from differing backgrounds will vary in their overall assessment of the book. As an introduction for non-Africanists to Swahili civilization in the "middle period," the material will prove more useful than it will for African specialists since, after all, there is little basic data in this work that is not already familiar to them.

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PIETER SPIERENBURG, editor. *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*. (The History of Crime and Criminal Justice.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 279. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

In Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516), when Ruggiero is liberated from the enchantress Alcina, who has literally imprisoned him with pleasure, he is reproved for succumbing to such "effeminate" enchantments. Tellingly that reproach turns on manliness: Ruggiero should have eschewed "effeminate" pleasures, because as a man his was violently to win honor and glory. Honor, violence, manliness are intertwined here in a gendered behavioral code that realized great men and status; this collection of essays edited by Pieter Spierenburg explores how this Renaissance trope became modern.

Certainly manliness and violence have long been associated, but as the history of gender expands to include men more systematically that association warrants closer consideration, and here it gets a closer cultural consideration. Biological imperatives and sociobiologists are tellingly absent; rather the focus is on culture and the cultural-evolutionary vision of Norbert Elias. But there is another *eminence grise* that looms behind Elias: Michel Foucault. In many ways his view of sexuality, discipline, and the modern informs these studies for better and occasionally worse.

These nine essays, as interesting and suggestive as they are, clearly cannot cover the subject; rather they consider three related areas of male violence: elite dueling, popular dueling, and the state's disciplining of violence. The triad of essays on elite dueling form perhaps the most successful section, in part because the pathbreaking earlier books published by Ute Frevert and especially Robert Nye provide an excellent point of departure and in part because they offer such

a rich range of perspectives. Frevert, following Elias, stresses a cultural/class vision of the duel in Germany and Prussia that sees progressive bourgeois involvement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as leading to its becoming less violent, more ritualized and "civilized." Steven Hughes suggestively takes a more political turn to see the duel in Italy as intimately associated with the Risorgimento and the establishment of liberal and republican forms of government. And Robert Nye, in a way, pulls these themes together, melding the political (of "modern" state formation) with the social (of the incorporation of the bourgeoisie) with gender to show with complexity and nuance how the duel was rekindled at the end of the nineteenth century in France and died at the hands of the democratic violence of World War I. What is particularly impressive about this section is that in a brief seventy pages one is given a rich appreciation of the complex cultural variations that can be built on the ritualized violence of dueling—each society discussed follows its own trajectory and its own traditions and culture to arrive at a more subtle vision of Elias's "civilizing process" and Foucault's modern disciplined man.

Although individually suggestive, the second group of essays on popular duels go together less successfully. Spierenburg's study of knife fighting as a popular form of dueling in early modern Amsterdam raises the important question of ritualized forms of violence and defense of honor among lower-class men, but it is weakened by a lack of reference to earlier work on honor and lower-class violence in premodern France and Italy. Also, given Spierenburg's experience with criminal documents, his assertion that his case material is straightforward and readable without interpretation ("There is no fiction in the archives here" [p. 107]) is troubling. Daniele Boschi's article on homicide and knife fighting in Rome, 1845–1914, in turn deals very little with lower-class honor or dueling, being mainly a quantitative study of these crimes demonstrating that most prosecutions focused on the lower classes. Collective honor is, however, a central theme of Amy Greenberg's lively article on fighting volunteer firemen in nineteenth-century America. But Greenberg, unlike other scholars, argues that violent firemen were not lower-class rowdies—popular duelers—but rather a social mix led by members of the urban bourgeoisie. For Greenberg, this violence and its demise at mid-century is a crucial case study of male domestication and the changing nature of gender ideologies in nineteenth-century America, a case made more fully in her impressive, recently published book on the topic.

Masculine violence and the state is an immense topic that the last three studies can only begin to assay. Martin Wiener's essay opens a critical issue, considering how the cultural construction of violence associated violence with males, criminalizing and making men disproportionately "victims" of the disciplining and civilizing drives of modernity. At heart, Wiener

attacks the stereotypical vision that only women are the victims of gender categories, a qualification that was made early on by scholars like Natalie Zemon Davis but that has often been ignored. Wiener's case is compelling; women virtually disappear from the ranks of those prosecuted for violent crime in nineteenth-century England, and behavior that was once accepted for males was progressively criminalized. But at times it seems as if Wiener comes close to making a moral judgement that such criminalizing victimized men on a par with the victimization of women—a calculus of victimization that seems unnecessary and unlikely.

The last two articles by Stephen Kantrowitz and Terence Finnegan focus on the troubled relationship between the state and violence in the American South. Kantrowitz looks at the issues involved primarily from the political perspective of Ben Tillman, a governor of South Carolina in the 1890s who rose to prominence as a leader of racist violence. As governor, Tillman attempted to defend the state's honor and monopoly of violence but eventually articulated a "compromise" that allowed the lynching of black men as a "defense" of southern values and womanhood. Finnegan, in turn, uses a microstudy of the 1916 lynching of Anthony Crawford, a rich and independent southern black landowner, to expand this sexual, gender dynamic to include the economic and social fears that also underlay violence against blacks well into the twentieth century. Both articles are powerful readings of the sexual-gender-violence dynamic of southern racism.

This collection sums up important work on the duel and male violence and suggests significant directions for future research; yet it also seems curiously narrow with its focus on the duel, a limited range of criminal violence and racism in the American South. Missing, for example, is a sustained discussion of the explosion of sport in the modern period. Nye makes some cogent suggestions on the issue, but the way sport has incorporated notions of manliness, honor, and violence in ritualized forms seems curiously absent here. Finally, in a volume that seeks to overcome previous scholarly myopia, it is striking that the issues of age and life cycle are virtually ignored. Needless to say, there is massive scholarship that argues that violence is not a given across the lifespan of men but rather focused culturally (and perhaps biologically) in certain periods of life; one wonders how these essays would read if these issues had been considered. Awakened from his Renaissance pleasures, Ruggiero returned without question to the complex cultural web of violence, honor, and manliness that in a way reimprisoned him. This volume suggestively asks the question he never saw fit to ask—why violence and manliness?—a big question and one that will have further study.

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LEILA J. RUPP. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton: Princeton

University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 325. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This fine study by Leila J. Rupp addresses the surprisingly neglected topic, at least until recently, of the international women's movement. Its approach is that of transnational history, a relatively new undertaking, not least because of the centrality of the nation to mainstream histories of the modern world in the West, and the consciousness of the nation that has often informed how historical evidence comes to be collected, stored, and sifted. The sheer scale of research entailed is daunting to contemplate, requiring as it does locating and investigating source materials in libraries and archives around the world, very often in languages other than English. Some of this material was previously thought to have been lost or destroyed, until her work led Rupp to make some "lucky finds," luck nonetheless that evidently reflected the breadth of scholarship that she brought to the exercise.

Her book focuses on three international women's groups and the constellations of linked organizations around them: the International Council of Women, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (subsequently the International Alliance of Women), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. An element of tedium or even confusion can be hard to avoid in studies of this kind, proceeding as they often do through a whirl of acronyms, needing to examine the minutiae of decision-making processes and to assess the success or failure in building a consensus through the pursuit of the finest of wording. Rupp's narrative skillfully avoids these pitfalls, successfully weaving together the three strands provided by the stories of these organizations with information about relationships between some of their leading figures. A clear, concise account of the formation of each organization, and of the relationships among them, is provided in the introductory section. Thereafter, the structure of the narrative is built with great precision along the elegant line of analysis that Rupp offers as to the significance, achievements, and limitations of "international sisterhood" during the interwar period.

In brief, Rupp argues that a collective identity among the supporters of these organizations was achieved through conflict and debate as much as through agreement and cooperation: transnational loyalties based on gender identity were created among women alongside and often despite the conflicts among them created by other identities and loyalties—to nation, religion, ethnicity, or political ideology. At the same time, Rupp acknowledges that the creation of this collective identity followed patterns of global power and reflected the economic, social, and political transformations of the twentieth century. More specifically, she recognizes the exclusions that were created within organizations led by bourgeois women from the United States and European colonial powers. She notes, too, how the sources she has used

privilege the perspectives of such women and exclude the viewpoint of women of the "periphery." Fuller discussion of these issues will have to await further studies, however. Rupp's primary concern here is to establish how a transnational identity was created among some women and to reflect upon its consequences.

It is impossible to do justice to the nuances of her analysis, but to simplify, Rupp argues that three linked elements were central to the creation of the collective identity that sustained such organizations: "boundaries," "consciousness," and "personalized politics." The principal boundary identified is that of sex: all three organizations limited membership to women, promoted particularistic perspectives that emphasized women's sex-specific attributes and needs, and promoted a sense of sexual solidarity that might cross national and other divisions. In the section on "consciousness," Rupp looks at how a commitment to internationalism was established and maintained despite differences on pacifism, on how properly to recognize national perspectives within internationalist organizations, and on what might constitute women's "gendered interests." In the section on "personalized politics," Rupp examines how the maintenance of these bodies and cooperation among them was helped, and sometimes hindered, by women's friendships and the politics of personal relationships.

In assessing the activities of the international women's movement in the interwar period, Rupp concludes that it made a clear, albeit limited, impact on the League of Nations and provided a legacy upon which feminist internationalists built still further with the formation of the United Nations. Despite their acknowledged limitations, these bodies succeeded in creating a form of "gendered internationalism" and demonstrated something of what it might mean to be a "feminist internationalist."

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MATTHEW AFFRON and MARK ANTLIFF, editors. *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 283. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$19.95.

This book gathers together a number of well-researched essays on art and ideology in France and Italy. Editors Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff provide a concise and informative introduction, setting out the historical and historiographical terms of the collection. Questions about ideology and politics in the "age of extremes" are linked with ideas about fascism as "secular religion." Successive chapters explore art and art theory in specific political contexts while demonstrating how certain currents of anxiety, obsession, and ecstatic belief recurred: thus the deepest degenerationist gloom was intertwined over and again with dreams of regeneration. The material ranges from public speeches to obscure texts, from utopian archi-

tectural designs to public art commissioned by the state, and the setting moves from Rome to Milan, from Paris to Vichy. Often microcosmic in form, the book focuses on individuals (artists, decorators, art critics, and political theorists) and their relation to wider attitudes and movements (the avant-garde, heroic art, architecture and the city, gender debates, state patronage, public competitions, and political parties). There is also interesting discussion of the effect of the Great War in both accentuating and challenging prevailing beliefs, not least amongst the Italian futurists, about the possibility of collective redemption through violent historical destruction: blood-letting as "purge." Several authors stress the significance of Georges Sorel as a precursor of such bellicose idealizations.

If a cluster of themes unites these essays, so does the influence of various recent studies of fascism: the works of Eugen Weber, Zeev Sternhell, and Roger Griffin, for example, are frequently cited. An earlier polemical inquiry also referred to here, Klaus Theweleit's *Male Fantasies* (1987), was evidently a stimulus, providing a kind of phantasmagoria of "proto-Nazi" imagery, and much besides, as it fanned out from the horrific diaries of Freikorps soldiers in the 1920s into a vast "psycho-historical" territory. Theweleit's book investigated unconscious political hatreds and sexual terrors, in the process lurching uneasily from the specific to the general to the universal. The question of what was peculiar to the fantasy or imagination of the primary subjects became increasingly blurred and problematic. In a more conventional cultural historical manner, *Visions and Blueprints*, edited by Edward Timms and Peter Collier (1988), explored the political passions at stake in European modernism, the decisive individual moves to the left and right of the spectrum during the interwar period, and suggested certain aspects of thought and expression that were sometimes shared across the divide. Although these earlier studies were wider ranging in geographical and thematic focus than the present volume, the latter is useful precisely because of its sustained concentration on fascism and on the Italian-French context of ideology, cultural expression, and political circumstance. The editors argue that there was in many ways a shared intellectual and artistic terrain and, moreover, that many artistic figures and critics worked in—or maintained connections between—the two countries.

What the book does not provide is much detailed analysis of the comparative issues it opens up: often the argument is implicit, working merely by juxtaposition and affiliation. Furthermore, there are brief forays into literary theory and philosophy that are not convincingly followed through; the fleeting mention, for example, within the opening historiographical review on fascism, of Derridean ideas about the Western privileging of speech over writing is a mere gesture. Psychoanalysis and "psycho-history" hover somewhat elusively as well in the initial summary. What one actually gets on that score is an over-abbreviated formulation. Fascism is referred to as involving a

pre-Oedipal language or an imagined overcoming of subject-object boundaries through the psychic merger of individuals into the "maternal" crowd, but this is not demonstrated nor developed. More convincingly sustained (although pitched no less generally) is the essay by Emilio Gentile on the myth of national regeneration in Italy. He describes visions of dramatic recovery and rebirth in Italian nationalist culture, from the Risorgimento to fascism. Giuseppi Mazzini emerges as a decisive figure here, anticipating in his own voluminous political writings a somewhat paradoxical language of secular redemption (or a kind of Catholicism minus the church). Benito Mussolini is shown to have further elaborated the language of national purification and salvation. Gentile effectively summarizes the enduring and profound cultural investment in the idea of "a war on corruption" and the persistent vision of a resurgent "third Rome."

Since so many regenerationist myths were evident in the culture and philosophy of the previous century as well as in a variety of twentieth-century artistic situations and ideologies remote from fascism, the precise delimitation of the political language or iconography at stake remains ambiguous. Many of the views and images explored in this book evidently did not belong to nationalist, irredentist, or fascist ideologues and artists alone. While that obvious point is never denied in this account, the implications for the differential diagnosis of fascist rhetoric and art are not always very clearly kept in view either. Admittedly these are extremely thorny issues; one can multiply pre-1914 examples of social, political, and cultural commentators of varying persuasions and nationalities who believed, for instance, that only war or violent social struggle could redeem modernity from its lethargy or decadence, and yet this is not to say that one should simply equate the regenerationist, and sometimes specifically eugenic, pronouncements of all artists, politicians, and social critics before 1914, or indeed before 1939. As Affron and Antliff frankly acknowledge, clarifying what made fascist aesthetics and ideology peculiarly "fascist" remains a vexed and important matter.

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ROGER DINGMAN. *Ghost of War: The Sinking of the Awa maru and Japanese-American Relations, 1945–1995*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 373. \$35.00.

On the night of April 1, 1945, the USS *Queenfish* sank the *Awa maru*, a Japanese passenger-cargo ship homeward bound after transporting relief materials to American and Allied prisoners of war held in Asia. This submarine attack, which took the lives of more than two thousand Japanese men, women, and children, occurred despite the U.S. government's guarantee of safe passage. Based on extensive bilingual research and interviews, Roger Dingman has crafted a

richly textured tale of the tragic incident and its impact on U.S.-Japanese relations. He tackles issues of universal interest to practitioners of history, unraveling the moral ambiguities of choices states and individuals make in both war and peacetime and the ways in which they construct—and sometimes manipulate—historical memories to come to terms with the past, embrace the present, and direct the future.

With copious evidence drawn from both American and Japanese sources, Dingman convincingly argues that this tragic event was set off by a chain of human errors and poor judgments made by both sides of the maritime encounter. In this evenhanded analysis, neither side emerges as a blameless victim or an unblemished hero. The Japanese government, taking advantage of the safe passage agreement, used the civilian vessel to transport contraband and resupply Japanese forces in China and the southern reaches of its overextended empire, and it used repatriating noncombatants as a human shield against the unrestricted U.S. submarine warfare in the Pacific. Families of the victims received paltry compensation from their government, which renounced their right to indemnity in exchange for a peace with its new postwar alliance partner.

The picture Dingman paints of Americans is no more flattering. The Navy authorities used the notion of wartime imperatives to justify lenient treatment of those responsible for the attack. After promising compensation for the destruction of the ship and the loss of lives, the U.S. government sought to limit or avoid payment and linked compensation to settlement of the endless dispute over the repayability of the U.S. occupation costs. The cast of characters in this complex drama runs a wide gamut: from politicians and bureaucrats who engineered the *Awa maru* settlement and civilians participating in postwar myth-making about the incident to would-be profiteers who raced to salvage the ship's cargo from the floor of the Taiwan Strait and the Chinese government, which successfully retrieved and kept the prized cargo. Dingman's examination of the intricate web of motives that drove such familiar figures as Douglas MacArthur, William Seabald, Ashida Hitosh, and Yoshida Shigeru gives depth and human dimensions to his narrative.

In the postwar exchanges of recrimination that obscured the silent collusion between Tokyo and Washington, radically different public memories of the event were constructed in the two countries. For Americans, the *Awa maru* incident represented but an unfortunate episode in the chronicle of a glorious "Good War"; it was rightly to be forgotten. To Japanese, the same incident has become a symbol of national victimization. The *Awa maru*'s wrongful sinking and the mistreatment of the bereaved families allowed Japan to exonerate itself from all that had been done to acquire, exploit, and protect its empire. These public remembrances took on a life of their own, autonomous of what had been experienced by those who lived through or died in the original event:

Japanese civilians killed, American prisoners of war longing for relief supplies, and sailors and officers who made certain judgment calls on that fateful day. Dingman's effective storytelling highlights the eternal irony that the state and individuals often commit callous and less than moral deeds for the sake of what they genuinely believe, or later persuade themselves, to be the greater moral good.

Some omissions in Dingman's otherwise exhaustive account might have added to the force of an already compelling argument. For example, when the Japanese government swallowed renunciation of claims in 1949 and subsequently signed Article 19 of the peace treaty (extinguishing all claims against its former enemies in the Pacific War), it was not, as Dingman suggests, simply submitting to a necessary cost of formal peace. Tokyo wanted to establish its surrender of indemnity for a wartime loss as a credit toward the repayment of the occupation costs incurred by the U.S. Later, it tried to exploit this precedent and use its Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA) obligations to the U.S. toward reparations payments to Southeast Asian nations. The 1979 Sino-Japanese agreement on the salvaged *Awa maru* wreckage should also be contextualized in the matrix of calculations of China's potential reparations claims against Japan. Such hard-nosed international accounting would have further illustrated the state's willingness to manipulate individual human sufferings and dreams as pawns in its quest for what it defines as a greater common good.

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ASIA

BEVERLY J. BOSSLER. *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1279)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 43.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 370. \$45.00.

Beverly J. Bossler's study of the marriage and kinship practices of grand councilors and the Wu-chou local elite falls within the scope of the social history of China in the seventh to thirteenth centuries. Largely relying on privately commissioned funerary inscriptions of mostly men and some women, Bossler marshals ample documentary evidence to confirm an important theme in current scholarship: the transformation and expansion of the educated class from aristocratic pedigree to the political elite, whose survival depended on success in the civil service examinations, local economic clout, property base, and marriage alliances (see Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* [1992]).

Bossler observes this new elite operating as two fluid and permeable groups. The capital/national elite, landowners in high office and residing in the capital, forms

the topic of the first half of the book; the Wu-chou local elite in Chekiang province is the focus of the second half. The first group, consisting of the Northern Sung (960–1127) and Southern Sung (1127–1279) grand councillors, is characterized by high political office, while the second group is geographically defined by residence and activity in Wu-chou, the center of Neo-Confucian learning in the Southern Sung.

The examination of these two components of the Sung elite demonstrates that in both political ideology and marriage practices, grand councilors did not differ from lower-ranked bureaucrats and the Wu-chou local elite. The families of grand councilors, lower-ranked officials, and the local elite in Wu-chou married with those of equal social and political status; for the grand councilors this meant intermarrying with families of other grand councilors and the imperial family. Matrilineal lines were often more influential than agnatic kin, as shown in the repeated affinal (marriage) ties over several generations with the same affinal families. The preservation of agnatic relationships occurred sometimes but not always through the establishment of charitable estates and a common burial ground for ancestors. The records for the capital/national elite and the Wu-chou sources reveal a flexibility in local social relationships, with both upward and downward mobility possible. Marriage relations partly facilitated this class fluidity and change in status.

Indeed, the funerary inscriptions of the local elite demonstrate a shift in social values: a decreased focus on pedigree proportionate to the deepened concern with affinal links and descendants, sons, grandsons, and sons-in-law. An increasing interest in scholarly promise and potential in public office explains well the two marriages that contemporary kinsmen considered to be social and political mismatches. The example from the capital/national elite was the marriage of the vice grand councilor's eldest daughter to a new examination graduate, a widower with small children and from an undistinguished lineage. Representing the local elite was the marriage of a local wealthy landowner's second daughter to a poor scholar who turned out to be an important personality of the Neo-Confucian movement.

Bossler's stated objective is "to re-examine the interaction of social status, the state and kinship in the Sung" (p. 204), but the actual work is more narrowly based on marriage and kinship practices of the elite. The author's contribution lies in providing informative marriage data from screening the large number of funerary inscriptions; the data confirms that marriage was an "integrating force in society" and that public office had a close connection to social and financial status. Bossler might look beyond the details of public office and marriage data (e.g., who served in which office and who married whom) to examine the marriage networks in practice so as to delineate the circumstances where the marriage relations succeeded or failed at consolidating political and local power.

The author acknowledges that the uneven quantity

and survival of sources created a similar historiographical gap for the capital/national and Wu-chou elites. A more serious problem is Bossler's almost exclusive use of laudatory funerary inscriptions in the reconstruction of marriage links and elite interaction. The detailed documentation, with the appendixes, notes, and bibliography together amounting to over forty percent of the length of the volume, may be useful to the specialist in research. But this book is not for the generalist, who will have difficulty wading through a text with over 550 personal names and hundreds of seemingly unrelated stories.

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TIMOTHY BROOK. *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xxv. 320. \$40.00.

Reading this book brings lots of pleasure, a little confusion, and much gratitude to Timothy Brook for so artfully disguising economic history. Brook himself denies that it is possible as yet to write an economic history of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). He aims, instead, to write a "cultural history of a place that commerce was remaking" (p. xvi). Displaying well his talent for humanizing historical issues, Brook frames this work with the somewhat extreme contention of a late Ming scholar-official, Zhang Tao (fl. 1607), that the Ming dynasty had gone through three "seasons" of life and had entered its fourth, tracing, in Brook's words, an "arc of change from ordered rural self-sufficiency . . . to the decadence of urban-based commerce" (p. xvii). Draconian restrictions on merchants would be necessary, Zhang opined, to stave off death. With Zhang's seasonal history of the Ming as his counterpart in dialogue, Brook has written "from inside the Ming world," hoping to understand how "[c]ommerce (personified in the evil figure of the lord of silver) [became] fingered as the culprit that reduced a once settled China to an anarchic motion where commerce set people traveling, imaginations soaring, and taboos tumbling" (p. 8).

Having rhetorically engaged Zhang Tao as his "guide," however, Brook proceeds to divide his history of the rise and flourish of Ming commercial culture into not four phases but three centuries, relegating Zhang's season of death, autumn, to the final two years of Ming rule over all of China proper, 1642–1644. Each century is treated with a montage of topical essays, biographical sketches, and vignettes that wholly fascinate and convey with immediacy what economic life and values were like in China from the mid-fourteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries (beginning, for instance, with brick-making, Korean castaways, and the early Ming census and ending with the textile business, hired and indentured labor, and cross-dressing students, with no dearth of attention to women along the way). Section by section, Brook paints a long,

colorful, busy handscroll of a society and economy that commercialized not by design but by capillary action. This occurred, in spite of counter designs among the elite, as a natural result of sociopolitical stability, ease of transport and communication, and what became, in effect, governmental surrender to the forces of the marketplace. Using a wide array of primary and secondary sources but drawing especially on his intimate knowledge of so-called local gazetteers (*difang zhi*) and merchant manuals and route books of Ming and early Qing vintage, and supplementing his prose with copious illustrations mainly from contemporaneous Chinese books, Brook truly leads us into the world of everyday production, travel, trade, consumption, parvenu pretensions, and upper-crust anxieties during a highly significant era of change in Chinese civilization. This is wonderful material for students, history buffs, cultural comparatists, and China specialists alike.

The broad scope and brisk pace of this work have rendered inevitable some inaccuracies, most of which are minor. For instance (p. 240): The Manchus did not place their child khan on the dragon throne immediately upon occupying Beijing (as Brook's phrasing implies); that was done several months later. More serious in a work devoted to elucidating Ming commerce is Brook's statement (p. 68) that "[s]ilver was the principal medium of exchange in the Ming economy," which is debatable from more than one angle and which is called into question by certain brief references to money in other parts of the book. Indeed, Brook devotes just one page (pp. 68–69) to explication of the early Ming monetary system. Elsewhere he merely mentions, without explanation, subsequent government attempts to suppress the use of silver for exchange (pp. 81, 94). To understand the complex functions of various monetary instruments in the Ming economy over time and the important effects of government policies on their supply and circulation, one must turn to another work, Richard von Glahn's *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700* (1996).

This shows one consequence of Brook's extensive use of locality-specific sources and his *Annales*-like approach: we learn relatively little about matters relevant to commerce above the local level or beyond the domestic Ming scene. Brook touches only lightly on world historical issues, such as relations between China's domestic economy and what many regard as an epochal integration of maritime trade networks from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The astounding voyages of Zheng He (1371–1435) are referred to only briefly (pp. 68–69, 120–21), and foreign trade in the late Ming receives all of four pages (pp. 204–08). On the persistent question of comparison between patterns of economic development in China and Europe in the "early modern" era, Brook again is brief (pp. 200–01) though eminently intelligent.

Further, specialists will grouse at the inclusion of Chinese characters only for proper names and certain

terms in the combined glossary and index—while wishing enviously that they had been able to conceive, much less write, such a gem of a book.

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JOSHUA A. FOGEL and PETER G. ZARROW, editors.
Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890–1920. (Studies on Modern China.) (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. viii. 315. \$57.95.

This interesting and thought-provoking series of essays provides an intellectual history of the period from 1890 to 1920, focusing on a concept previously ignored in the literature: citizenship. Citizenship, it turns out, provides a profitable way of looking at the process of community and nation-building in China. As editor Peter G. Zarrow puts it: "It developed in China to meet certain needs: to define membership in the national community, to establish rights and duties or giving a certain protected status for these members, and to encourage some kind of participation in state and society" (p. 5).

The idea of citizenship took on importance early in this century, after it was realized that China lacked a unified and committed citizenry such as had created the strong and confident nations of the West. The issue of citizenship was discussed by various authors in confronting questions about the exact relationship between the new state they wished to create and the people it was supposed to serve. Citizens not only had membership in the nation but certain rights and obligations from it. The issue of citizenship thus raised questions about democracy and the rule of law. It further evoked inquiry about what kind of organizations and groups could be used to bring people together into a national entity.

Traditional Chinese philosophies had dealt with people as individuals and as groups, but they had not really considered how these groups could come together to create a cohesive, coherent nation. Citizens, they concluded, developed a national focus only after they first joined small civic groups, and these groups in turn bonded together for the greater good. Only by creating a union of smaller groups could there be a national forum in which all could participate. The question that then confronted Chinese thinkers was how to create these groups.

Naturally enough, reform-minded intellectuals first attempted to work with what they had on hand, endeavoring to transform traditional words and organizations to meet the needs of the modern state. Clan and family were the dominant elements in the Confucian structure of the old society. Many of the thinkers discussed in this volume first considered using family and clan as building blocks around which the new citizens could coalesce in their struggle to build a new society. But old words and organizations carried too much traditional baggage. In the end, most of the

intellectuals under study concluded that these categories divided rather than united the nation. They were too deeply embedded in the old society to work in creating a new one. They kept the nation weak and divided, focused on its constituents, rather than strong and united. New groupings were needed to build a nation.

Gradually, most of the writers discussed by the authors of these essays began to understand they would have to make a radical break with Chinese tradition. Traditional modes needed to be discarded and new ones developed if China was to meet the challenge posed by the modern world. As they discussed citizenship, these writers began to realize that in order to create a new type of state, they needed a new kind of civil society.

Recently, some academics in both Asia and the West, as well as autocratic rulers in places like Singapore, have argued that Confucianism can provide the basis for a modern industrial society, one that may result in a special kind of "Asian democracy," a more elitist and group-centered form of democracy than that which exists in Europe and the United States. Almost a hundred years ago, many of the writers considered in this volume began with similar hopes but ended up concluding that such a task was impossible.

Unlike those contemporary partisans who somehow see a Confucian democratic society as a future (and never yet implemented) possibility, the thinkers considered here came to feel that Confucian ideals were firmly embedded in a traditional political and social structure and could not be adapted. Given this emphasis, it is not surprising that many of the contributors to this volume seem to be attempting to return to the notions pioneered a number of years ago by Joseph Levenson, who talked about the discontinuities of the present with the past. Indeed, Levenson is cited in a number of these essays. Although his ideas have been discarded by many in recent years, it would appear that they are perhaps coming back into vogue.

Moreover, the essays that editors Joshua A. Fogel and Zarrow have selected for this work discuss many of the writers analyzed in the past by Levenson, as well as by Benjamin Schwartz and others: Tan Sitong, Liu Shipei, Yan Fu, Zhang Binglin, Fu Sinian, and especially the towering personage of Liang Qichao. By using the concept of citizenship, the authors bring a new, if necessarily somewhat narrow, perspective to these thinkers and allow us to see them in a new way. This is a valuable exercise.

The authors (with one exception) do not draw connections between the new ideas of citizenship considered by the thinkers in this volume and the later transformation of the Chinese state, although, in his afterword, Fogel suggests that future writers might want to do research on the relationship between revolution and citizenship. This is too bad, because there is a lot of material here for speculation, as can be seen in the one exception. Wang Fan-shen, a scholar from Taiwan, makes an explicit connection between

these ideas and those of Mao Zedong, whose most important and influential early article, "The Great Union of the Popular Masses," maintained that the masses should join together through their existing groups. According to Mao, peasants, workers, students, women, school teachers, rickshaw boys, policemen all needed to form their own groups that would in turn then join into one great union. This great union would transform China. Because of the power they would achieve through this union, Mao argued that the Chinese people could no longer allow one person like the emperor to dominate them. "Our Chinese people," he asserted, "possess great inherent capacities! The more profound the oppression, the more powerful its reactions . . . I venture to make a singular assertion: one day, the reform of the Chinese people will be more profound than that of any other people, and the society of the Chinese people will be more radiant than that of any other people. The great union of the Chinese people will be achieved earlier than that of any other place or people." It was precisely this idea of small groups as the basis of a greater nation that was, as Wang points out, the concern of virtually every one of the thinkers in this volume. Seen in this context, the structure and thinking that ended with the development of the Chinese Communist Party, while not having a Confucian basis, did, nonetheless, have clear antecedents.

This is, however, just one of the many ideas illuminated by the many lucid and considered essays in this book. As Fogel's afterword sums up the work: "The meaning of citizenship for late Qing and early Republican intellectuals forms the prism through which we have approached their perceptions of the common people. We have argued that this hitherto little-studied topic is a critical aspect of understanding China's emergence into the world arena, and the three decades upon which we center our attention thus became even more important in appreciating the evolution of modern Chinese intellectual and cultural history" (p. 280). Ideas of nationalism, ethnicity, and class are all given new perspective through the volume's focus "on the nexus of intellectuals, the populace, and the state" (p. 280).

Although the perspectives of the contributors differ greatly, the quality is high throughout the work. The editors should be congratulated for their choices.

One final point should be made about this book. The volume brings together authors from Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, Europe, and the United States, a number of the essays having been translated by Fogel and Zarrow. It is nice to see scholars from so many different areas working together so well.

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MARIE-CLAIRE BERGÈRE. *Sun Yat-sen*. Translated by JANET LLOYD. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 480. \$49.50.

This is a most welcome book, one that everyone interested in modern China has wanted for a long while. It is a readable, balanced, and judicious study of the most important man in modern Chinese history, the man recognized by all Chinese, whatever their political persuasion, as the Father of the Nation: Sun Yat-sen. Marie-Claire Bergère's biography is the most thorough book about Sun in a Western language, and it is so minutely researched that it goes far beyond any existing study.

Sun is not an easy subject for biographers. His actual achievements, in terms of deeds, were limited; he had only a few weeks in political office as president of China. Much of his career consisted of setbacks and defeats. His aims so far outran his reach that he was an easy target for disparagement and was seldom taken seriously by foreign commentators. Bergère does not make this mistake. She brings together all the myriad and often quirky details of Sun's life and then transcends them.

Sun's life (1866–1925) was full of ironies, in tune with the confusion of the period in which he lived, the last decades of the dynasty and the first years of the Chinese Republic. Sun was a patriot, but he spent most of his life outside China; he was educated in Hawaii and Hong Kong and spent years roaming the world. When he went to the ancient capital of Nanjing in 1912 to become the first president of the Republic, it was the first time he had been there. Sun was a fierce opponent of foreign imperialism, but he was also a baptised Christian who turned to the British to save him when he was kidnapped by the Chinese Embassy in London. Finally, he was a political revolutionary but a social conservative. Through his marriage in 1915 to the beautiful Song Qingling he became part of the most famous couple in modern China, the epitome of romantic love. Yet his first wife still lived in his native village.

Sun's life was marked by setbacks. His real greatness emerged only after his early, tragic death. Death transformed him into a mythic figure, the fountainhead of wisdom, patriotism, and courage, and nothing in the tortuous history of China since his death has changed this status. His ideology—the Three Principles of the People—is still the official ideology of the Republic of China in Taiwan. The style of clothing he pioneered is still the formal dress for men in China; in Chinese it is called the Sun Yat-sen jacket, in English (most unfairly) the Mao jacket. Innumerable streets, squares, universities, and parks are named after him, on the mainland and in Taiwan. His widow was the most celebrated woman in Communist China, while her sister (still alive at 101) was Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Bergère has achieved in this book what has eluded other scholars, both Chinese and non-Chinese: a truthful account of Sun that is neither hagiography (the norm in Chinese texts) nor condescension (the frequent tone of non-Chinese accounts). This is an enormous achievement. She shows both his strengths and weaknesses and, above all, makes us understand his

dedication, his courage, his tenacity, and his vision. These are the characteristics that the Chinese have needed to survive the last tormented century.

This book performs a great service in putting Sun in his rightful position in history. It is also very readable and is packed with details, some edifying, some less so, but none spurious. Bergère uses a clever device to manage so much material and to make the book available to readers on different levels. Each part has a general introduction, followed by detailed coverage in individual chapters, within each of which there is an introduction and then discussion. The book can thus be read at a general, focused, or very detailed level—a device that should be imitated.

DIANA LARY

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RALPH A. THAXTON, JR., *Salt of the Earth: The Political Origins of Peasant Protest and Communist Revolution in China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 425. \$65.00.

This is an important contribution to the burgeoning literature on the nature of the popular mobilization that accompanied the rise to power of the Chinese Communist Party in the years prior to the 1949 Communist victory. Historians and political scientists have long been interested in this question, but the field has been enriched by the increased data—particularly on local history—available under the less controlling regimes in power since Mao Zedong's death. Several scholars have used reminiscence literature and particularly the documentary record of local Communist movements to produce more fine-grained studies than have been available to date. Ralph A. Thaxton's exhaustively researched study uses all these sources as well as oral history—interviews with some 200 elderly rural people over the course of eight visits between 1985 and 1993—to write the local history of the saltmakers' resistance movements in five counties of the North China plain (just north of the Yellow River where Henan, Hebei, and Shandong come together) in the 1930s and 1940s.

These saltmakers serve as an excellent focus for someone interested, as Thaxton is, in questions of resistance and state-building. The salt in question was illegal, home-produced salt, but the saltmakers had been compelled to take up "salt smuggling" (as the state chose to call it) by the state's failure to maintain hydraulic control of the Yellow River. Repeated floods created saline soil, useless for farming but excellent for salt-making. The Chinese state had maintained a monopoly over the production and marketing of salt for much of its imperial history. The Republican regime, anxious to build a modern state but hampered by lack of revenue and by international pressure (Thaxton's account of international creditors' attempts to capture the salt tax as security makes for particularly compelling reading), tried to use its own salt monopoly to generate unprecedented tax monies. The conflict be-

tween the state's revenue strategy and the peasants' survival strategy came to be acute, and the state eventually created an armed tax police empowered to use deadly force in an effort to suppress the production and sale of private salt. It would be hard to imagine a more arresting image of the invasive modern state (one might note that China's leaders are, in early 1999, discussing the revival of the tax police to deal with widespread failure to comply with central tax policies).

Against this backdrop, Thaxton examines a number of case studies of the protest movements that grew out of this conflict. The case studies explore richer and poorer villages and follow the story through the anti-Japanese War of Resistance as well as the civil war that followed the defeat of Japan. Although rich in detail, these case studies uniformly illustrate that, in terms of peasant memory, the salt-generated struggle against the Kuomintang state preceded and paved the way for the Communist movement that was also attempting to establish itself during this period. The story the peasants tell is not one of misery, class exploitation, or salvation by the Communists. Instead, the peasants tell a story of entrepreneurial success, based in the flourishing rural markets of the region, of conflict with the avaricious Nationalist state, and of strategic alliance with the Communists to achieve certain limited ends.

These findings are important, both in terms of the evolution of Thaxton's work and in terms of our understanding of the Chinese Communist revolution. Much of Thaxton's earlier work has been identified with James C. Scott and his moral economy school and has sought to depict a particular communal ethos shared by peasant communities faced with chronic threats to their survival. In this book, Thaxton maintains his focus on peasant communities, hoping to locate popular, indigenous traditions of struggle and resistance, but he finds—surprisingly enough, given his earlier work—that an important part of this tradition centers on peasant embrace and defense of the marketplace. In a larger context, Thaxton suggests that the conflict between “entrepreneurial peasant” and “state-building regime” may well be the central narrative in China's modern history of agrarian revolution, displacing older narratives of class struggle or nationalism. Although over-written and over-argued in places, Thaxton's thoroughly documented findings resonate with much other recent research (in particular, that of Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Mark Selden's *Chinese Village, Socialist State* [1991]) as well as with many current trends in the Chinese countryside. One is tempted to conclude that Thaxton has indeed identified one very important strand in the narrative of China's revolutionary history, even if we may eventually conclude that this history is too diverse to be encompassed by a single explanation.

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GLEN PETERSON. *The Power of Words: Literacy and Revolution in South China, 1949–95*. (Contemporary Chinese Studies.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1997. Pp. x, 250. \$75.00.

This book by Glen Peterson is a detailed political history of the efforts of the Chinese Communist government to promote mass education in rural south China. From the outset, the author makes it clear that he avoids the technical debates about literacy rates, because both definitions and measurements of literacy in China are problematic. Moreover, statistics that reach government offices are often grossly distorted.

Instead, the author uses major ideological landmarks since 1949 to frame the analysis of literacy programs for school-age children and adults: the political and practical motives behind state initiatives, the means employed, the reactions of regional authorities, and the perceptions of local populations targeted. Behind these research issues are important questions: have the post-revolutionary efforts provided unprecedented mobility opportunities for the villagers, or have the programs contributed to the formation and reproduction of social differences between country and city? To what extent have the practical strategies of state building compromised the regime's revolutionary goals in local voluntarism? When bureaucratic agendas intertwined with personal and ideological interests at every level of government, were Chinese peasants subjects or citizens?

Guangdong province, the region the author chooses to focus on, is “linguistically diverse, socially complex, and politically backward.” Its unique features complicated the goals and the strategies of every literacy campaign and language reform. The difficulties dramatized the history of ambivalence between center and locality. The author relies largely on documentary sources: provincial newspapers, education journals and yearbooks, conference reports, official surveys, and local gazetteers. He also uses interviews of officials and teachers obtained in his sporadic field trips in some rural counties.

He gives a detailed chronological account of the government's various literacy campaigns at the national and provincial levels. The political agendas of mobilization in the literacy campaigns of the war years are contrasted with the practical needs in state building in the 1950s. Creating a loyal and technically literate leadership to administer the rapid collectivization of the vast countryside was a near impossible task. Key intellectuals and political leaders also disagreed on the means and the ends of both mass education and language reforms. Local efforts followed the ebbs and flows of the national ideological tides. There was the euphoria of the Great Leap Forward (1958), followed by the hasty retrenchment in the early 1960s when, in a lingering spirit of self-reliance, village children were confined to the low-status agricultural middle schools. The extreme radicalism of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) devolved the resources for rural educa-

tion to the communes, but whatever was taught was dominated by severe ideological indoctrination. The post-Mao decades of liberalization since 1978 have stimulated diverse demands from a younger generation of entrepreneurs and informed farmers. However, resources commanded by the central government are limited, and the issue of how to share responsibility with localities remains unresolved.

Peterson succeeds in charting the study of literacy movements in revolutionary societies toward an intellectually exciting direction, but his study falls short of answering the very important questions of state-making and social change associated with mass education. Local society remains distant and generalized, its images seen largely through official documents and problematic statistics compiled at the provincial level. Observations gleaned from these sources tend to be framed by the ideologies of the various political phases since 1949, to the point that the descriptions of literacy campaigns and their local reception appeared predictable and almost cliché.

Peterson is aware of the discrepancy between official initiatives and practical application, but the study has not provided ethnographic details on local society that are systematic enough for readers to evaluate the impact of the state policies or the improvisations made. Guangdong province is taken for granted as an administrative unit. Analysis based on this assumption prevents a deeper and more locally sensitive look into the historically unique and deeply differentiated characteristics of the rural communities on the ground. It is then difficult to put in context their varied responses to state penetration. If more historical and ethnographic details were included, the author could have used the literacy movement as a valuable entry into the debates among Vivienne Shue, Jean Oi, Helen F. Siu, and others. It would illuminate how the mass education campaigns impacted on the nature of rural leadership, on the efforts of the Maoist revolution to incorporate the vast peasantry, on the dissemination of new languages of authority, and on the lingering presence of state power in an age of liberalization. Answers to these issues would have enriched our understanding of the remarkable energies unleashed by the post-Mao reforms.

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LINDA CHAO and RAMON H. MYERS. *The First Chinese Democracy: Political Life in the Republic of China on Taiwan*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Pp. xiv, 372. \$45.00.

The Chinese Communist government in Beijing and the Nationalist government in Taipei have pursued contrasting courses of political, economic, and social development throughout the second half of the twentieth century. While the People's Republic of China on the mainland has pursued Marxist objectives, experiencing periods of considerable social upheaval to

arrive at a limited market economy, the Republic of China on Taiwan has promoted a capitalist economy and a democratic political structure similar to those of Western countries. In this detailed account, Linda Chao and Ramon H. Myers document the mostly peaceful growth of a democratic society under the guidance of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party).

The authors focus on Taiwan's political transformation from an authoritarian regime that established martial law on May 20, 1949, maintaining it for thirty-eight years, to a democracy that held its first direct national elections on March 23, 1996. They view the evolution of Taiwan's government from an "inhibited political center into a subordinated political center" (p. 18) as a succession of stages in which political opposition, tolerated by Nationalist leaders making ideological adjustments, received institutional expression through local, and later national, elections. In an effort to penetrate through the bias of pro-Nationalist rhetoric, Chao and Myers recount severe incidents of repression that occurred soon after martial law went into effect and contend that such repression persisted to a degree as long as martial law continued. Nevertheless, they maintain that democracy gradually expanded during this period.

The rationale for Nationalist government control and the limitation of democratic practice in the early years was not only the Communist threat from the mainland but the need to maintain public order, a sentiment that prevailed in traditional and Communist China as well. Once stability and economic development were established, forces within the Nationalist Party laid the foundation for a democratic movement. Faced with the *dangwai* ("outside the [Kuomintang] party") politicians, who adhered to a liberal philosophy, and pressured by the United States in the 1980s to lift martial law and free political prisoners, the Nationalist leadership under Chiang Ching-kuo, son and successor to Chiang Kai-shek, accepted rising demands for democracy. The electoral successes of the *dangwai* resulted in the establishment of the rival Democratic Progressive Party in September 1986. Ideological dissent in the Nationalist Party, genuine political opposition, the cessation of martial law, and broad-based elections all contributed to the emergence of Taiwan's democracy.

The authors also place justifiable emphasis on constitutional revision and the creation of a new National Assembly that attracted young minds with liberal inclinations. They credit the Taiwan-born President Lee Teng-hui with expanding the democratic consensus that enabled these moves. Although political opposition and government reform did not occur without public rancor, Chao and Myers see the heated controversies as evidence of a genuine transformation to a democratic society. Once these developments resulted in direct national elections for president and other national leaders in March 1996, the Chinese experiment in democracy on Taiwan came to fruition.

This detailed account and astute analysis of political

events of the Republic of China provides a balanced appraisal of China's first experiment with democracy. Although often critical in identifying the autocratic policies and behavior of the Kuomintang leadership during this period, the authors bestow measured praise and support their narrative with factual data. Nevertheless, they could strengthen their thesis if they elaborated on the Kuomintang's fascist tendencies in the "New Life Movement" of the 1930s rather than stressing that movement's virtues. Indeed, the contrast between the "former" and "present" Kuomintang lends even greater credence to the democratic transformation. While this monograph relies heavily on published and secondary sources such as newspaper accounts, future historians will need to examine government and party documents (not yet available to the authors) for a definitive account. Nevertheless, this comprehensive study should long remain useful for readers seeking information about the first Chinese democracy.

The success of Taiwan's democracy, as evidenced by the existence of personal liberty, political parties, free elections of officials on all levels, and a free press, as well as the ruling elites' acceptance of democratic political culture, have led the authors to be optimistic about the future. They contend that Taiwan's democracy is likely to survive as long as the government observes democratic procedures, the people maintain their commitment to those procedures, and the People's Republic of China does not destroy what has been achieved.

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STEPHEN VLASTOS, editor. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 9.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 328. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.00.

Most conference volumes explore new research areas and reassess conventional approaches. This one announces the demise of a paradigm and deploys post-modern insights to reorient readers concerning recent Japan. It does so by rejecting a host of stereotypes applied to things Japanese on grounds that such cultural and social practices originated less in reality than in fictions culled from the past for present purposes of national integration and economic development as Japan remade itself into a modern state.

This is a landmark book on Japan, about as good as it gets in this business; it is also highly readable. Seventeen contributors, Japanese as well as Western, address the issue of modernity's institutionalization during the long century following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The vehicle for this inquiry is the protean concept of tradition, which figures in two of the book's three epigraphs and suffuses the third. The model for the book is *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983). At root a

static classification construed as a pejorative opposed to modernity, tradition should be the categorical antagonist, but as it happens modern goals seem to require it for success.

The book benefits from the strong editorial hand of Stephen Vlastos, who contributes a methodological introduction and an essay on prewar agrarian discourse. All the articles are revealing—a rare treat in a collection of this type. A few are stunning, especially Carol Gluck's on images of Edo and Andrew Barshay's on the hermeneutics of Japanese capitalism.

In her piece on Edo (Tokyo's name before becoming the "eastern capital" in 1868), Gluck sets out to unpack the layers of "Edo-memory" that mystify the city's history. She shows how residues of the old city were put to use time and again to fabricate a "cultural space [where] modern Japanese negotiated their path to the future by way of the past" (p. 263). A layer forming a negative example, the Tokugawa *bakuhatsu taisei* (the political order, based on the shogunate and the 250-plus feudal domains), became a countertrope for the "centralized imperial nation-state" (p. 280) that Japan needed for survival in a Darwinian world. Another negative layer featured Edo-the-city as opposed to the eternal countryside. *Sakoku* ("closed country") was invoked to contrast early modern isolation (a negative) with modern Japan's positive openness to the world. The shogun's capital could overleap modern limits and be seen as postmodern, serving as a dehistoricized synchronic foil for change useable at any given moment. Gluck concludes that "Edo was an allegory that evoked what was other to the modern" (p. 284).

Barshay applies the idea of invented tradition with telling acuity to the vexed prewar controversy over the nature of Japanese capitalism. He reminds us that what we fashion sometimes comes back to haunt us. As Barshay sees it, the assumption that capitalism developed belatedly in Japan tainted the works of the Kōza or "Lectures" group of Marxist intellectuals, including the influential text by Yamada Moritarō, *Nihon shihonshugi bunseki* (Analysis of Japanese Capitalism [1934]). Yamada attributed the lag in Japanese capitalism to its "special character"—its "particularism"—stemming from the tenacity of "semi-feudal social relations" (pp. 258–59). If Japan's evolution had been retarded, he reasoned, a bourgeois revolution could not have taken place at the time of the Meiji Restoration, meaning that Japanese imperialism arose out of perverse development. This view penetrated beyond leftist circles and persisted after the Pacific War. The Rōnō or "Worker-Farmer" group disavowed the Kōza interpretation, favoring the bourgeois revolution thesis, but it is left for Barshay to demonstrate that Yamada's whole formulation was flawed because he was taken in by the contrived tradition of a backward Japan. The irony is that the Kōza reading prefigures the current inclination to treat Japanese capitalism as a postmodern form: "backwardness" paradoxically becomes its opposite—"the claim that particularism [in-

forms] Japan's role as the *vanguard of postmodern capitalism*" (p. 260).

Sic transit! The remaining essays confirm the recent provenance of so many supposedly "old" practices. On workplace harmony, Frank Upham shows that the Japanese aversion to litigation as a means of conflict resolution is a modern phenomenon, while Andrew Gordon points to the ambivalent effects of industrial paternalism. Jennifer Robertson holds that the current "internationalization" fad resembles an older infatuation with "native places" (*furusato*), making them "mutually constitutive modalities of modernity" (p. 128). Turning to folklore, Harry Harootunian revisits the prewar ethnologists to show how the concept of a timeless folk facilitated national mythmaking. In sports, Lee Thompson cites a defrocked *sumō* grand champion (*yokozuna*) to indicate that Japan's classic sport reinvented its past while changing the terms of its present. Coming to gender, Miriam Silverberg looks at the lure of the interwar café waitress—a type spawned by urban mass leisure—who posed a threat to Japan's male-female hierarchy but mostly died out by wartime, while Jordan Sand takes up the modern middle-class cult of domesticity. Other common attitudes and practices fare no better.

Subaltern historian Dipesh Chakrabarty appends a comparative afterword asserting the "hybridity" of the tradition/modernity binary. He sees a need to make room for a "space of contingency" that allows for multiple meanings ("polysemy") and "uneven temporalities" (pp. 292–93), and he commends the authors of this book for problematizing the affective dimension of behavior: love and hate, anxiety, nostalgia, and other "embodied practices" (p. 294) largely neglected in the modern canon.

What does it mean, all this trashing of stereotypes? Who gains by such relentless dismantling of the "old"? First, that is not what the book is about: it presupposes the innovative quality of tradition but seeks to disclose its ironic utility for the modern project. Second, given the novelty of so much tradition, the Japanese past no longer looks quite so prolific, and Japan's modernization seems less a mirroring process than a distortion for policy ends. Skeptical of received knowledge, doubtful about authority from the center, playful with hallowed notions, the authors wield a postmodern Occam's razor to lay bare the (uninterrogated) artifices of cultural construction.

The makers of this volume are embarked on a collective critical project to discredit the old by revealing how much of it is really new. They draw on postcolonial theory, suggesting that Japan shares affinities with the non-Western world after all. They imply that Japanese exceptionalism (the *Nihonjinron*) generated a fraudulent version of national identity by ransacking the archive of the past for examples of synchrony and communality. Conceding that tradition is a double-edged sword—designed to exert social and political control yet capable of provoking resistance to hegemonic pressures—the contributors erect a power-

ful critique of the manipulation of stereotypes, rendering the modern itself a target of criticism rather than a standard of merit. They also revise Hobsbawm and Ranger to take account of affect. Overall, they strike a blow for recognizing the brute contingency of history and recovering authentic historical agency.

This is heady stuff, engaging for students and exciting for those who profess modern Japanese history. Maybe it is time to rename courses on modern Japan—call the period Recent Japan, or New Times à la the German, *Neuzeit*—and just do without the now-traditional modernity paradigm.

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NIMURA KAZUO. *The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan*. Edited by ANDREW GORDON. Translated by TERRY BOARDMAN and ANDREW GORDON. (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 275. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

Nimura Kazuo's book is an impressive example of the historian's craft: rich empirically, inventive methodologically, engaged and provocative interpretively. Nimura details a landmark event in the history of Japanese labor, the three-day riot at the Furukawa Company's massive Ashio copper mine in February 1907. In this pioneering "dispute-centered study," Nimura not only documents the happenings at Ashio but minutely explores the world of miners and mine work in early industrial Japan, aspiring better to "comprehend the character of Japanese society and especially of Japanese labor relations" (p. 2). At the same time, Nimura eagerly confronts scholarly sacred cows, challenging (and eventually toppling) major interpretive traditions in Japanese social and labor history. This edition—an abridged translation of *Ashio bōdō no shiteki bunseki* (1988) with a new introduction and epilogue—makes Nimura's important contributions accessible in English for the first time.

Nimura provides a microscopic retelling of the causes and consequences of the Ashio riot. In the process, he vividly reconstructs "the subjectivity of the workers themselves—how they lived, worked, thought and felt" (p. 206), drawing on a staggering variety of obscure primary sources (including police reports, legal records, corporate documents, and contemporary academic surveys). Through this historical detective work, Nimura reveals the functions of the "lodge" system (a subcontracting mechanism for recruiting and supervising labor), the origins of union organization at Ashio, the important role of the "brotherhoods" (training and mutual aid organizations) in the miners' community, and the impact of evolving technology and wage practices on worker life. Although Nimura attempts to consider the riot from all angles and thus integrates corporate and state approaches to labor relations into his analysis, he clearly lacks the subtle

appreciation of “managerial culture” that he demonstrates for the “subjectivity of the workers.”

Nimura takes issue with two of the most influential theories in the postwar Japanese scholarship on labor: Maruyama Masao’s notion of “spontaneous resistance” by “atomized” workers and Ōkōchi Kazuo’s “migrant labor” thesis. Rejecting Maruyama’s assertion that the Ashio riot represented “nothing more than the spasmodic fits of desperately atomized workers” who were alienated from preindustrial collective norms by the process of modernization (p. 42), Nimura argues convincingly that the Ashio miners had a strong sense of community and shared purpose. Stressing the workers’ “determination to organize” (p. 45), Nimura shows how the strength of traditional social institutions—the miners’ brotherhoods—and the cooperative nature of the modern work process itself created a worker culture more “associative” than “atomized.” Nimura’s anatomy of the events at Ashio also casts doubt on Ōkōchi’s time-honored theory, which ascribed the distinctive character of Japanese labor to the persistence of “feudal” values and enduring connections to the traditional agrarian economy in Japan’s industrial work force. Challenging Ōkōchi’s fixation on the labor market and the “stubborn continuity of premodern social relations” (p. 2), Nimura shows how labor problems at Ashio were shaped by the specific production process employed at the mine, and he emphasizes the impact of technological change, managerial strategy, and shop-floor conditions on the evolution of the Japanese labor movement. Some might consider Nimura’s discussion of “spontaneity” in the Ashio riot semantically hairsplitting, find his critique of Ōkōchi’s arguments rather prosaic (at least in light of current scholarly opinion), and be disappointed by his sometimes cursory treatment of Tokugawa-era antecedents. Nevertheless, Nimura amply demonstrates the value of a meticulous “dispute-centered study” in reevaluating the grand theories of Japanese labor history and affording new perspectives on the working-class experience in industrializing Japan.

In his conclusion, Nimura lays out a formidable agenda for future research on Japanese labor, stressing the need for a deeper understanding of the workers’ *mentalités* and a more nuanced appreciation of the complex legacies of premodern society. Nimura’s epilogue, which places the case of Ashio and the Japanese labor movement in an broad comparative framework, also raises a number of topics that warrant further study: notably, blue-collar class consciousness in Japan, the “quality of violence” in Japanese labor disputes, and the weakness of the craft tradition in Japan. Overall, but especially perhaps in these closing chapters, the similarities between Nimura’s approach and the “new labor history” (now far from new in the United States and Britain) are unmistakable. Yet as Andrew Gordon writes in his preface to this volume, Nimura’s work should not be considered derivative but “chronologically and conceptually parallel” to trends

in Western scholarship (p. xiii). By any measure, this book stands as a major work of labor history, a model of painstaking research and keen historical analysis that deserves a wide audience.

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PETER WETZLER. *Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 294. \$38.00.

This is an extensively researched, analytical study designed to delve into the mode of thinking that governed Emperor Shōwa’s (Hirohito’s) political life and the role he played in the decision-making process of prewar Japan. The main thesis presented by Peter Wetzler is that Hirohito’s governing motivation was the preservation of the imperial house and the *kokutai* (national polity).

The author reviews the role that Hirohito played in the decision-making process by examining his participation in the series of war plans devised by the army and navy, beginning with the 1936 plan that envisioned war with the United States. Wetzler points out that Hirohito participated in decision making but was not the sole decision maker; he helped build consensus as one of an elite of policy makers.

On the decision to attack Pearl Harbor, the author agrees with the Japanese critics of the emperor that he was fully informed of the plan by a series of informal meetings with General Hideki Tōjō and his staff, so he was not confronted with just the final decision arrived at by the government and military officials. In the postwar years, Hirohito claimed that as a constitutional monarch he could not go against the government’s decision and that opposition could have resulted in a coup. Wetzler cites this as proof that the emperor’s primary concern was the preservation of the imperial house. Most scholars agree that if the Emperor had opposed going to war with the United States, Tōjō would have acceded to his wishes. Hirohito seems to have gone along with the force of events. Wetzler concludes that the emperor was an opportunist, neither a militarist nor an advocate of peace.

To understand the basis for the emperor’s seeming obsession with preserving the imperial house and the *kokutai*, Wetzler reviews Hirohito’s educational background and focuses on the values instilled in him by his teachers, Sugiura Shigetake and Shiratori Kurakichi. Sugiura centered his teachings on concepts and works that stressed the historical roots and values of the imperial dynasty. Historian Shiratori likewise emphasized the sacredness of the imperial dynasty, stressing the superiority of Japanese history and ethics over those of China, from which Japan selectively adapted its cultural and ethical concepts.

Wetzler focuses on Makino Nobuaki as the influential personality at the court. Saionji Kimochi, a liberal aristocrat, was the most important prewar

figure at the court and in the politics of the 1920s and 1930s, but Wetzler evidently chose to focus on Makino, a "liberal bureaucrat," because of his official capacity as imperial household minister (1921–1925) and lord keeper of the privy seal (1925–1935), and also because his role at the court has not been given much attention. Makino was an elitist and a nationalist but also a moderate. He, like other court advisers and civil officials, was committed to upholding the sacrosanct imperial tradition.

In order to protect the emperor's status as ruler and embodiment of the sanctity of the *kokutai*, Saionji and Makino endeavored to prevent Hirohito from becoming directly involved in political affairs and to keep him confined to ceremonial functions. His role was to reign but not to rule. During his regency (1921–1926), Hirohito remained politically uninvolved, but when he assumed the emperorship (1926) he began to assert himself on certain occasions. Shielding the emperor from political responsibility, Wetzler concludes, was partly responsible for the rise of the military, because under the existing system the military had direct access to the emperor.

The author reviews Makino's role until his departure from the court after the February 26, 1936 military coup attempt. Acting as Saionji's cohort, Makino sought to keep Hirohito from direct involvement in political affairs during the period of increasing military activism. During the Manchurian incident and other events that followed, the emperor occasionally expressed his will. At times, the military acceded to him; on other occasions, they ignored his wishes. Wetzler concludes that he was not consistent in his opposition to military action, and he often equivocated.

In the concluding chapter, Wetzler sums up the emperor's role in the decision-making process. Stephen Large, with whose *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan* (1992) Wetzler notes his disagreement several times in the text, believes that the emperor was moderate and even tended to obstruct the impetus to war. On the other hand, Herbert Bix sees him as a "Fighting Generalissimo" (see Bix, "The Showa Emperor's 'Monologue' and the Problem of War Responsibility," *Journal of Japanese Studies* [1992]). Wetzler's conclusion is that "depending on the constellations of forces around him, he sought peace or made war . . . preoccupied mainly with assuring the position and continued existence of the imperial house of Japan" (p. 180). In Hirohito's thinking, preservation of the imperial line and the national polity was of primary importance. "If as a consequence a war ensued, that was extremely unfortunate but unavoidable" (p. 202). I believe that whatever the reason for his sanctioning of war, millions were killed and died in his name. Hirohito should have been made to bear full responsibility for their deaths.

This work is an important addition to studies dealing with Hirohito and Japanese political history of the Shōwa era. One might feel that Wetzler overstates the

thesis that Hirohito's concern for the *kokutai* and imperial house was the ultimate reason for all his significant actions and decisions. Makino's role as one of the key advisers was less significant after he left the court, and many of the important decisions the emperor was involved in occurred in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, when imperial advisers like Saionji and Kido Koichi played critically important roles. Their activities might have been elaborated more fully. Also, one might have reservations about the author's explanation of Japanese international conduct in terms of the characteristic of *amae* (emotional dependency).

Perusing this incisive analytical work together with other works, like Large's *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan* (1992) and Irokawa Daikichi's *The Age of Hirohito* (1995), should provide the reader with a balanced perspective.

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M. C. RICKLEFS. *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749: History, Literature, and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II*. (Asian Studies Association of Australia Southeast Asia Publication Series.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, in association with the Asian Studies Association of Australia. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 391. \$35.00.

This is a book about evidence. It uses the troublesome reign of a troubling king in troubled mid-eighteenth century Java as a kind of test case for historical methods and interweaves a narrative and a historiographical exegesis of the known documentary sources, principally Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) reports and correspondence on the one hand and Javanese historical and religious literature on the other. It seeks to explore the connections between ideas and actions, but on the strict basis of existing records rather than on speculation or postmodernist appraisal. It seeks to stake out the limits of what we can and cannot know about Javanese thought and political life during this crucial period, when the Mataram court faced Dutch power. Some will find the approach as well as the goal rather old-fashioned; my own view is that they constitute both a powerful warning and a first-class guide for future scholarship.

M. C. Ricklefs makes three particularly important points. First, although it is perhaps readily understood these days that no history of eighteenth-century Javanese political life can rest entirely on Dutch sources but must take into serious, perhaps even *more* serious, consideration Javanese materials as well, it is equally important to understand that there are limits to both. Dutch materials, for example, are not always reliable in factual matters (even basic dates) and reflect their authors' complete ignorance of many aspects of Javanese life; treating them as more than "the essential first step for Javanese historians" (p. 345) would be a grave mistake. Javanese sources are often obscure as to meaning and motive, and we have no way of

knowing such things as their precise effect on readers (or listeners) and their currency in society. Further, since many Javanese materials deal with prophecy, and were indeed often thought to possess supernatural qualities themselves, they pose special problems of interpretation, many of which are impossible to solve reliably. Pretending to do so is bad history.

Second, many of the dualities that have been used to examine the mindset of eighteenth-century Javanese are mistaken. Ricklefs argues that the divides between Majapahitan and Islamic models, Hindu-Buddhist and mystical Islamic modes of thought, and supernatural and realpolitik modes of thought were a great deal less clear to Javanese of the day than to later academic or casual onlookers. The vocabulary and framework of mystical Islam, for example, seems to have reflected a general amalgam of pre-Islamic and Islamic ideas into a Javanism born of its particular time and place; modern analysis seeking to separate out what was "traditional" from what was "Islamic" is in some important ways misguided.

Third, the effect of Javanese (elite?) determination to reconcile or synthesize different streams of thought upon Javanese political life in the eighteenth century was to create "a flawed and bloody political tradition" (p. xxiii). (One can hardly help think of present-day Indonesia at this point!) In this the role of the ruler was critical, even when that ruler was largely the creature of others. A faltering hand (or the perception of one) in balancing factions, in coordinating shrewd decision making with appeal to supernatural forces, or in steering a course among shifting loyalties and opinions, spelled grave and real trouble for the always fragile political order. Worse and more ironically, the necessary exercise of power in search of unity sooner or later invoked forces destructive of those very qualities.

Ricklefs's exacting analysis supports, with far greater sophistication and nuance than available before, a not unfamiliar view of the Mataram dynasty in this period: the VOC "was so irrelevant to Javanese religious and cultural priorities that it seems also to have slipped below the horizon of the *kraton*'s perception of the phenomenal world. For this the court would pay a high and bloody price" (p. 243). This opinion is very carefully worked, but it cannot be (as Ricklefs acknowledges) the final word on the topic. How can we be quite sure that the extant Javanese materials do, in fact, mirror accurately the concerns and priorities of mid-eighteenth century Javanese society, or even the ruling elite? How is it that a generation of this elite could be so shrewd in practical negotiations with the Dutch and yet ultimately consider the company so irrelevant and the "unseen world" so important? And what else, after all, was there for the Javanese ruler to do, after finding that opposition to the Dutch was hopeless, except ally himself with them and attempt to salvage in the relationship whatever meager freedom of movement that he could? Such lingering questions, and perhaps also a certain uneasiness with Ricklefs's

extreme reluctance to interpret character or ascribe motives, assure that there is still more to be argued about. This important book, however, will have done a great deal to illuminate the historical evidence and to keep future discussion responsibly close to it.

WILLIAM H. FREDERICK
Ohio University

HENK SCHULTE NORDHOLT. *The Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics 1650–1940*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, number 170.) Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV. 1996. Pp. ix, 389. NLG 60.00.

For the past two decades, international scholarly writing on Balinese history has been largely in the hands of anthropologists, and we have been treated to the ideas of Bali's "theater state," its visible and invisible realms, its romanticization and "imagining" or construction. As useful as these contributions are, like most anthropological writing that has only begun to make the historical turn, they are at their weakest in depicting change over time: their view consists at best of a short series of snapshots rather than a longer real-time video or film, and causation tends to be oversimplified. Henk Schulte Nordholt breaks from this trend and provides us with a rich narrative that is organized chronologically, details change, and argues complex causation. It is history informed by anthropology rather than the other way around. The result should be welcome indeed, not only to Baliologists but to anyone interested in thinking about the problems inherent in understanding the past, and the conceptualization of the past, of societies remarkably different from their own.

Nordholt builds his narrative from an impressive array of sources, ranging from Balinese *babad* across Dutch archival holdings to contemporary writing and interviews, covering three centuries. He concentrates on the rise and fall of the political fortunes of the kingdom of Mengwi but suggests that this example is valid to a very considerable degree for the rest of Bali. (Readers with primary interests elsewhere in Southeast Asia will immediately see applications to their own areas.) His purpose is explicitly *not* to work out a new paradigm (p. viii) but, in the process of reconstructing as accurately as possible what happened in Mengwi from its rise to its demise, to evaluate some of the paradigms of others. His critiques of Clifford Geertz are frequent: for example, on order and fragmentation (p. 61), historical context (p. 76), the king's place in society (p. 85), and the relationship between the king and ritual (p. 114) and the *pacatu* system (p. 129). Nordholt aims also to resolve conflicting paradigms, for example Michael Adas's "contest state" and Geertz's "theater state." Reconsideration of such topics as irrigation systems and the *subak*, hierarchy in society, and the limits of kingship and the centralized state is clearly stated and anchored in examples that

ought to convince readers to question conventional wisdom in these areas.

Extended efforts to explain the role of violence in Balinese politics are noteworthy and straightforward. "Violence was instrumental in establishing order . . . Eventually, however, the success of royal leadership depended on the extent to which a king demonstrated his ability to control violence, hence to reinforce order" (p. 332). Such concise statements and repeated historical examples of how the principle worked in practice make this book useful and accessible to readers beyond a comparatively narrow academic circle, despite the fact that this is not an easy read.

Nordholt does not attempt to overexplain matters such as the magical or supernatural explanations of events contained in Balinese historical writings. For example, when a *babad* comments that the gods gave a particular leader a scarf, the author reports simply that people believed this to be true and in a footnote explains the symbolism of the scarf (p. 124), resisting the temptation to torture himself (and us) over "what really happened." Nor does he always attempt to explain motivation for actions, especially those which have to do with the central motif of power. Why, for example, did a ruler not respond to a satellite's call for assistance against enemies (p. 90)? This is presented as a crucial decision, but we are left wondering how to account for it. Far broader questions such as what really constituted "power" for the Balinese and why individuals sought it are, for the most part, skirted and left standing rather tantalizingly in the hot sun.

It may not be entirely beside the point to end by remarking that it is difficult to read this study without considering the applicability of some of the principles it advances to the events that brought about the recent collapse of the Suharto government in Indonesia. The book may inadvertently help to resurrect a certain vogue for interpreting present-day leaders and events in terms of old patterns and drawing the conclusion that "things haven't changed much." I hope we can manage something better than this kind of ersatz "contemporary history," both for the sake of an accurate appraisal of the present situation and for the proper appreciation of this fine historical work.

WILLIAM H. FREDERICK
Ohio University

MANUEL SARKISYANZ. *Rizal and Republican Spain and Other Rizalist Essays*. Manila: National Historical Institute. 1995. Pp. viii, 326.

In these somewhat uneven essays, Manuel Sarkisyanz vigorously argues that the most revered nationalist hero of the Philippines, José Rizal (1861–1896), was who he was because of an intellectual debt to nineteenth-century Spanish republicanism. As a "centennial" publication of the National Historical Institute of the Philippines, the volume, which commemorates Rizal's execution by Spain at the end of 1896, escapes

irony by converting its praise for Spain into a condemnation of the Spain that killed Rizal.

The foundation of Rizal's thinking and of the reforms he sought from Spain, stresses Sarkisyanz, derived less from his family, culture, or Jesuit and Dominican teachers in Manila and more from his association with the politics and writings of Spanish intellectuals, among the most progressive thinkers and activists of their day in Europe. Anyone familiar with Rizal's life will not be surprised by this argument, despite the fact that, as the author correctly laments, this more appealing Spain, "Rizal's Spain," is underemphasized, even omitted, in many biographies and not given its due by many historians of the Philippines. These essays are intended to correct this failing, and, to emphasize the point, the book's cover displays the Philippine flag and Rizal's photo merging into the Spanish flag and the photo of Francisco Pi y Margall (1824–1901), "friend of Rizal," president of the short-lived Spanish Republic of 1873, and a strong advocate of autonomy for Spain's remaining colonies. In the context of "the intellectual in politics," Sarkisyanz contends that Rizal was to the Philippines what Pi y Margall was to Spain (pp. 193–94).

The essays cover a wide range of topics, central among them nineteenth-century Spanish intellectual and political history (including an intriguing analysis of Masonry), all aimed at reading "the Spain of Rizal" back into Philippine history. Within this context, Rizal and other Filipino reformists are said to have rejected the Spain that "brought to the Philippines monastic power and repression" but chose to assimilate with the Spain that taught "aspirations for democracy and civil liberties" (p. 2). Reformist ideas of the Spanish Philippines are traced to early nineteenth-century Spanish political and ideological struggles, which spread to the Philippines through Spanish creoles, first in the 1820s and again in the late 1860s. Not until 1872–1889, asserts Sarkisyanz, did the reform movement pass "from Creoles to 'indios' and 'mestizos,' that is, not until the time of Rizal" (p. 13). Rather than seek separation from Spain, Rizal and many of his compatriots shared the goals of Spanish republicans, identified and even allied with their cause, and joined them in opposition to the other Spain, "the anti-Rizal Spain."

Rizal's execution is interpreted in terms of the incompatibility between "his" Spain and "its" enemies, whose representatives, the "monastic orders," continued to control Philippine colonial institutions. "By obstructing the penetration of Spanish contemporary thought," the friars claimed to be protecting Filipinos "from the dangers of knowledge" (p. 29). They were however, as a surviving bastion of Spanish clerical hegemony, protecting their own interests against domestic republicans, Spanish creoles, and, finally, Filipino reformists. In taking sides in this Spanish struggle and, worse yet, bringing the struggle home, Rizal was viewed as *filibustero* or subversive, a man whose death could be justified within the ideological, even theolog-

ical, framework prevailing in the Philippines at the time. Although the "political values" of the Filipino reformists were "still rather exceptional" throughout late nineteenth-century Philippines, it was Rizal's "charisma and, ultimately, martyrdom that bridged the distance separating the Filipino elites from the folk-Catholic majorities" (p. 19) that formed and joined the revolutionary struggle of the late 1890s.

The collection presents a wide variety of opinions, some provocative, some familiar. In general, the essays contribute significantly to a deeper appreciation of Rizal's pilgrimages in Spain in the 1880s and 1890s. The conclusions are the clearest and, perhaps, the most insightful when they treat "Rizal's Spain" and less so when they attempt to reconstruct Rizal's Philippines. As a final note, it is regrettable that the essays were not better edited. Composed of several overlapping essays and themes, the volume is full of redundancies, lacks organization, and is written in a torturous prose that suggests translated texts or unrevised conference papers. The author would have been better advised to integrate the essays into a more coherent monograph.

MICHAEL CULLINANE
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CHRISTOPHER V. HILL. *River of Sorrow: Environment and Social Control in Riparian North India, 1770–1994*. (Monograph and Occasional Paper Series, number 55.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies. 1997. Pp. xii, 200. \$33.00.

This is a short book that covers both a large expanse of territory in the Purnia district in Northeast India and a lengthy tract of time from the late eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Written by Christopher V. Hill with considerable passion, it adds greatly to our understanding of a number of aspects of British rule and attempted environmental controls in India. Hill reveals the considerable difficulties associated with the dramatically shifting river systems of the affluents of the Ganges, which flow south from the Himalayas. Systems of tenure, ownership, or exploitation suitable for more stable landscapes simply did not—and do not—work there. But connected with these ecological instabilities there were other social and political ones. Governments like to define populations as well as land. In this case, people were as difficult to map as the tracts. Allegedly criminal groups sought refuge there, and the British viewed it as a regrettable sink for the disaffected of adjacent areas. Settlement systems repeatedly broke down, not least because the land moved into and out of cultivation according to the patterns of the river. Finally, the Purnia district's reputation for ill health and for social, political, and ecological anarchy ensured that it was regarded by British officials as a punishment station to be avoided at all costs. Despite its reputation for good hunting, normally a recommendation in India, it suffered from a strikingly high turnover of imperial staff. As Hill

amply demonstrates, when officials change on almost an annual basis, the opportunities for securing not only policy continuity but also regional knowledge and memory are highly restricted.

Thus, this was a region where wild animals and untamed nature symbolized the limitations of imperial rule. The environment contributed to that sense of the "limited Raj" that has become increasingly common in the historiography of British rule in India. The allegedly monolithic, all-powerful imperial power, the victim of its own propaganda and later of the simplifications of the postcolonialists, was in fact hedged in by all sorts of constraints. Yet, according to Hill, the British still tried to impose their "objectification and commodification of nature" into this unstable landscape. They sought to extend their zamindari "permanent settlement" there, struggling throughout their rule to create intermediary estate holders through whom they could control the population and levy the land revenue. But even their own white planters became laws unto themselves in the region, an unruly fragment as independent as the nomadic and supposedly criminal groups whom the British struggled to define and control.

By the end of the book, the reader has a sense of Hill trying to have it both ways. The British neither understood the region nor adequately controlled it. Their measures were certainly inappropriate and inadequate, yet they are held responsible for continuing social and economic problems fully fifty years after independence. Perhaps Indian national and provincial governments have simply found the district as intractable as their British predecessors. The limited Raj has been replaced by the equally limited powers and resources of democratic nationalism. One of the striking, implicit conclusions that emerges from this book is the extraordinary extent to which the British, however baleful the combination between their limited understanding and their efforts to transfer European perceptions to lands where they were entirely inappropriate, nonetheless fretfully compiled data and indulged in internal debates that offer considerable opportunities for the historian. On the basis of such extensive documentation, India has acquired one of the most sophisticated of all environmental historiographies. This book makes a significant contribution to it and offers both a quarry and signposts for future researchers.

JOHN M. MACKENZIE
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PETER STANLEY. *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 314. \$40.00.

Peter Stanley is a military historian at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. He has already written a dozen books, primarily on the Australian army and on World War II. Although this book is a revision of his

Ph.D. dissertation. Stanley was already a professional writer when he undertook that task, and it shows!

Stanley has written a good book on a little-known subject. In the hot weather of 1859, even as the last of the mopping-up operations of the Great Mutiny among native portions of the Bengal army that had begun in 1857 were being concluded, the British Indian Empire faced another kind of challenge. Many soldiers and some officers of the army that had served the East India Company refused to accept transfer to the queen's service, which was part of the reorganization of Indian governance that included winding up the company, appointing a secretary of state for India as a member of the British Cabinet, and reincorporating the Indian Civil Service. Man after man gave a brief, repetitious explanation: he had pledged to serve the company; with the termination of the company his period of service was also at an end; "they" had no right to transfer him without his consent and with no reenlistment bonus. Other reasons included a fear of losing pensions—the odds against coming home alive being quite considerable—and the fact that if they retired in India, they could look forward to a comfortable life with horses and servants.

Although the authorities naturally viewed the widespread disaffection with alarm, the response was complicated by a bald statement that in simple justice a request for discharge would have to be honored—the spokesman's name being Lord Palmerston, who happened to be prime minister! Asking for discharge was one thing. Encouraging others to do so, including soldiers in the queen's regiments, was quite another. Some company soldiers were prosecuted and punished, including one executed by firing squad to encourage the others. But the disaffection continued until well into the 1870s. Not for the first time or the last (including a successful RAF mutiny in 1946), ordinary British soldiers were risking court martial in the course of what in many ways amounted to a kind of industrial action.

Indeed, the most important aspect of this book results from Stanley's having taken seriously a suggestion from no less an authority than Lady Canning, the wife of the viceroy, that the action of the company's soldiers amounted to a "Manchester Strike." In addition to his massive research in British and Indian government and military archives, Stanley perceptively uses the literature on British social and labor history, including such books as Patrick Joyce's *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class* (1991) and Richard Price's *Masters, Unions, and Men: Work Control in Building and the Rise of Labour* (1980). His argument is that the White Mutiny was a lot like a bitter, extended industrial dispute, with the same complex interaction between shop-floor issues and the "us-them" language of working-class consciousness. This book is one of the most successful I have read at developing an organic connection between British social and British imperial history. This is an extremely

significant contribution, which should be read by all who are interested in either field.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

JOHN CHESTERMAN and BRIAN GALLIGAN, *Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 277. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.

Citizenship and Aborigines have become popular topics of research in recent years in Australia, especially in the light of the forthcoming centenary of federation and the possibility of Australia becoming a republic. Their popularity has attracted considerable funding and, in turn, researchers, practitioners of disciplines and publishers who are new to the field of Aboriginal history. Hence, this book by Brian Galligan and John Chesterman.

For those unfamiliar with the nature of the discriminatory laws enacted against Aborigines in the Australian colonies and, after 1901, in the states and territories of the new commonwealth, this book provides a very useful summary of the panoply of legislative acts and administrative practices that governed the lives of some Aboriginal people from the closing decades of the nineteenth century to the 1960s, and of their dismantling, which began in the late 1950s. For other readers, it has less to offer, unless they are among those—and there have been many—who have subscribed to the increasingly influential myth (recently analyzed by myself and Andrew Markus in *The 1967 Referendum, or When Aborigines Didn't Get the Vote* [1997]) that a national referendum in 1967 granted citizenship to Aborigines by amending section 51 (26) and repealing section 127 of the constitution. For such readers, Galligan and Chesterman provide a helpful and necessary corrective. Their detailed narrative conclusively shows that Aborigines were not excluded from the rights of Australian citizens, such as the franchise, because of the constitution (since it did not refer to citizenship) but rather through discriminatory "legislation and administrative practices by successive parliaments, governments and bureaucrats" (p. 7), whether state or commonwealth, and therefore had these restored to or bestowed upon them as such regimes were gradually amended, repealed, or discontinued. By the same token, those who do not know or need to be reminded why the makers of the constitution inserted the so-called "discriminatory" clauses will find the authors' lucid account invaluable. To be fair, Galligan and Chesterman's comparison of Australian, American, and Canadian contexts will deepen specialist readers' understanding of the matter.

In this study, Galligan and Chesterman have largely followed well-worn scholarly tracks. By researching "governmental institutions and administrative thinking and practices" (p. 122), albeit in a narrow range of

sources (those of government), they have undoubtedly filled out the historical picture that was provided by research undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s, most significantly that of C. D. Rowley. Particularly important in this regard is the chapter (written in association with Tom Clarke) that describes the process by which the commonwealth defined an Australian citizen. However, Galligan and Chesterman's analysis of the origins and causes of discrimination in the various colonies, states, or territories betrays a superficial understanding of the nature of colonial racism and reveals a tendency to offer simplistic judgments on what they variously call the "bizarre," "perverse," and "arcane" actions of their forebears.

Furthermore, by adopting the Eurocentric approach common among historians in the late 1960s, when they first began to pay serious attention to relations between Aborigines and Europeans in Australia, the authors are unable to tell us much about the *impact* of discriminatory laws and practices on Aboriginal people (a weakness they concede while simultaneously resorting to clichéd adjectives—such as "horrendous"—that seem to be offered as a substitute for a satisfactory consideration of this). Yet, work by historians such as Peter Read, Dawn May, and Andrew Markus, which appeared in the 1980s, shows that large numbers of Aborigines never came "under the Act" and that others found ways of avoiding, or lessening the severity of, the so-called "Protectors" and "Protection Boards," thus providing a picture at odds with Galligan and Chesterman's inadequately researched statements about the "ruthless," "callous," and "extraordinary" control exercised by "bureaucratic regimes."

Where the authors do allow for the agency of Aboriginal people (in a brief discussion of the political realm), their account is patchy and relies on the work of scholars who tend to minimize the role of non-Aboriginal activists and organizations in fighting for *citizenship* rights for Aborigines; at the same time, they ignore the degree to which Aboriginal activists might be said to have long fought for *aboriginal* (or indigenous) rights and contributed to the present-day emphasis on these in Aboriginal politics, as Heather Goodall has argued in *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770–1972* (1996).

BAIN ATTWOOD
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

WALTER H. CONSER, JR. and SUMNER B. TWISS, editors.
Religious Diversity and American Religious History: Studies in Traditions and Cultures. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 305. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$25.00.

This collection of essays, edited by Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Sumner B. Twiss, is yet another of a proliferating number of collections of writings on the subject

of religion in the United States, but it is a worthy one. This book originated as the proceedings of a 1994 conference at Brown University in honor of the memory of William G. McLoughlin, one of the giants of the field of American religious history of an earlier generation who, in his own career, made the transition from a focus on Euro-American Protestantism to Native American (in this case, Cherokee) religious studies. The proceedings of that conference metamorphosed into these essays, each of which deals with a major area of American religious history divided along lines of major religious traditions, race and ethnicity, regionalism, and gender. The authors are recognized and respected scholars, and all of their contributions are well worth perusing.

Each essay deals with current issues in the study of the author's area of expertise, although the approaches differ somewhat. Some, like Jay Dolan on Catholicism, Jonathan Sarna on Judaism, Christopher Vecsey on Native American traditions, and Catherine Albanese on esoteric or metaphysical religion, present essays on particular aspects of their tradition, with fairly brief reference to the history and current state of scholarship in the field. Others, like Stephen J. Stein on sectarianism, Thomas Tweed on Asian religions, and Yvonne Haddad on Islam, constitute highly useful surveys of present and past attempts to interpret their particular areas, as well as provocative suggestions for further research. Their annotation is rich and inclusive and should prove very useful to students at all levels.

Two essays deserve further comment. Rosemary Skinner Keller, writing on women and American religious history, raises the provocative question of whether the problem of dealing with women's roles in that history can be solved simply by including more and more women in historical accounts. She then proceeds to illustrate what this might mean by surveying the career of Georgia Harkness, arguably the first professional female theologian in the United States. Unfortunately, she does not directly answer her own question, leaving it to the reader's deductive processes. Donald Mathews, in his essay on the South, presents something of a *tour de force* by applying categories from anthropology to that region's vacillation between inclusiveness, as represented of late by the civil rights movement, and exclusiveness (or tribalism), as illustrated by the new Religious Right. The result is a highly provocative paradigm for regional studies.

There are contemporary and conceivable approaches to the study of American religions that this collection does not address: material culture studies and issues of social class are prominent among them. Another, somewhat ironic omission from this ostensible survey of religious diversity is the exclusion of mainline Protestants—perhaps the most marginalized set of traditions and cultures from the point of view of contemporary scholarship—from consideration. No book, however, can do everything, and this one accom-

plishes some extremely interesting and useful things indeed.

PETER W. WILLIAMS
Miami University

ANN SMART MARTIN and J. RITCHIE GARRISON, editors. *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*. Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum; distributed by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville. 1997. Pp. vii, 428. \$39.95.

A Winterthur book, this volume contains an introduction and fourteen essays by twenty scholars, all but two of whom hold mainly academic but also administrative positions in the United States. The essays include a wide variety of American topics that the relatively new field of material culture has isolated as appropriate venues for research. Material culturists contend that such topics have been overlooked in both subject and methodology by more established scholarly disciplines, whether history, sociology, anthropology, or art history, to name a few. The breadth of a field endeavoring systematically to study a subject as vast as is implied by the concept of "material culture" is borne out by the diversity of topics included in the volume, which range from an examination of the social meaning of portrait miniatures in Philadelphia, 1760–1820, to a treatment of the marketing of Tupperware in the 1950s and 1960s.

The introductory essay by the editors, Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, and the concluding one by Cary Carson look at the distance traveled by material culturists in the last two decades, using as touchstones the 1975 and 1993 Winterthur conferences on the subject. For the editors, progress over these decades is presented as certain, for "scholarship has become more nuanced and sophisticated," wherein a reliance upon "detailed description of objects" has advanced to "an appreciation of the context in which objects were made and used. Less certain about the existence of deep structural patterns by which people organized things into a meaningful relationship, we have become more interested in the role of human agency in particular historical circumstances" (p. 20). Carson, the only author who participated in both conferences, observed in 1975 that "the study of artifacts has contributed to developing the main themes of American history almost not at all" (p. 405). Twenty-two years later, he seems somewhat ambivalent about the progress made, asking "how can scholarship that we find so exiting" have had so little influence on peers and public alike? His conclusion appears to be the statement that material culturists, if they "wish to be taken more seriously by mainstream academics . . . must learn to ask and find answers to more important questions" (p. 20). The book, and Carson's essay, end with a master metalworker at Colonial Williamsburg who is regularly exposed to museum goers who "go away understanding that he molds more than brass in his rustic classroom," that

Williamsburg succeeds "as a vehicle for a story of nation building" (p. 428).

The editors are forthright and candid about the pioneer scholars in the field—American, French, British, and Canadian—who knowingly or not laid the groundwork for the discipline of American material culture in the early 1970s. Henry H. Glassie emerges as a leading proponent, the field's "Old Testament prophet," relying upon the structuralist anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Noam Chomsky. But tribute is also paid to Clifford Geertz's emphasis on context (1973) and James Deetz's theory of "the science of material culture" (1977). A number of more recent anthologies are also cited, especially those edited by Ian Hodder, W. David Kingsley, Steven Lubar, Gerald Pocius, Robert Blair St. George, Thomas Schlereth, and Christopher Tilley, some of whom are poststructuralists, still acknowledging Lévi-Strauss, but also drawing on work by Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. Carson, however, cautions against his colleagues' borrowing from Lévi-Strauss, Foucault, and others, reasoning that studies of peoples in Brazil, Britain, and France "were uprooted and plunked down on rural Virginia, Plymouth, and Annapolis without so much as a by-your-leave" (p. 412).

For Carson, scholarship of the past decades falls into four genres, one being that of interpolation studies that "always take their intellectual starting point from a collection of associated objects" (p. 405). A second involves the theoretician, who usually "aims ambitiously at remaking the rules that govern the way scholarship is played" (p. 408). Contextualism is a third genre, which investigates "the way objects function as instruments that have actively shaped human experience" (p. 414). Finally, there is the apparently newly perceived "consumer revolution," wherein material culturists "claim to be writing a prologue (others say a sequel) to the history of the Industrial Revolution" (p. 416).

Of the thirteen essays that serve to illustrate the status of American material culture studies today, all but two have clearly defined material topics. These two address, as does Carson in a substantial part of his essay, the role material culture plays or should play in museum education. In "Material Culture as Text," Pauline Eversmann *et al.* advocate a revolutionizing of the museum "from elitist palaces of cultural knowledge to centers for community understanding" (p. 166). Ellen Paul Denker, in "Evaluating Exhibitions," develops an argument for a middle ground for the museum, urging her audience to avoid at all cost the nineteenth-century extremes epitomized by Christopher Columbus Baldwin's elitist notion of "correct taste" and the populist "voyeurism" of P. T. Barnum (p. 286).

The remaining eleven essays cover as many subjects and range in period from the early eighteenth century to 1980; a number address more than one of Carson's four genres. Roughly chronological, these begin with "The Social Meanings of Portrait Miniatures in Phila-

delphia, 1760–1820,” by Ann Verplanck, for whom “miniatures, by virtue of their size and tradition of private viewing and personal exchange, can be considered agents in an internal system of communication” (pp. 222–223). James Gregory Cusick’s “Archaeological Perspectives on Material Culture and Ethnicity” is a study of class tension between Spanish and Minorcan settlers in St. Augustine c. 1781–1821. A major theme, that even “well-to-do Minorcans did not experience ‘structural assimilation’ into Spanish society” (p. 352), is largely based on probate inventories and archaeology. In “American Difference Revisited: The Case of the American Axe,” Gary Kulick inquires about the origin and originality of this tool, concluding that the wholesale clearing of land begun in the late eighteenth century produced a heavier axe with “relative superiority” (p. 34).

Linda R. Baumgarten’s “Leather Stockings and Hunting Shirts” examines the mythologizing of uniquely American frontier apparel in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, personified in characters like “Leatherstocking,” created by James Fenimore Cooper in *The Deerslayer* (1823). The sole architectural essay is that by John E. Crowley, “Inventing Comfort: The Piazza,” which posits the now well-accepted thesis that the characteristic Charleston side porch is a late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century development, not one formed in the colonial period. Bernard L. Herman’s “The Bricoleur Revisited” is in part an analysis of the 1817 inventory and sales of the property of Scotland Hill, an African American from Wilmington, Delaware, deceased that year, and the consequent actions by the beneficiary, his wife, Alice Hill. Similarly, John P. McCarthy, in “Burial Practices at the First African Baptist Church Cemeteries, Philadelphia, 1810–41,” presents burial artifacts rediscovered in archaeological digs undertaken at two sites in 1983–1984 and 1990, which together revealed the remains of about 225 graves that suggested adherence to African-influenced burial customs.

Studies of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries include Joseph J. Corn’s “Textualizing Technics: Owner’s Manuals and the Reading of Objects,” which emphasizes manuals prepared for agricultural machinery, sewing machines, early automobiles, and clocks, and Katherine C. Grier’s essay, “Material Culture as Rhetoric—‘Animal Artifacts’ as a Case Study,” which largely focuses on various forms of animals in the photographic albums of a late nineteenth-century Boston couple, William and Mary F. Solomon. Dorothy K. Washburn brings the reader into this century with “Getting Ready: Doll Play and Real Life in American Culture, 1900–1980,” based in part on the interviewing of 160 women and girls whose doll-playing activities spanned the period. Finally, Alison J. Clarke, in “Tupperware: Product as Social Relation,” demonstrates that “commodities circulate beyond the realms of utility, status seeking, and individualized desire and belong instead to a complex system of sociality and moral economy” (p. 250).

Although a number of authors have attempted to weave together Carson’s four genres, in most instances they have met with limited success. For example, half of Herman’s essay sets forth his methodology, unashamedly based on Lévi-Strauss’s *bricoleur* as set forth in *The Savage Mind* (1966), as “the archetypal putterer with a message . . . a kind of mythmaking handyman,” a metaphor abetted by reference to the art of Joseph Cornell (pp. 38–39). Yet it is not made sufficiently clear in the balance of the essay how either actually informs the analysis of the lives and material world of Scotland and Alice Hill, since inference is offered as compensation for the absence of factual evidence. The same is somewhat true of the even lengthier opening portion of Grier’s essay on the purposes of rhetoric, which then uses photographs of living and stuffed animals from the Solomon house as the case study. Here Baumgarten, Cusick, and Washburn are more successful in linking succinct statements of theory to the particular practice each chose to examine, and the ensuing period essays, six in number, lead the reader with graceful transition and continuity into the presentation of their subjects, which, as the editors acknowledge, provide today as in 1975 “multidisciplinary perspectives” that are “the field’s source of energy” (p. 1).

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JENNIFER S. H. BROWN and ELIZABETH VIBERT, editors. *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*. Orchard Park, N.Y.: Broadview. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 519. \$26.95.

This book is an important collection of original articles, so full of insight and information that summarizing it for this review seems an impossible task. The twenty articles have geographical and chronological breadth. They range from the northern reaches of North America to as far south as Virginia, with a preponderance of articles centering on the Great Lakes, especially Ojibwe peoples. Chronologically, the collection begins with the sixteenth century and ends in the twentieth; most articles deal with events occurring in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As editors Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert state in their introduction, the theme tying these articles together is their sensitivity to context and perspective as parameters defining how we know what we know. The editors go even further and explicitly stake a claim on the postmodern frontier. Thankfully, none of the chapters stoop to the pretentious, empty jargon that self-proclaimed postmodernism occasionally gives license to. As in any collection, some of the essays seem weak and inconsequential, but at least they are jargon-free.

As a whole, this volume makes two significant contributions. First, each contributor’s approach to his or her subject falls squarely within historiographic expectations, but the authors have put their doubts and

questions upfront. Instead of overcoming contradictory sources in the archives or in the field to produce a coherent story told from a single angle, these authors show that real truth or meaning lies in the contradictions. Second, these authors lead the way in proliferating the kinds of sources, or texts, available for historical research: written documents in European and Native languages, language itself, oral histories, maps, anthropological fieldnotes, material culture, and photographs.

There were four essays that I found particularly interesting and worthy examples of what this volume achieves. Completely fascinating is Renée Fossett's "Mapping Inuktitut: Inuit Views of the Real World," a study of Inuit mapping in the nineteenth century. The Inuits, especially women, were expert at putting their world into map form and, upon the request of European explorers, readily drew maps on paper. Fossett argues that the physical map was less important to the Inuit than the oral explanation that accompanied their drawing of the map and that Inuit maps puzzled Europeans because of the information conveyed: Inuit mapmakers measured distance as one day's journey and highlighted landmarks that lined the route but left off other topographical features. Not only does Fossett point out the value of maps as historical sources: she illustrates how the Inuits, and secondarily Europeans, conceived of their relationship to land and environment.

Frederic W. Gleach's "Controlled Speculation: Interpreting the Saga of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith" analyzes one of the most familiar incidents in the history of Indian-white relations and yet still manages to arrive at an illuminating interpretation. Smith's account of the three-day ceremony surrounding his captivity gives clues to Powhatan's true intentions, which Smith himself probably never grasped. At one point in the ceremony, Powhatan's people used cornmeal, kernels, and sticks to draw a map on the sand, explaining to Smith that "The Circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corn the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country." Applying anthropological insights to this and other ritual aspects of Smith's captivity, Gleach convincingly argues that this ceremony initiated Smith and his English compatriots into the Powhatan Confederacy as an allied, subject nation.

Julie Cruikshank also has an article in this collection, called "Discovery of Gold on the Klondike: Perspectives from Oral Tradition." Many readers will be familiar with Cruikshank's work, as she has published extensively on this subject; however, Cruikshank is an essential contributor to this collection, for she ably demonstrates what can be learned by comparing constructed narratives of the past. Scholars dealing with contradictory histories can too often simply conclude that stories differ because everyone has different perspectives. Cruikshank's analysis always goes deeper to reveal the values and beliefs at the heart of every story. In this case, Skookum Jim, credited with the

Klondike gold discovery, has two personas. Written histories of the Klondike gold strike make him into a larger-than-life mountain man in the Paul Bunyan-Davy Crockett tradition. He is physically big, wishes he were white, seeks only to get rich quick, and is defeated in the end by his own ambition. Native oral stories of Skookum Jim pay little attention to gold but emphasize his social relationships: how his frog spirit helper influenced events in his life and how obligations to his family, especially his sisters, motivated his actions.

Finally, in "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851–1884," Askenootow's descendant Winona Stevenson probes the disparities between community oral history, which remembers Askenootow as an influential Native leader, and his missionary journals, which deride Native customs and defer submissively to the head office in facile Christian rhetoric. Like many other essays in this collection, Stevenson shows the extremes to which oral and written accounts can differ, though here is a rare instance in which the written document speaks from a Native voice. Stevenson comes to terms with the apparent contradictions by considering Askenootow's position within a colonial power structure, suggesting that the compliant face he showed his missionary superiors may have been a form of resistance. Stevenson's conclusion is well-grounded theoretically and plausible.

Stevenson's essay also hints at the infinitely accumulating doubts that "reading beyond words" engenders, however, because other essays in the collection incidentally pave the way for readers to arrive at an alternative, opposite explanation for the obsequious tone pervading Askenootow's journals. The editors raise the issue most succinctly when, in their discussion of Native involvement in the fur trade, they refer to a cultural concept of pity: "Requests for pity, and the 'begging tricks' which so annoyed the traders, were metaphorical acts designed to initiate or affirm a social relationship" (p. xii). Askenootow's submissive manner could have been a response to Christianity and colonialism, as Stevenson argues, or a distinctly Native form of prayer.

As an analytical method, "reading beyond words" raises so many uncertainties that people who want their truths to stand on more solid ground might be frustrated by the essays in this collection. On the other hand, these endless uncertainties are what makes the research presented here so exciting and engaging.

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WILLIAM N. FENTON. *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 223.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 786. \$70.00.

Sixty-five years after first going to Iroquoia to study Seneca ethnobotany, social organization, and ceremonialism, anthropologist William N. Fenton has finally completed his *magnum opus*. Fenton, the dean of Iroquois scholarship, has produced a work that should be on the reference shelf of any serious student of the Iroquois. His book is voluminous, containing over seven hundred pages of text, three separate appendices on the Iroquois Condolence Council, and an extensive bibliography. Forty-six figures and eight tables also make the book impressive. Besides beautiful illustrations, the figures include a floor plan for a condolence rite (1945); a model for the kinship relations between a chief and his subjects; summary of statuses, roles, and events in the Condolence Council (1945); and relationships and groupings of Iroquois chiefs into moieties of tribal phratries, as on the condolence cane and seating arrangements of the council of life chiefs of the Six Nations. Included in the tables are proposed dates of the founding of the Iroquois League, which Fenton now estimates as the early years of the sixteenth century, the emergence of League titles (1647–1803), and Timothy Pickering's estimates of tribal populations and treaty attendance at Canandaigua (1794).

The book largely focuses on the Iroquois up to 1794 but includes an analysis of Handsome Lake's visions of 1799–1800 and the founding of the *Gaiwio*. Based upon his decades of fieldwork experiences, Fenton shows the amazing continuity of the Iroquois League and its condolence ceremony into the twentieth century. Fenton begins with the distinction between the Iroquois League and the Iroquois Confederacy, a point previously written about by historian Daniel Richter. At the heart of the great Iroquois League first encountered by Europeans was a symbolic system, not a governmental state, whose center was the six rites of the Condolence Council. The League was a confederacy of nations but should not be confused with the later Iroquois Confederacy, an operating instrument of government. The Condolence Council provided cultural continuity: "dead chiefs are mourned and successors requickened in the titles of the founders so that the league may endure" (p. 6). Fenton clearly shows that, by the eighteenth century, the Iroquois Confederacy, not the League, had become the effective political institution.

To Fenton, a fiction grew up as a result of reading back into history circumstances that never existed and not differentiating between original League and evolving Confederacy. Although the Condolence Council still raises up chiefs in the title of the founders, the "grand council that meets today at Onondaga bears small resemblance to the legendary league, whose functions have largely disappeared. Its replica at Six Nations on Grand River lacks an Oneida component, but it proclaims the great tradition, it produces virtuoso ritualists, and it has survived by sharing assuming responsibilities unrelated to its original purpose" (p. 713). More or less a homogeneous culture, the Five

Nations came together for a limited purpose to settle any and all differences that arose. To Fenton, they accomplished this goal with an agreed-upon mechanism for ending conflict, namely the Condolence Council. In the eighteenth century, however, the influence of outsiders such as Sir William Johnson helped remake the Iroquois polity. These "headmen of achieved status had succeeded to the roles of the founders. These were the men who presided over grand council, made embassies to Europeans and signed treaties" (p. 494). As a result, the League of tradition had become the Confederacy. Although the Confederacy continued to appeal to the former institution, Fenton concluded that "the league became the interior polity while the confederacy became a mechanism of external affairs" (p. 494).

Fenton, one of the editors of the Newberry Library's *Documentary History of the Iroquois*, a fifty microfilm reel collection of treaty documents, is especially effective in describing the historic negotiations at Lancaster (1744), Albany (1754), Fort Stanwix (1768; 1784), and Canandaigua (1794). He shows how, even at these eighteenth-century treaty conferences, the Condolence Council was the fundamental protocol preliminary to each of the settlements. He is most effective in analyzing, in a six-chapter sequence, the Pickering Treaty at Canandaigua (1794). Perhaps as many as 1,890 Iroquois from nineteen communities attended this historic conference. In the fullest analysis of the treaty in print, Fenton shows that this was primarily a Seneca affair with ten bands of Seneca attending. Despite the performance of a condolence, the power and control of this historic meeting among the Iroquois was with non-League representatives such as Red Jacket, a Wolf clan band chief with no League title. Although the convocation was less expensive than war, the Pickering Treaty alone cost the federal government \$1800, a mighty sum in 1794.

Fenton's masterpiece is directed at scholars in the field, but it should be of great use to all Iroquois people, as the author took the time to listen to the voices of elders in the 1930s and 1940s who have long passed from the scene. His book's dedication is revealing: "To the Old People Who Know Everything."

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LELAND DONALD. *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 379. \$40.00.

This book is an informative and provocative contribution to the history and anthropology of the Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest Coast. Leland Donald analyzes in depth the role of slavery in Northwest Coast culture and economic life and argues that our understandings of these peoples are flawed and limited if we do not allow for the evident importance

of slaves in indigenous life over many centuries, until the irreversible changes of the late 1800s. Donald presents his arguments clearly and carefully with extensive documentation. Parts one and two move from an overview of the cultures considered, a review of previous studies, and a useful discussion of definitional problems, methods, and sources to a description of slaves and their origins, labor, economic value, and ritual roles and an assessment of the scale of slavery in the region. In parts three and four, Donald examines the antiquity of Northwest Coast slavery and how it changed in the period 1780–1880, draws some comparisons to other Native American societies, and evaluates the place of slavery in Northwest Coast culture.

In the 1970s, Donald began research on fluctuations in Native American salmon harvests. He soon noticed the importance of slave labor in the historical record, yet he found that most scholars had neglected the topic. As Donald observes, slavery strikes most people as incompatible with kinship-based, non-state hunting and gathering societies, even in their elaborated Northwest Coast form, and it is not a palatable subject if one associates such societies with a high degree of egalitarianism and reciprocity. As well, the emphasis of Philip Drucker and others on rank rather than class as the appropriate analytic frame for the region has led to treatments of slavery as exceptional and marginal rather than integrated into the overall social structure. Donald argues for a class-based analysis, noting how scholars' focus on rank seems to reflect a recurring bias in their sources. Most major ethnographic informants have been titleholders or holders of important names, prerogatives, and other valuable properties. Emphasizing their leadership roles and their wide social connections and followings, they spoke little of divisions between elites and commoners and the sharper, pervasive division between free and slave. As Donald explains, "Class divides and rank unites, so that the advantage of emphasizing rank from a titleholder's perspective is obvious" (p. 294). Most Northwest Coast slaves were captive women and children taken as by-products of war or sometimes in deliberate slave raids; many were already slaves in the community from which they were seized. They might also change residence by being traded or ceremonially given to a new owner as a form of wealth. Their owners had permanent rights to their labor and its products, and control over their lives, to the point of ending them, particularly in funeral ceremonies, just as other property might be destroyed by a potlatch host to demonstrate his power and privilege. Slaves were economically significant, especially in the harvest of resources such as salmon, which were abundant only in certain seasons and places. Slave women, and slave men consigned to women's work because of their status, undertook the intensive labor of preserving the catch. They were also key producers of the economic surpluses that titleholders required for distribution in ceremonies, as well as themselves being a form of wealth, enhancing the standing of their master.

Linguistic evidence—the embeddedness of terms for slaves in a number of Northwest Coast languages—and the numbers of references to it in early-contact sources suggest that slavery has a long history in the area. The fur trade probably augmented the numbers and value of slaves for some decades, just as great leaders increased their holding of other forms of wealth in the fur trade era. By the 1830s and 1840s, Hudson's Bay Company traders and the first missionaries were commenting on the issue as European pressures for abolition of slavery grew. The decimation of Native communities by disease and, later, the growing campaigns of missionaries and Indian agents against indigenous observances brought disintegration to social systems built in part on slavery as an institution, though the stigma of slavery affected the standing of slave descendants long into the twentieth century.

Donald concludes with a comparative look at northern Iroquoian and southeastern Native societies. He questions whether Iroquoian adopted captives can be viewed as slaves as William Starna and Ralph Watkins have recently suggested but finds some early southeastern evidence for slavery more convincing. Despite his survey of over 800 sources, Donald leaves room for further work by others; more remains to be done, for example, in mission and Hudson's Bay Company records and in other primary documents. This is an exhaustive study, however, as it stands. Donald effectively supports his case for the longterm significance of slavery on the Northwest Coast.

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PATRICIA U. BONOMI. *The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1998. Pp. xiv, 290. \$29.95.

Parts of this book read like a detective story. But the author, Patricia U. Bonomi, is more than a detective, for she has taken a mystery, long thought to be solved, and made of it an instrument for the examination of politics in colonial New York during the opening years of the eighteenth century. At its simplest, the mystery revolved around the identity of the figure in a painting hanging in the New York Historical Society. The longstanding assumption has been (until recently) that the painting is a portrait of Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, dressed in women's clothes. The identification was apparently made—and a label attached to the painting—at the South Kensington Museum in London in 1867, where it was included in an exhibition of national portraits.

Although the attribution had only the flimsiest basis in evidence, it has stuck. Historians of this century have not challenged the identification until Bonomi began her study. Nor have they questioned the common belief that Lord Cornbury was a transvestite and

one of the most venal of governors in the American colonies. Bonomi's research casts doubt both on the assumption that Cornbury, dressed in women's clothing, sat for the portrait and on the truism that his conduct as a governor of New York was marked by corruption and authoritarian actions.

There is still much that cannot be established about the painting, such as who painted it. Bonomi has discovered that the suggestion (assumed immediately to be fact) that the sitter in the painting was Cornbury was made in 1796, more than seventy years after his death; it was offered by James Williams in conversation with Horace Walpole and Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie. All three men were notorious gossips.

The origins of the story that Cornbury was a cross-dresser who flaunted his sexual difference lie in the political conflicts of his governorship. One of its authors was Lewis Morris, a political and, it seems, a personal enemy who left few opportunities untried to discredit Cornbury and to secure his recall. It is Bonomi's reconstruction of the political culture that nourished this gossip that gives her book its greatest value and makes it more than a historical detective story. Detective stories almost always have endings that pull together their various strands; they offer a version of the world that is tidy, if not always neat. Bonomi's tale is neither neat nor tidy, and yet because of its scrupulous approach to evidence and its subtle recreation of the context of Anglo-American political culture in the first years of the eighteenth century, it carries great conviction.

Bonomi sets Cornbury's governorship in New York against this Anglo-American political culture. She does not neglect the man himself; he was, she believes, a man of strong will, a Tory imperialist determined to make the crown's authority effective in the colony he governed. After a good beginning, which revealed that he had prepared carefully for his assignment, he ran into heavy weather in attempts to advance the interests of the Church of England and in naval and financial matters. New Jersey was added to his responsibilities in these years as that colony came under royal jurisdiction. It was not an easy assignment to bring New Jersey into line, and Cornbury's brusque manner, indeed his commanding style, did not help him in dealing with a new array of factions, including the Quakers, a group always suspicious of imperial claims.

These factions and their leaders—Morris was surely the most skillful and the most relentless—made Cornbury's tenure extraordinarily difficult. Morris and at least two others charged in letters to officials in England that Cornbury was a cross-dresser and that, far from seeking to hide his deplorable behavior, he flaunted it to the point of displaying himself in women's clothing in public view. Bonomi establishes the facts that apparently little was made of such stories in New York and there was only one rather oblique reference to them in print. Yet they were told, and reports of them were sent to England along with much other scurrility. A fully developed Grub Street did not

exist in New York or anywhere in the American colonies. Yet certain techniques of abuse derived from English practice appeared in the conduct of politics in most colonies. Sexual innuendo, outright libels, and ridicule all made their way into overheated attacks on Cornbury and on Peter Fauconnier, his secretary and receiver of revenues. Cornbury, who acted strongly in behalf of the empire and the Anglican church, was a natural target, as had been governors before him who shared his convictions. There is no real evidence that Cornbury was a transvestite, and the charge seems improbable on a number of scores. Yet in the first decade of the eighteenth century, given the overheated and scrambled environment of politics, it was a charge that had a certain plausibility. It is Bonomi's great skill in reconstructing the political scene in England and America that makes it possible to see the importance of sexual defamation, of conspiratorial notions (and conspiracy itself), and of libel and slander, the conventional practices of Grub Street. Her book, a rich account of a sensational mystery, is also a splendid example of how a historian should assess evidence and, as well, how a historian should establish a context and tell a story.

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KATHLEEN M. BROWN, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1996. Pp. xvi, 496. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Race and gender, Kathleen M. Brown contends in this book, provided the building blocks for the construction of political authority by elite white men in colonial Virginia. English women gradually became "good wives." African women became "nasty wenches," and elite white men claimed as their prerogative the domination of both. Rich with anecdotes that humanize the process, this book vividly illustrates the deepening horror of slavery as well as the attempts by free Africans to secure their legal status. It charts the gradual suppression of white women, their challenges to male domestic authority, and the anxiety that pervaded the masculinity of elite Virginians. Meticulously researched, carefully reasoned, and gracefully written, this book should be on the reading list of every historian—particularly those who have no interest in race or gender.

According to Brown, historians have made a serious mistake in their attempts to analyze the development of slavery and racism in colonial Virginia by failing to take gender into account. The highly gendered cant of conquest pointed to the deficiencies of gender relations among Native peoples and proclaimed the masculine imperative of England to assert its authority and impose order. After 1676, when they destroyed any

vestige of Native power in the colony, white men drew on their frontier experiences to construct a colonial masculinity. The society that emerged in colonial Virginia, however, followed no carefully crafted script. Instead, Virginians worked out their own gender and race relations in an organic process that involved economic considerations and colonial identity.

Gender was inextricably bound to the divergence of white servitude and black slavery. A law of 1662, for example, provided that children inherited the status of their mothers, not their fathers. Gender also played a role in establishing racial lines. For most of the period under study, tax laws recognized the economic productivity of African-American women, even those who were free and married, by considering them to be tithables, while it exempted married white women, whom planters regarded as dependents. Following Bacon's Rebellion, an event that spawned a distinctly Virginian masculinity, planters enacted a series of laws "aimed at severing the ties of masculinity that bound enslaved and servant men together" (p. 181): they limited the mobility and assembly of slaves, but not servants, and prohibited only slaves from carrying arms. In 1691, they prohibited interracial unions. Although the law applied equally to men and women, women suffered prosecution far more frequently and suffered harsher punishments. White men limited black men's access to white women, but they did little to impede their own sexual exploitation of black women. White men also increasingly controlled the sexuality of white women by criminalizing bastardy and carefully scrutinizing the behavior of single women. In the early eighteenth century, the great planters publicly cultivated gentility and self-control. At the same time, they insisted on absolute authority over their wives, children, and slaves. They believed that their ability to manage a harmonious household qualified them for public office and, ultimately, nation building.

Brown has an extraordinarily complex view of culture and the process of cultural change. "Race" and "gender" did not mean the same thing in 1620 that they meant in 1730. Nor did colonial Virginians always use race and gender in the same way to organize their society. Nevertheless, the colonial elite ultimately managed to deny the historical process that created Virginia by insisting that constructions of race and gender reflected an eternal natural order. For historians to separate the political lives of Virginia's male elite from a concept of masculinity rooted in race and gender, Brown maintains, is to be complicit in their own scheme of dominance: "Without a more organic view of the relationships between gender, race, and power, we cannot begin to grapple with the legacy of colonial Virginia for the new nation, the antebellum South, and our own time" (p. 373). Her challenge is one that all historians should take seriously.

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GEORGE LLOYD JOHNSON, JR. *The Frontier in the Colonial South: South Carolina Backcountry, 1736-1800*. (Contributions in American History, number 175.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1997. Pp. xvi, 200. \$57.95.

Despite its title, this book is not an updated version of Verner W. Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (1928), and notwithstanding its subtitle, it is not a revision of Robert L. Meriwether's *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (1940). Rather, as George Lloyd Johnson, Jr., acknowledges, his book "traces the economic, political, and social forces shaping the development of the Cheraws District" (p. 4), an area also variously known as the Welsh Tract or St. David's parish (the Welsh Tract because its original white settlers were Pennsylvania Welsh Baptists who moved to South Carolina in 1736 because of dissatisfaction with growing Arminian practices). Johnson partly succeeds in his less ambitious goal.

While there is little that is new in this book and much that is missing, it provides for a part of northeastern South Carolina a more detailed look at themes and topics examined by Rachel N. Klein in *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (1990). There is useful information about early settlers, in particular the intriguing Gideon Gibson. Gibson was a mulatto from Virginia, a large landowner, a slaveowner, and a Regulator who was at the heart of the Mars Bluff affair, when he and a few others held hostage a militia captain and whipped other militiamen. Not one of the Regulators pardoned by Lieutenant Governor Bull, Gibson was defended by other leaders and never punished. His children by his white wife married prominent area settlers, all apparently an indication that while slavery was becoming entrenched before the Revolution, racism had not yet come to dominate people's thoughts and feelings.

Johnson's most valuable contributions are his descriptions of the building of a transportation and communications network and of the religious world of the settlers, especially the successful postrevolutionary efforts to unite Regular Baptists with the Separatist or New Light Baptists who moved in after 1750. More moderate in their approach to predestination, Separatists, few of them slaveowners, used emotional appeals to common people, had women deacons, and baptized blacks. From 1779 to 1782, there was a black church. According to Johnson, the reconciliation of Regular and Separatist Baptists "made slavery acceptable among the yomen farmers throughout the South Carolina backcountry" (p. 158). He does not indicate what happened to women deacons.

Backcountry residents desired internal improvements to better the conditions for commerce. But improved transportation (roads, ferries) led to a demand for more horses, spurred the growth of other towns, and facilitated social interaction. Not surprisingly, lowcountry rulers at first ignored the needs of

the backcountry; although the government was more responsive after the Revolution, it was generally the wealthy who got the roads they requested.

The heart of Johnson's economic material about the settlers is his analysis of 155 inventories, dating from 1750 to 1800. Johnson confirms Klein's conclusion that backcountry planters were "aggressively acquisitive" (Klein, p. 3). (Readers would be well advised to pay less attention to Table 3.1, the quantitative analysis of the inventories by decade, since it is difficult to decipher and contains a number of errors, than to the accompanying text.) Largely on the basis of the inventories and an appreciation of the importance of indigo, Johnson is convinced that the local economy was thriving and brisk; still, he has nothing to say about economic mobility, although he does recognize a growing rift between people on the top and bottom of the economic scale.

Unfortunately, as interesting as much of the material in this book is, too much is missing. Most grievously, there is hardly any mention of Native Americans. While Johnson could argue that Natives were no longer a presence in the area, he does not adequately treat the impact of the Cherokee War or even the participation of local men in the military operations. Treatment of the economic plight of backcountry settlers following the Revolution is inadequate, as is Johnson's description of the legislature's response to the crisis, which by and large was more protective of lowcountry interests than the backcountry's.

This book will not cause scholars to modify their views about either the colonial or revolutionary period; rather, providing details about a significant area in South Carolina, it confirms what we already knew.

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CATHY MATSON. *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York*. (Early America: History, Context, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 458.

In 1994, Wayne Bodle's *William and Mary Quarterly* article surveying the historiography of the Middle Colonies concluded that the economic history of the region "remains in much the same tentative state" as it did in the late 1970s. With the publication of Cathy Matson's book, one no longer has cause to lament such a gap in our scholarly knowledge. The book provides a definitive description of trading in colonial New York City. It complements Thomas M. Doerflinger's *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (1986), completing the story of merchants and commercial development in the two major urban ports of the Middle Colonies.

Matson's book focuses on economic developments among city merchants; the experiences of farmers, craftsmen, consumers, and shopkeepers are mentioned

only to the extent that they interacted with or affected urban exporters, importers, and wholesalers. But she does not otherwise limit her study: she examines the roles and perspectives of lesser merchants as well as the commercial elite, she includes developments of Dutch New Amsterdam as well as English New York, and she describes economic discourse as well as commercial practice.

A chapter on the Dutch colony (1620–1664) and a chapter on the prerevolutionary years (1754–1770) bracket six chapters covering transatlantic trade, the West Indian and coastal trade, and regional trade during Matson's core period, 1664–1760. The transatlantic trade with Britain, southern Europe, and the Low Countries was dominated by the elite merchants, who imported manufactured goods and exported such local New York products as furs, grain, and naval stores. Such eminent merchants were a small minority (at times, only ten to twenty percent) of all wholesalers in New York City, however, and their proportion declined as the total number of wholesalers increased from about eighty in 1664 to nearly 400 in the 1750s.

The majority of the city's traders were lesser merchants—also known to the colonists as "middling" merchants—who traded on a smaller scale than the great merchants, profited more modestly, often did business directly with small producers, and rarely engaged in transatlantic exporting and importing. Middling merchants focused on the less expensive West Indian and coastal trade, exporting New York wheat, flour, timber, meat, and other agricultural surpluses, and importing sugar, molasses, slaves, and tobacco from the West Indies and the South. Lesser merchants also engaged in trading relationships with commercial farmers in New York's agricultural hinterland.

Drawing extensively from primary sources—especially merchants' correspondence, account books, and hundreds of pamphlets and treatises written by political theorists and merchants on both sides of the Atlantic—Matson provides a clear explanation of colonial commercial practices and describes in rich detail the businesses of individual great and middling merchants in New York. But the main analytical theme carried through the book is the merchants' position on the issue of economic regulation versus free trade, a debate that began during the Dutch period and extended throughout the English colonial period to the American Revolution. Matson is careful to note that merchants' views on political economy were not always clearcut and consistent, but she concludes that as a general rule elite merchants were more likely than lesser merchants to support mercantilist regulations. The middling merchants tended to approve of regulations of regional trade—where they would gain from quality controls and fixed prices on agricultural goods—but at the same time they opposed limitations on free trade with the Caribbean islands and with other colonies and often used the language of economic freedom to justify various kinds of illicit trade. Because of their lack of economic and political power,

they were largely unsuccessful in their efforts to eliminate restraints on trade during the colonial period. In the 1760s and 1770s, however, when lesser merchants were among the most visible and assertive opponents of tightened imperial trade legislation, many New Yorkers came to share their views on economic freedom.

Matson's book not only makes an important contribution to scholarship on the economic history of New York and the Middle Colonies but also provides a comprehensive analysis of developments in Anglo-American economic discourse between 1620 and 1770, and it therefore will be of interest to a broad range of scholars of early American history.

DEBORAH A. ROSEN
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DEBORAH A. ROSEN. *Courts and Commerce: Gender, Law, and the Market Economy in Colonial New York*. (Historical Perspectives on Business Enterprise Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997. Pp. xvi, 232. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

In this brief book, Deborah A. Rosen argues three interrelated theses. First, she contends that market relations existed in New York throughout the eighteenth century. Second, she suggests that, as a result of an increasingly pervasive market culture, women "became peripheralized from the economy" (p. 1) long before industrialization. Finally, in her most original insight, Rosen asserts that New York's colonial courts, like their early nineteenth-century counterparts, created a legal climate that actively supported and encouraged economic development. All three contentions, in turn, lead her to conclude that "the transition to capitalism was a lengthy process that began well before the Revolution . . . [and] did not just occur suddenly in the mid-nineteenth century" (p. 4). Few colonial historians would dispute this observation.

Rosen uses a wide range of legal and business records to examine the impact of economic development in both urban and rural areas. Probate records detail New Yorkers' increasing access to consumer goods, as well as their growing use of credit, during the eighteenth century. Rosen argues that commercialization in New York, as elsewhere, resulted in increased social inequality. She compares tax lists from the 1730s and 1750s to show growing stratification during that period. Additional comparisons with seventeenth-century tax lists would have enabled her to chart the timing of social change more precisely and render more compelling the link between the rise of market relations and the growth of inequality.

Rosen then examines market relations among men in eighteenth-century New York, focusing on New York City and Dutchess County. She maintains that the formalization of courts and law supported and even promoted commercialization in both urban and rural areas, although economic development and legal change occurred more quickly in Manhattan than in

rural Dutchess County. The few cases Rosen cites do not establish the courts' pervasive influence, but they do show that the courts' willingness to enforce contracts and a growing preference for settlements over jury trials in debt cases created a situation whereby law might supersede trust as the basis for business relationships. Rosen's research in debt litigation records indicates that growing numbers of white men from a range of wealth, occupational, and ethnic backgrounds engaged in market relations as both debtors and creditors during the eighteenth century. She argues persuasively that the ability of merchants, shopkeepers, and ultimately farmers to get faster, cheaper legal redress facilitated the spread of impersonal market relations among men in New York's urban and rural communities.

Women, by contrast, had limited access to the courts and to the commercial economy. The common law imposed severe disabilities on wives and widows alike, and those disabilities became increasingly onerous as courts and law assumed commanding roles in economic life. Because coverture and the rules of inheritance deprived women of legally enforceable rights and obligations, commercialization and legal formalization resulted in the decline of women's economic opportunities. Among female New Yorkers, rural wives, who produced butter and eggs for local sale, and poor urban widows, who worked for their subsistence, were most likely to participate in the market economy. Readers will wonder if women's involvement in the market also varied by skills or ethnicity, particularly given the tradition of female autonomy and enterprise in Dutch colonial communities.

This book addresses a range of issues in the overlapping fields of economic, legal, and women's history, but most of its author's ideas are not new, despite her repeated assertions to the contrary. Rosen measures the supposed novelty of her approach and findings against a caricature of the existing literature. Rejecting the "idealized image of a communal colonial society" (p. 3) that she believes dominates current historiography, she ignores much of the best economic history of the past decade, which reveals a complex spectrum of economic attitudes and suggests the frequent coexistence of modernizing economic behavior with traditional beliefs and values. Curiously, Rosen seeks "to strongly undermine the myths and idealization of colonial America" (p. 15) by studying New York, a colony noted for neither its communal ideals nor its lack of commercial activity. The result is a competent study based on solid primary research that reinforces, rather than challenges, much of what we know about commerce, courts, and gender in early America.

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ALLEN JAYNE. *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy, and Theology*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998. Pp. xiii, 245. \$39.95.

This book is a clear, concise, and accurate account of the philosophical and religious views that inspired Thomas Jefferson to compose the United States' formative document. Allen Jayne leaves no doubt that the "Nature's God" found in the Declaration of Independence, the deity who provides the American colonists with their right to rebel against the British government, is the rationalist God of deism, not the personal God of Abraham.

However, several criticisms are in order. First, Jayne limits his discussion of Jefferson's intellectual sources to a few modern authors. There is no mention of the Stoics, whom Jefferson read and copied at an early age. It was the Stoics who originated the complex theory of knowledge, involving both reason and intuition, which Jefferson adopted and which Jayne attributes exclusively to the Scottish commonsense philosophers. Jefferson was also heavily influenced by Epicureanism, as were the modern deists whom Jefferson read. Jayne also ignores the significant areas in which both Jefferson and the British authors he perused were indebted to Christianity. Jefferson believed in a Resurrection at the end of time, followed by divine judgment and an afterlife of rewards and punishments. His ethics were largely Christian; he considered Jesus the greatest ethical philosopher who ever lived.

Second, in an effort to make Jefferson's advocacy of religious tolerance appear more radical for its day than it actually was, Jayne greatly exaggerates "the religious authoritarianism and sectarian bigotry that existed in the colonies in 1776." Adding histrionically, "Without the efforts of Jefferson and others . . . we would have become another Bosnia" (p. xi), Jayne forgets that it was orthodox Christians like Roger Williams and the Quakers who first developed the idea of the separation of church and state, not Enlightenment philosophes. With the famous exception of Puritan New England before the 1670s, the American colonies possessed the greatest degree of religious freedom of any place in the Western world. The leaders of the Great Awakening further increased tolerance by preaching ecumenicism. Jayne gives the false impression that religious tolerance was an idea without any historical or cultural foundation in America yet was fully accepted there within a short time, presumably because of the eloquence of a few great sages like Jefferson.

Third, Jayne exaggerates the "antiegaltarian, anti-democratic implications of Judeo-Christian orthodoxy in the colonies at the time of the American Revolution" (p. 9). Jayne presents very little real evidence to support his repeated characterization of American theology as antidemocratic, a characterization that ignores the crucial role played by ministers in fomenting the American Revolution. New Light ministers, dubbed "the black regiment," were among the first and the most ardent of patriots. Jefferson himself noted with approval that sermons advocating resistance to British tyranny charged through Revolutionary Virginia "like a shock of electricity." Indeed, by reviving Puritan fears of British corruption and the Puritan

sense of mission to reform the world, the Great Awakening did far more to supply foot soldiers for the Continental Army and the state militias than did the Enlightenment.

Finally, Jayne is too inclined to take at face value the claim of Jefferson and the deists to objectivity in deducing a more rational God from nature. The deistic conception of God was as much a product of its inventors' own peculiar time and place as any other. As much as anyone else, the deists created God in their own image—stoic and "rational," with "rationality" subjectively defined as a rigid consistency.

Jayne should be congratulated for writing so clearly on important and complex epistemological issues too often ignored or misunderstood. Anyone who wants to know precisely what Jefferson meant by "Nature's God" should read Jayne's book. But anyone who wants a thorough examination of the eclectic Virginian's philosophical sources or a fair and accurate comparison of Jefferson's views with those of contemporary Christians must look elsewhere.

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ANNETTE GORDON-REED. *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1997. Pp. x, 288. \$29.95.

I have long wondered about the vehement denials of Thomas Jefferson's alleged sexual relationship with Sally Hemings, when the scant evidence suggested that an agnostic rather than a partisan stance was more appropriate. Neither Jefferson nor Hemings left any direct written evidence of their relationship. The descendants of both parties (already related to each other owing to a long-term sexual relationship between Jefferson's father-in-law and Hemings's mother), moreover, had irreconcilable views. When asked by students about the matter, I represented myself as being more inclined to belief than disbelief based on my knowledge of numerous other Virginia planters' sexual relationships with enslaved women.

Annette Gordon-Reed's persuasive critique of the consensus view among Jefferson scholars that there was no sexual relationship has strengthened my inclination toward belief. Through careful research and meticulous reasoning, the virtuosity of which cannot be fairly represented in a short review, she argues that the evidence dismissed as insufficient by dozens of historians amounts to a strong circumstantial case. Although she stops short of claiming that the testimony from Hemings's son Madison and the record of Jefferson's unusual treatment of four of the Hemings children proves that the sexual affair occurred, she insists that the array of evidence makes that relationship a strong probability. The case being tried by Gordon-Reed is concerned less with Jefferson's sexual behavior, however, than with the intellectual integrity of a group of prominent Jefferson scholars, including Dumas Malone and Merrill Peterson, who she claims have

systematically employed a double standard in assessing the evidence. By failing to probe the sources that denied Jefferson's involvement in a sexual relationship with Hemings or to question their own dismissals of evidence corroborating the affair, historians have impeded the public's ability to judge for itself whether the author of the Declaration of Independence fathered children with an enslaved woman living in his household.

Gordon-Reed's book is organized around the five sources most relevant to the investigation of the alleged relationship: Madison Hemings; James Callendar, one of Jefferson's fiercest political enemies; the Randolphs and the Carrs, both white relatives of Jefferson; and Jefferson and Hemings. In each case, Gordon-Reed provides convincing evidence that Jefferson scholars allowed preconceptions about the former president to cloud their judgments. Upon reviewing the brief statement by Madison Hemings, printed in an Ohio newspaper in 1873, and the allegations by James Callendar, Gordon-Reed finds significant corroboration for their accounts and plausible explanations for their discrepancies. Previous historians have been too eager to dismiss them, she argues, substituting stereotypical judgements—that the former was the fanciful tale of an ex-slave and the latter a fabrication by an embittered political enemy—for a thorough investigation of content.

In chapter three, she examines the oral testimony of Jefferson's white kin, T. J. Randolph and Ellen Randolph Coolidge, who offered conflicting opinions about which one of Jefferson's nephews might have fathered the Hemings children. Although Randolph was too young to have taken on the duties at Monticello that he claimed to be performing at the time of the alleged Hemings-Jefferson affair, historians have accepted his statements about Sally Hemings as fact, a small illustration for Gordon-Reed of how this second-hand information has been overvalued. In chapters four and five, Gordon-Reed analyzes the evidence left by the principals. Reviewing what she imagines to be the reasons for the repeated denials of the Jefferson-Hemings relationship, she provides a sensible explanation for how we might reconcile Jefferson's racist commentary on Africans with a possible sexual relationship with Hemings. She also offers a portrait of Hemings, in which she notes her beauty, the atypicality of her slave experience, and the opportunity for Jefferson to have fathered five of her six known children. In the final blow to the theory about the Carr nephews' paternity, Gordon-Reed points out the ludicrousness of believing that the Carr men, who lived near Monticello, were only fertile when Jefferson was at home. All this makes the long-term relationship with Jefferson appear not just plausible but likely.

Gordon-Reed leaves little room for Jefferson scholars to plead that they merely reflected the dominant assumptions of people of their class, race, sex and time—what might in another era have passed as "common sense" for some white men. Rather, she

takes them to task for failing to do the basic work that any historian is obliged to do. The job of historians, she argues, is to evaluate *all* the facts, not just the comfortable facts, and admit possibilities even if there are no definitive conclusions. The portrait she paints of Jefferson scholars reveals instead an effort to protect a public icon, according to their own image of him and their own investment in him, from interpretations that they believed would reduce his cultural value. After reading this book, most people will probably share Gordon-Reed's anger and wonder how it could be that a sensible reevaluation of the Hemings-Jefferson relationship appeared only in the late 1990s. They might also be inspired to revisit Fawn Brodie's *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974), the only other book-length study to investigate the evidence of the Jefferson-Hemings affair, to see whether, as Gordon-Reed suggests, it was too readily dismissed by Jefferson scholars as a flaky psychobiography that distorted the facts.

Gordon-Reed's precise and logical argumentation is not just persuasive, but often stunning, as is often the case with scholarship that overturns received wisdom. Her analysis is not without flaws, however, owing in part to the difficulty of using late twentieth-century common sense to fill in the evidentiary gaps without doing violence to the quite different amalgam of ideas and assumptions that might have constituted common sense in the past. Complicating this already difficult task is the gap between what white people have assumed (and some continue to assume) about black people—out of ignorance, racism, or both—and how this differs from black peoples' own understandings. For the greater part of the book, Gordon-Reed handles these problems with skill and restraint.

Most of the flaws in Gordon-Reed's study are tiny and do not weaken her argument. She is not well versed in the wide array of historical literature on slavery and family life in eighteenth-century Virginia, although, ironically, this may be why she is capable of such analytical independence. I saw only one place where she uncritically accepted evidence on its face, and that concerned an Ohio newspaper's 1902 account of rumors in the 1840s that Eston Hemings was Thomas Jefferson's son (p. 15). A somewhat more substantial criticism of the study has to do with her reliance on "human nature" and how her version of this allegedly universal bundle of human motives and behavior will sit with other groups of people, many of whom have also been damaged by the received wisdom of past generations of American historians. To take one small example, although Gordon-Reed is mainly careful about assuming that heterosexual attractions are natural, she cannot resist reducing her burden of proof about Hemings and Jefferson by comparing it hypothetically to the proof needed to confirm a liaison between Jefferson and a male slave, a type of sexual attraction for which there is no other documentation in Jefferson's papers. Although most would agree with Gordon-Reed's conclusion that a liaison with a male

slave would be unlikely in light of Jefferson's documented interest in women, this argument strategy eerily parallels that of some Jefferson scholars, whose problematic assumptions about human nature made Gordon-Reed's study necessary in the first place.

The most serious criticism concerns Gordon-Reed's certainty that most Jefferson scholars intended "to restrict knowledge as a way of controlling the allowable discourse on this subject" (p. 224). Although she provides more than enough evidence of a pattern of negligence and interpretive bias, both of which might indicate intent, she falls short of proving that intent for the entire group of scholars with whom she disagrees. This is not to say that I found the argument about intent far-fetched or wrong-headed. Having discovered the blatant quality of many of these misinterpretations, it would be difficult for Gordon-Reed or anyone else not to see them as intentional. Rather, I wondered if the reality, especially for some of younger Jefferson scholars, was not somewhat more complicated. The historian in me wanted Gordon-Reed to acknowledge the difficulty for historians of challenging received wisdom. Doing original work as a historian including shaking off unfounded assumptions that contain unscrutinized racial, sexual, and class stereotypes, requires a certain amount of unlearning of the material on has been trained to master and on which one is expected to build. Being able to overturn received wisdom also requires that one be able to ask the most far-reaching questions about how knowledge has been produced.

If shaking off the fetters of an older generation of scholarship is so difficult, how then to account for Gordon-Reed's success? New perspectives, including those of African-American history and women's history, have undoubtedly accelerated the process of questioning in the field of American history, making it easier to challenge truths that have long seemed self-evident. Gordon-Reed's training in the law, which gives her an outsider's perspective on historical knowledge production, also may have helped her identify errors and distortions in the work of previous scholars. Determination to air the circumstantial evidence of the Jefferson-Hemings relationship, a motive shared only by Brodie, and the ability to do so coherently and logically, however, are probably the two biggest reasons for Gordon-Reed's achievement.

As I completed this review, news broke that DNA testing on the male descendants of Eston Hemings offered persuasive evidence that Thomas Jefferson, rather than Samuel or Peter Carr, was his father. This new finding supports Gordon-Reed's interpretation of the truthfulness of Madison Hemings's statement. It should also spur readers to see for themselves how she arrived at similar conclusions about Jefferson's involvement with Hemings by reviewing the historical evidence, unburdened by the presumption that a Jefferson-Hemings relationship was an impossibility.

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MICHAEL P. ZUCKERT. *The Natural Rights Republic: Studies in the Foundation of the American Political Tradition*. (Frank M. Covey, Jr., Loyola Lectures in Political Analysis.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 298. \$32.95.

In this important and engaging book, a revised version of the 1994 Frank M. Covey, Jr., Lectures in Political Analysis, political theorist Michael P. Zuckert explores the central significance of the natural rights philosophy to the era of the American Revolution. Readers already familiar with Zuckert's work will find neither his approach nor his conclusions surprising; indeed, several of the chapters in this volume were adapted from earlier publications. Setting out to reassess the familiar emphasis on rights among the so-called "founding" generation of American thinkers, Zuckert begins with the Declaration of Independence, a chronically misunderstood document that he likens to a geometric proof. Appropriately, he insists on the need for a "structural" reading of the Declaration that is duly attentive to the tight fit of its various parts. Here as throughout the book, Zuckert's discussion is historiographically driven—that is, he prefers to develop his own analysis in the context of challenging or refuting other scholars. Garry Wills's prize-winning *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (1978) offers, in Zuckert's estimation, "a particularly egregious example of the dangers of structureless reading" of the Declaration (p. 32), while Morton White's *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (1981) presents, according to Zuckert, an unpersuasive, incoherent interpretation of the Declaration that rests upon a fundamental misreading of John Locke. Zuckert's critique of these and other recent writers on the Declaration, including Gordon S. Wood, strongly reinforces the old-fashioned view of Locke's critical influence and hence of the basically Lockean meaning of the document. Along the way, Zuckert masterfully explicates such key issues as the precise meaning of "created equal" and the importance of correctly understanding the Declaration's assertion of "self-evident truths" as a practical rather than an epistemological thesis.

Zuckert's close reading of the Declaration (and of the younger Jefferson more generally) provides the preface to his larger interpretation of the American political tradition. In making his case for the primacy of the natural rights philosophy, he carefully examines and either rejects or significantly qualifies arguments for primary linkages to other sources and traditions. A comparison of the American Declaration with England's 1689 Declaration of Rights makes emphatically clear the important discontinuities between the Glorious Revolution and the American Revolution. Similarly, countering scholars who have rooted the spirit of 1776 in the Protestantism brought to North America in the early seventeenth century, Zuckert hammers away at the differences between the Declaration and such earlier "founding" documents as the Mayflower Com-

pact and John Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charitie." At times, his discussion of these specific matters threatens to belabor the obvious, but his larger insight, which comes into clearer focus when he moves on to discuss the writings of eighteenth-century ministers, is compelling. Demonstrating how the clergy invoked the Puritan tradition and, at the same time, embraced Locke and the natural rights philosophy, Zuckert argues for "a Lockean conquest, or at least assimilation, of Puritan political thought" (p. 172) in prerevolutionary America. And while he correctly describes his larger argument in the book as "a bit complex" (p. 95)—it ultimately touches on what he considers the unique amalgamation in America of no fewer than four threads or traditions (Old Whig constitutionalism, political religion, republicanism, and the dominant natural rights philosophy)—this fusion of Lockean natural rights and Protestantism appears to be the key to his larger interpretation of the character and shape of the American political tradition. Indeed, it seems to explain what made the American Revolution possible.

In the final chapter, a coda of sorts to the book's interpretive edifice that focuses on Thomas Jefferson during his later years, Zuckert fires a sustained parting shot at all those scholars who have mistakenly emphasized classical republicanism or civic humanism at the expense of natural rights republicanism. Unfortunately, he also muddies his own water a bit by ending with a sketchy and ambiguous account of two very different Jeffersonian and Madisonian versions of the natural rights formulation, the tension between which, he argues, continues to affect us today.

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STEWART JAY. *Most Humble Servants: The Advisory Role of Early Judges*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 302. \$35.00.

This is a revisionist, critical analysis of the traditional interpretation of a development in legal and constitutional history. It has been widely held that the United States Supreme Court only delivers opinions in cases brought before it in a judicial manner, and that this was firmly established in the Jay Court's refusal to give an advisory opinion in 1793 to the Washington administration on questions regarding the interpretation of treaties as they pertained to American relations with European countries during the War of the French Revolution, and that the court did so adhering to a consensus of the time on separation of powers in the Constitution. In challenging this view, Stewart Jay sets out to accomplish two goals: to give background to place the Washington administration request and the Jay Court response in historical context, and to explain why the Jay Court acted as it did.

The idea of three branches being separate and checking each other was still evolving by the 1790s. Eighteenth-century writers such as Montesquieu con-

sidered the main separation of powers to be between the executive and legislative branches. In the British government, an Enlightenment model for the best working government, the judiciary was not a separate branch.

Anglo-American law in practice had not clearly distinguished the executive from the judicial branches. Colonial and state judges had performed executive functions. This practice was continued by Congress in giving duties to the federal judiciary. Supreme Court justices made decisions and gave opinions regarding the salvaging of ships, contested congressional elections, customs duties fines, naturalization of immigrants, and veteran pensions and reported to and advised Congress and the Treasury Department.

Jay goes through a careful analysis of what was said in the Philadelphia Convention, the language of the Constitution, and contemporary writings to show that there was no agreement that the practice of the executive or legislature seeking the advice and the services of the judiciary should end. Indeed, the traditional interpretation makes little sense of why George Washington asked the court for advice. The author shows that the administration request was not seen at the time as unusual, innovative, or raising a constitutional question. If it had, given 1790s politics, there would have been an uproar. But Thomas Jefferson, who would emerge as a critic of Federalist policy, did not object, while he was in the cabinet, to the idea of the president seeking advice from the Supreme Court. Indeed, as secretary of state he was the one who actually corresponded with the Supreme Court justices and sent them the questions. There was no protest from Anti-Federalists or the Republican opposition party in Congress. Jay successfully shows why the Washington administration could make the request and expect that the court would comply.

In exploring why the court decided not to comply with the request, the author looks at newspaper discussions over who should interpret treaties. Should lawyers and judges decide or the country itself through the president and representatives in Congress? Many Federalists, including John Jay and the other Supreme Court justices, believed that, especially in foreign affairs, the Federalist agenda could best be carried out by a strong executive, and the executive might be weakened if it relied on judicial opinions.

There was another major reason for the court's action. The Supreme Court justices had a serious grievance: their circuit riding duties. They hoped Congress would end the practice by establishing separate appeals court judges. The justices did not want to make enemies in Congress, which could have happened if, given the debate on foreign affairs issues, they had given advice on how to interpret treaties.

Jay's work is well researched, written, and argued. It is short and to the point. What is clearly lacking, however, is a comprehensive analysis of why the later court decided to use the Jay Court's refusal to give advisory opinions as a precedent. The author does

pursue how the simplicity and clarity of the language used by the Jay Court implied that there was a consensus of understanding at the time on the separation of powers in the Constitution, but this needs to be carried further. The author should explore how, through the history of the court, the Jay Court letter became doctrine. That said, this is an excellent revisionist history.

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JOHN SUGDEN. *Tecumseh: A Life*. (A John Macrae Book.) New York: Henry Holt. 1997. Pp. xi. 492. \$34.95.

John Sugden has been a student of Tecumseh and the Shawnee for three decades and has examined "an enormous body of documentation, much of it previously unknown" (p. x). The result, he assures us, is "the first book on Tecumseh to be grounded in thorough research into the history and historical culture of Tecumseh's people, the Shawnees" (p. x). This is not Sugden's first book on Tecumseh. In 1985, his *Tecumseh's Last Stand* appeared, a work that concentrated on the last few weeks of its subject's life. This time Sugden has produced a full-fledged life and times.

The author undertook a daunting task, as very few details of Tecumseh's life before 1800 are known with any certainty. Indeed, he does not emerge from the shadow of his brother, the Shawnee Prophet, until about 1805, a fact that has discouraged other biographers from more than brief speculation about his early life. Nevertheless, Sugden attempts to provide that which has eluded others, although even he admits to relief when he moves beyond "the twilight world between myth and history" (p. 84) that obscures about two-thirds of Tecumseh's life. Then he can reduce his dependence on terms (perhaps, maybe, probably, likely, and must have) that telegraph his lack of solid data. The cumulative effect of their frequent use does not inspire confidence in the reader and goes a way toward explaining why earlier biographers provided so little on Tecumseh's early years.

The way Sugden handles the paucity of reliable sources can be seen in his account of a trip that he says Tecumseh took in the late summer of 1810. Over a period of about seventy-five days, he has the chief traveling about 1,500 miles from central Illinois to Green Bay, Wisconsin, and then southwest to the Mississippi and Prairie du Chien. From there he presumably went downriver to below Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and then westward up a stream for sixty miles before returning to his village in central Illinois. Along the way, Tecumseh presumably visited many Indian communities, trying to persuade them to join him and his brother the Prophet in a confederation to resist American expansion.

Sugden is the first Tecumseh scholar to posit such a trip and his sources for it are not impressive. He says it was necessary to "reconstruct them from scrappy

contemporary references and unreliable and murky traditions passed down by eyewitnesses" (p. 205). Thus he accepts a Sac's statement made thirteen years after the event that Tecumseh did visit his village, while dismissing the same Indian's insistence that the Prophet had accompanied his brother.

The author's two most frequently employed sources for the early years are Stephen Ruddell and Anthony Shane. In 1770, when he was twelve, Ruddell was captured by Shawnees and remained with them for about fifteen years. Ten years after Tecumseh's death, he was interviewed by a historian and claimed to have been Tecumseh's companion throughout most of the years of his captivity. Shane, a mixed-blood who was interviewed by the same historian, lived for many years among the Shawnee, and his wife was a relative of Tecumseh. Unfortunately the Ruddell and Shane accounts frequently disagree on important details. But Sugden also relied on the testimony of individuals who, decades after the events they purport to describe, came forward to link themselves with the Shawnee who by the 1820s had been installed in the American pantheon of noble chiefs. Sugden is well aware of the risk of using such sources but does so even as he deprecates them.

Despite or perhaps because of his willingness to use such sources, Sugden has provided the fullest account of Tecumseh and his people. While more detailed, however, his portrait of the chief does not markedly alter that presented by earlier scholars. Like them, he describes a man who was charismatic, humane, noble, and a remarkable orator and combat leader. Like earlier versions, this Tecumseh did not eclipse his brother until after 1810; it took both of them to forge a confederacy that, with British backing, temporarily stopped American expansion in the area south of the Great Lakes.

Sugden reminds us that not even a Tecumseh could impose military discipline on his followers, nor could he rally all Shawnees to his cause. British General Isaac Brock might dub Tecumseh the "Wellington of the Indians" (p. 308) after the Americans surrendered Detroit, but as Sugden observes, Tecumseh's effort was too late. The Indians had little chance of success after their defeat at Tippecanoe in 1794, and Tecumseh's main thrust did not come for another ten years. Nevertheless, readers will be reminded that Tecumseh must be ranked with other great Indian leaders such as Pontiac, Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, and Chief Joseph.

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ELIZABETH VIBERT. *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 366. \$29.95.

Almost without exception, works on the fur trade in North America mine fur-trade documents (and a range of other sources) for factual details on what really

happened. This book is very different: Elizabeth Vibert's aim is to explore "European perceptions of colonized peoples" (p. xi). Most fur-trade scholars are sensitive to the biases and prejudices in their sources, but few write about them at any length, and none has exposed the cultural worlds of traders to the degree Vibert has. Couple this achievement with Vibert's focus on the Columbia Plateau, a region overlooked by historians, and this becomes a book not to ignore.

In her "study of perception and representation" (p. 48), Vibert manages to analyze both the familiar (the impact of epidemic disease) and unfamiliar (landscape, traders' images of Plateau Indian society and gender). With other poststructuralist, postcolonial historians, Vibert assumes that truth consists not in objective facts (which do not exist) but in socially constructed, multiple subjective realities. Her language betrays her premises, as she speaks of her "project," of "interrogating" images, of ethnography and fur-trade documents as equally fictionalized. For theoretical inspiration, she draws not just on her dissertation advisor, Terence Ranger, but widely on a literature that, although rooted in Africa, is global. Alongside the names of Simon McGillivray, David Thompson, and other traders appear Pierre Bourdieu, James Clifford, Mary Louise Pratt, Gyan Prakash, and other postmodern scholars in the humanities and social sciences: an unusual juxtaposition for the oft-provincial world of fur-trade scholarship.

These theoretical interests leave Vibert uncommonly sensitive to a range of issues: the perception of landscape and animals; the Columbia Plateau as a desert; trees commodified as timber; land stocked with useful animals or menacing pests like snakes and wolves; the overwhelming sense of wilderness; the rare occasion when surroundings evoked the Old Country. Even though focused on the traders, Vibert tries not to lose sight of native actors. A chapter on the effects of epidemic disease and its aftermath explores mainly the prophetic response: the well-known dancing by Plateau peoples. Vibert argues productively, after situating her inquiry in a substantial literature, that Plateau prophet movements (whether precipitated by epidemic disease, vulcanism, or other inexplicable events) arose in order to right perceived spiritual imbalance. A larger issue to which she alludes is that the coming of whites did not spell the end of tradition or the beginning of history, as others might have it.

At the core of the book are four chapters on the contrast drawn by traders between fishers and hunters. A complex region linguistically and ethnically, the Plateau was inhabited by people who spoke different languages and lived in different sovereign villages yet were linked to each other through trade, marriage, multilingualism, and joint exploitation of resources.

Some Plateau people focused their attention on salmon and other fish, and others, in contrast, hunted buffalo and other animals from horseback; in the eyes of traders, these fishing and hunting people stood in sharp contrast. The traders who served in the Colum-

bia Plateau were mainly of Scottish, Canadian, Hawaiian, and Native North American ancestry, yet those who recorded their impressions were overwhelmingly white, middle-class, British men. In a nutshell, they privileged hunting and denigrated fishing, equating movement with stamina, strength, and masculinity, and sedentariness with sloth, indolence, and femaleness. Many traders failed to understand the signal importance of roots, tubers, and other vegetable foods in the diet, which, together with their view of women as "squaw drudges" who labored incessantly, occluded their appreciation of the position of women in Plateau society. Most traders disparaged gambling as conducive to indolence, failing to see in it the means of gaining wealth, which, when redistributed in the ideal fashion, brought prestige to the giver. Most could not see in expressions of abjectness that pity signaled the desire to initiate social relationships. Most failed to explain that Indians who were "starving" were not actually dying from lack of food, only failing to hunt animals for their pelts or eating what traders considered improper food: roots and fish.

On a scale of value, the red flesh of animals ranked highest for traders, fish lower, roots and tubers even lower, and lichens lowest of all; in like fashion, the buffalo tribes ranked higher than the salmon tribes. If the latter came off poorly in traders' tales, the buffalo-hunting tribes, who included such hallowed people as the Nez Percés, fared better than all others (the Salish Flatheads, who supplied traders with provisions and furs and increasingly hunted buffalo, were extolled most of all). Mounted on horseback in pursuit of their sometimes dangerous quarry, armed with iron-tipped arrows and guns, their bodies and material culture highly ornamented, physique upright, and character defined by bravery, pride, and candidness, these societies contained real men, even if they demanded more of women (an uncomfortable contradiction in Victorian gender ideology).

The buffalo hunters of the Plains and Plateau gave rise to the noble image of the feather-bonneted Indian sitting astride a horse, which, in the hands of James Fenimore Cooper, Charles Bird King, George Catlin, and many other nineteenth and twentieth-century writers and artists, became the image of the Indian. Vibert reveals the origins of that image as she exposes the world the traders imagined on the Plateau. This book is a necessary read for all whose goal is to mine documents for facts on the exchange (especially those who still adhere to the notion that the documents offer largely unmediated truths) and a richly rewarding and elegantly written book for all interested in fur-trade history.

SHEPARD KRECH III
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TAMARA PLAKINS THORNTON. *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 248. \$30.00.

Tamara Plakins Thornton's exceptional study lays out the influence of changes in conceptions of social hierarchy, gender, and character formation on the theory and practice of handwriting from the colonial era to the recent past. Starting in the eighteenth century, she observes, the trajectories of print and script diverged. Printed alphabet letters, which typeface designers traditionally had rendered in notably diverse (often somatic) forms, became more uniform. This standardization of print redefined the medium of script, which increasingly became associated with the expression of both one's unique self and one's social rank. Writing masters taught gentlemen how to convey their leisure and grace in the act of writing, merchants to suggest bold and masterly qualities in a fast and legible script, and ladies to reflect their distaff gentility in a diminutive and ornamental hand.

During the nineteenth century, new cultural tasks were assigned to handwriting. Now a neat hand signified a young man's trustworthiness and self-discipline; handwriting became more a medium of one's "character" than of one's social status. Public schools stressed uniformity in penmanship in order to produce model, uniform citizens. Writing instructors started to employ truss-like ligatures to bind the hand into the proper writing position. Under the influence of the entrepreneurial Platt Rogers Spencer, who exerted enormous influence through the public schools and his Spencerian business colleges, students were taught to break down letters into components, each to be mastered by drill and then combined into beautiful forms that suggested the symmetry of nature's oval flower buds and majestically straight sunbeams. By the late nineteenth century, however, Austin Norman Palmer, originator of the Palmer method, attacked the Spencerian style as too ornamental and introduced a plainer and swifter style suited to the rush of business.

Thornton assigns several cultural significances to the Palmer method. First, it represented the triumph of masculinity at a time when women were entering office work, traditionally a male sphere. Palmer broke with the Spencerian preference for ornamented letters and so stressed the importance of sweeping motions of the arm over precise fingerwork that Thornton dubs him the "high priest of manliness" (p. 71). Second, Palmer stripped writing of Spencer's insistence on the priority of mentally envisioning the letter before executing its form and made it a more machine-like performance. Spencer had favored drill to build character; Palmer saw drill merely as a way to make handwriting an unconscious habit.

If Palmer had it right, handwriting would say nothing about the uniqueness of a person. Yet many Americans persisted in the view, first advanced in the late eighteenth century, that script revealed personhood. In the 1840s, Edgar Allan Poe analyzed the script of fellow authors for telltale signs of conformity to copybook models; only deviance from increasingly standardized models of handwriting would suggest the presence of genius. The burgeoning science of gra-

phology, or handwriting analysis, relished the unique signature for what it said about the writer's ability to resist the homogenizing effects of the machine age. By the early 1900s, graphologists, most notably Louise Rice, were speaking to a mass audience through newspaper columns and pulp magazines that analyzed writing samples for signs of undiscovered talents.

Graphology gained enough popular credence to stimulate investigations of its merits by psychologists. Thornton's review of this debate leads her to conclude that, for the most part, professional psychologists, mainly male, deprecated graphology's claims to reveal individuality. Rather, male psychologists were likely to conclude that, at most, handwriting correlated with genetic traits like sex, family, and (allegedly) criminality. June Downey, one of the few female psychologists, dissented, notably on the gender correlations, and she allied herself with the graphologists. Paradoxically, graphologists, who insisted that handwriting revealed the innermost self, distanced themselves from the proposition that it correlated with gender. Thornton provides an illuminating explanation for this paradox: by the 1920s, graphology had become a profession dominated by ambitious women who refused to view handwriting, which Palmer had suffused with the language of gender, as an indelible sign of gender. Downey's research buttressed their view, for she demonstrated that even when handwriting samples were evenly divided by gender, experts and amateurs alike identified most as male.

Readers of Thornton's well-crafted study will find much beyond the foregoing, including histories of the rising acceptance of expert testimony in court cases involving disputed handwriting, of autograph collecting, and of the pedagogical and psychological debate over whether left-handed children should be forced to write right-handed. What has threaded all of this together, she shows, has been Americans' continuing quest for diversity amid social and cultural pressures for uniformity.

JOSEPH F. KETT

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CHARLES COLBERT. *A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 441. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Viennese physician and anatomist Franz Joseph Gall and his student Johann Gaspar Spurzheim popularized the new "science" of phrenology, which measured and mapped the configurations of human skulls. The external bumps of the skull supposedly signified the brain's internal geography, which was divided into specialized areas or nodes controlling different intellectual organs and affective powers of the mind. Through its medical association with anatomical studies, phrenology claimed greater objective

certainly than the older, physiognomical method of reading facial features and expressions for signs of internal moral character. Advocates argued that phrenological diagnoses would enable individuals to cultivate brain areas that required further development. While fundamental genetic differences could not be entirely overcome, phrenology promised social progress through exercising such diverse mental faculties as "constructiveness," "firmness," and "ideality."

In this richly detailed interdisciplinary book, Charles Colbert makes a compelling case for the importance of phrenology in the development of American art, art criticism, and literature. Focusing primarily, but not exclusively, on the antebellum period, the author demonstrates how phrenological studies intersected with a host of cultural movements and practices. These include spiritualism, mesmerism, Swedenborgianism, dress reform, Transcendental medicine, and the reform of schools and marriage according to the laws of human physiology. Phrenology naturally appealed to sculptors and figural painters, but Colbert also demonstrates its impact on landscape artists such as Thomas Cole and Asher B. Durand and on architectural designers, who promoted the social and moral benefits of octagonal buildings. As practitioners of a "physical metaphysics" (p. xii), American phrenologists decoded the occult secrets of the human brain and mapped its spiritual and physical correspondences with the entire body and with the macrocosm of nature and the universe. Accused of materialism by orthodox Christians, phrenologists claimed that the demonstrable presence of a mental organ for knowing God actually proved his existence.

Colbert situates American artists' phrenological interests within the expanding nation's millennial belief in Manifest Destiny and human perfectability. This notion of perfectability was applied narrowly to the white, Anglo-Saxon race and excluded not only African Americans and Native Americans but also working-class Irish Catholics, whose phrenological profiles were deficient or "lowbrow" (p. 226). In analyzing the paintings of William Sidney Mount or the sculptures of Thomas Crawford, Colbert shows how phrenological readings of African Americans and Native Americans ideologically naturalized racial stereotypes. Then again, he also shows how abolitionists employed phrenology to prove the existence of specific human virtues among slaves.

Similarly, regarding gender distinctions, phrenology's history is decidedly mixed: the pseudoscience "proved" the mental superiority of men but it also championed the moral and intellectual progress of American women as a harbinger of the millennium. Although Colbert discusses the work of numerous artists, he is particularly determined to rehabilitate the reputations of Hiram Powers and other American sculptors, whose realistic portrait busts and idealized marble figures were deeply informed by phrenological study. The penultimate chapter of the book is almost entirely devoted to a reinterpretation of Powers's

Greek Slave (1843), which toured American cities during the late 1840s. Colbert insists that Powers's celebrated sculpture should not be seen as a bloodless, neoclassical abstraction that hypocritically veiled its nudity with a moralizing narrative of Christian chastity. Building on the evidence of previous chapters, Colbert argues that this pivotal sculpture's enormous popularity "reveals a frank acceptance of her sexuality in conformity with the intentions of the sculptor" (p. xiii).

Colbert specifically rejects recent feminist interpretations of the *Greek Slave*, which define the sculpture as a voyeuristic invitation to the objectifying male gaze. While acknowledging that Powers's sculpture could be seen as a "victim or object of erotic fantasy" (p. 295), he counters that exhibition audiences were primarily composed of women, who were rebelling against sexual ignorance and fashions that constricted and corseted the female body. Phrenologists championed the *Greek Slave* as a "prospective spouse" (p. 295) whose noble head and healthful body "spoke of liberation from the conventions governing sexuality" (p. 302). Small replicas of the sculpture decorated American homes as maternal symbols for millennial progress and the future health of the nation.

In pressing his case for Powers's sculptures, Colbert suggests that the artist achieved a virtually styleless, natural language akin to the illusionism of "luminist" landscapes (pp. 210–11). He approvingly quotes contemporary phrenologists, who effusively attested to Powers's magical skill in capturing the truth of nature. In criticizing twentieth-century art historians for failing to appreciate Powers's sculptures, Colbert unnecessarily romanticizes the artist as a man whose genius seems innate rather than culturally constructed by admiring phrenologists and art critics. One need not defend the timeless aesthetic quality of Powers's art to demonstrate, as Colbert ably does, that the sculptor's phrenologically inspired works were of far greater consequence for the antebellum American art public than the "cerebral philosophy" of Ralph Waldo Emerson (p. 368).

DAVID BIELAJAC
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PATRICIA CLINE COHEN. *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1998. Pp. viii, 432. \$27.50.

Patricia Cline Cohen knows how to tell a good story. In this historical study she follows the convolutions of a sensational crime and the ensuing trial, revealing both the life of an extraordinary woman and the culture of early nineteenth-century New York City.

Helen Jewett, only twenty-three when she died in 1836, was a romantic—an avid reader of Byron's poetry—and had considerable literary talent herself. How this intelligent, refined young woman became a prostitute was part of the great mystery that kept New

York—and much of the country—talking. Who killed her, by ax and fire, was the other question. Could it be the dandyish, young Richard Robinson, her most passionate client? Cohen deals with these questions by interpreting news articles, police reports, and personal letters between Jewett and Robinson. Throughout her study, she highlights the intrigue, even as she produces a well-documented, thoroughly researched piece of historical writing, including copious notes (but no bibliography).

Anyone interested in the early nineteenth century will enjoy Cohen's depictions of the people and institutions of New York City in the 1830s. She takes us, for instance, into the complexities of a budding journalism during the rise of the penny newspapers. Much of her research follows the conflicting accounts of the murder and of Jewett's past in rival newspapers, which were unburdened by the need to check facts. In the 1830s, Cohen says, investigative reporting had not yet become common practice, nor had official court transcripts, trial proceedings being given instead by news reporters in the audience.

As Cohen does her own investigating, she ranges widely through such topics as journalism, the court system, the theater, art, moral reform, and, of course, prostitution. Some of the visions she gives of the 1830s are startling. Her picture of prostitution in the expensive brothels goes against the popular view that they were dens of shame and sin. Instead, she clarifies why a woman like Jewett—lower class but intelligent and educated—would choose such a life. Apparently, by seeing one or two men a day Jewett cleared three times as much in a week as a skilled artisan could. The expensive dresses and jewelry, the theater-going, the involvement with men of power who “visited” the better houses of prostitution all seem very rational enticements to this life. Even more intriguing is the sense that for Jewett prostitution was not a cold transaction: “Jewett’s terms of conducting business required her clients to court and flatter her, write love letters, and bring gifts” (p. 117). In return she sewed for them and sent them love letters of her own. “Jewett saturated her sexual relationships with rituals . . . of love, romance, and intimacy” (p. 134). Such a picture of prostitution seems quite glamorous, raising the observation that Cohen shows little of the dangers and dehumanization of the trade as many women knew it. Still, her purpose is to give Jewett’s experience, and she documents that well.

One of Cohen’s major premises is that Jewett was a business woman with “shrewd business acumen” (p. 95). The love letters and the romance were part of the illusion she sold, as was her own life story. All the disagreements about who Jewett was and how she had come to such a life were instigated by Jewett, Cohen says, increasing her value by giving her a role in a seduction story, one that “bolstered male egos,” convincing men to pay a high price for her favors (p. 356).

This book is interesting in its rich historical context and in its intimate description of Jewett and her

accused murderer. It is also interesting in the way Cohen analyzes the language of the sources she cites: letters by Jewett and Robinson for evidence of their emotional relationship and news stories for attitudes toward prostitution, a mixed attitude, made up of eighteenth-century tolerance and an early Victorian urge for moral reform.

Finally, or perhaps first, the book is a suspense story. We are not sure of the outcome of the trial until the end, yet we are given all the evidence we need along the way. Our interest propels us through the book, aided by the engaging style. This book is an engrossing tale, worthwhile reading for historians, those interested in women’s issues, and the general reader.

KATHLEEN DE GRAVE
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ELIZABETH R. VARON. *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. x, 234. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

In this stimulating study, Elizabeth R. Varon addresses several important historiographical and theoretical themes in southern women’s history. Drawing on work in political theory and political history, including the concept of “the public sphere” and historical works on the second party system, she examines elite white women’s involvement in Virginia’s electoral politics during the antebellum years and finds that it was “active, distinct, and evolving.” Using a variety of sources, including voluntary association reports, legislative petitions, newspaper accounts, novels, and magazine fiction, Varon disputes the “consensus” that, unlike their northern counterparts, “white Southern women were excluded from participation in the male arena of politics” (p. 1). Through forming voluntary associations, especially colonization societies, she concludes, elite women participated in public debates and shaped prevailing ideas about “female civic duty” (p. 2). Moreover, their activism created “significant continuities between the prewar and postwar eras”; to a great extent, Varon concludes, “Southern women’s postbellum political roles and activities were extensions of their antebellum ones” (p. 171).

These thought-provoking findings situate Varon firmly on the side of political historians who emphasize the shared experience of North and South during the second party system and of women’s historians who find common ground between white women in both sections. Like many historians of northern women, Varon discovers extensive political activity among elite women. Like Suzanne Lebsock, upon whose work (*The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* [1984]) Varon builds both substantively and interpretively, she finds them politically involved in ways separate from and largely unrelated to the abolitionist and women’s rights crusades of the 1830s and 1840s. Just as did charitable ladies and

orphanage founders in the North, Virginia's benevolent women approached state and municipal legislators for monetary contributions, commented in print on the issues of the day, and conducted petition drives for temperance legislation. Moreover, this "tradition of public collaboration between white men and women," Varon suggests, not only permitted women to bring "'feminine' virtues into the public sphere and . . . purif[y] it in the process" (pp. 39–40) but also created opportunities for women to express their views on slavery, attend partisan (usually Whig) political rallies, seek sectional reconciliation through patriotic associations, and eventually, rally support for Confederate nationalism.

In making these arguments, Varon downplays the distinctive nature of the southern economy and southern politics and the overwhelming importance of slavery in shaping both. Although she agrees that the state "was in many ways . . . peculiar" (not only was Virginia more urban than the rest of the South, but it possessed a more diversified economy based in part on furnishing "surplus" slaves to booming cotton areas), she denies that it was "anomalous" (pp. 7–8). Others will disagree and suggest that because Varon confines her analysis to electoral politics and national (not state) elections, her book obscures the broader context of power relationships among whites that inevitably shaped all dependencies within the Old Dominion. After all, until the 1850s, many white male Virginians remained voteless, and the apportionment of legislative seats bolstered slaveowners' disproportionate political power. In such a context, Virginia women's political activism was likely to assume a very different character from that of their northern counterparts or their postbellum successors. It is telling, for example, that when, in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion, a colonization society member defended her work as essential to "the peace and prosperity of the State" (p. 53), she framed the argument around white womanhood as the central symbol of slavery's benefits and drawbacks. Similarly, partisan claims that "the ladies are Whigs" seem to have served more to enlist white womanhood than actual women in support of presidential candidates.

Nevertheless, even scholars who disagree with Varon's interpretive approach will find much rewarding reading in her book. Whether covering elite women's labor for the cause of colonization, literary women's defense of slavery, or historically minded women's efforts to save Mount Vernon, Varon offers a consistently revealing portrait of Virginia women's political activities. Somewhat inadvertently, she also illuminates how both politicians and women constructed the southern lady as political symbol and weapon as well as political actor. In telling the ladies' story, Varon challenges historians to take another look before they assume that antebellum southern white women had little to do with politics, partisanship, or public debates. This book clears a window into a previously

obscure realm of southern white women's history, and that is no small achievement.

ANNE M. BOYLAN
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LEO P. HIRREL. *Children of Wrath: New School Calvinism and Antebellum Reform*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. x, 248. \$39.95.

Leo P. Hirrel here carefully and cautiously analyzes the public rhetoric and published writings of New School Presbyterians. His book owes its title to an 1828 address, delivered by New Haven theologian Nathaniel William Taylor to the Congregationalist clergy at Yale College, that was based on Paul's Letter to the Ephesians. Taylor used this Biblical text to emphasize man's innate moral depravity: the "sons of disobedience" who followed "the passions of our flesh" and "the desires of body and mind" were "by nature the children of wrath" (Ephesians 2: 2–3). Yet Taylor and his New School cohort also believed that the children of darkness might somehow, with the aid of God's saving grace, consciously reject sin and achieve salvation. These revisionist theologians perched themselves precariously on the precipice of traditional Calvinism, seeking to reconcile notions of original sin and total depravity with more modern and rationalist conceptions of free will and divine moral law.

New Schoolers emerge in this account as men caught in the middle of rapidly changing nineteenth-century social and intellectual currents. They attempted to preserve Calvinist rhetoric and doctrine against Enlightenment-inspired Deist and Unitarian onslaughts, but their theological modifications earned the enmity of both Princeton conservatives and Oberlin perfectionists. Hirrel lucidly guides readers through the complex and contentious antebellum Presbyterian universe, where disputes over such disparate issues as the use of sacramental wine and adherence to the Westminster Confession produced innumerable pamphlet wars, heresy trials, and strained personal relationships. Taylor, as the principal architect of New School Presbyterian thought, figures prominently throughout this book. Hirrel also lines up the other usual "presbyterianist" suspects, including Samuel Hopkins, Lyman Beecher, Albert Barnes, George B. Cheever, George Duffield, Moses Stuart, Charles G. Finney, and Charles Hodge. The book thus covers very familiar historiographic turf. Unlike many recent antebellum religious studies, it focuses almost exclusively on New England male ministers. Still, Hirrel's sensitivity to historical context and his ability to penetrate complex theological arguments restores an admirable clarity to these deceptively obscure but remarkably influential clerical disputants. Historians seeking a solid introductory overview, or refresher course, on antebellum northern Presbyterianism will find this book exceptionally useful.

In the somewhat less successful second half of his book, Hirrel links New School thought with several

antebellum reformist strains: anti-Catholicism, temperance, abolitionism, and the myriad institutions usually classified as "the benevolent empire." Such notions as innate human depravity, the existence of fixed and immutable truths, the ultimate triumph of the Kingdom of God, and the role of the United States as the redeemer nation provided New School Calvinists with the theoretical framework for interpreting and promoting various social causes. The author continually stresses that these ministerial reformers operated within a very specific religious framework that bore little resemblance to the later Social Gospel movement. Their lightly modified Calvinism generated discord with many fellow Protestants and distanced them from more secular contemporary reformers. Each reform discussed has generated extensive and distinguished historical discussion. Hirrel really adds little that is new and necessarily rushes through this section in lightning-quick and somewhat superficial fashion. A fifteen-page chapter on the benevolent empire, for example, attempts to discuss seven major reform organizations. New School influences are more often asserted than proved, the unique history of each organization becomes blurred, and historical changes appear murky. A sharper focus on fewer institutions would have provided more analytical breadth.

One other limitation deserves note. Hirrel relies almost exclusively on pamphlets, newspaper and magazine articles, and published material to make his case. His subjects constituted perhaps the most literate and articulate class in antebellum America, yet he ignored institutional archives and consulted only two manuscript collections: the Albert Barnes Papers and the Daniel Webster Papers. Hirrel justifies this approach by observing that "reform rhetoric can be taken as an accurate reflection of an individual's or a group's beliefs" and that "these people meant what they said" (p. 91). Perhaps, but institutional archives and private correspondence certainly enhance, contextualize, and alter the public record. Hirrel's nuanced portrait of the New Schoolers does succeed, however, in communicating the complexity and resilience of antebellum Calvinism and in subtly undermining the analytical utility of such slippery historical concepts as "evangelical reform."

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DOUGLAS L. WILSON, *Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1998. Pp. 383. \$30.00.

Douglas L. Wilson wishes to enrich Lincoln biography by resurrecting a tarnished source: the interviews with old settlers and others who knew Abraham Lincoln when he was a young man, collected after Lincoln's death by his longtime law partner, William H. Herndon. Lincoln kept no diary, and, even after he gained some fame, he sent only brief responses to requests for

personal information. He was genuinely modest and maintained a Victorian reticence about his private life.

But Herndon was nosy and wanted to know more, especially about Lincoln's private life and his relationships with women. Naturally, most of the old timers responded eagerly when Herndon asked about their early association with Lincoln, and they likely exaggerated their knowledge of him and their influence on him. Because Herndon's interviews were the principal source of the story that Lincoln was romantically involved with Ann Rutledge and that her early death shaped his life ever after, the notes on the interviews fell out of favor when professional historians attacked the Rutledge myth.

The principal problems of the Rutledge story were two: it diminished the importance of Lincoln's wife Mary, and it was prominently associated with amateur historians and popularizers, even with forgery and fraud. Professionals in the twentieth century such as James G. Randall, attempting to wrest Lincoln study from myth and amateurism, tended to reject the Rutledge story and to urge scholarly caution in using its ultimate source, the Herndon interviews.

Wilson prescribes careful rules for evaluating the sources, but he does urge their use. He champions them, in fact, and he bases a new interpretation of Lincoln's early life on them. He depicts Lincoln as an unprincipled political fighter. The first chapter and a full thirty-one pages on Lincoln's famous wrestling match with Jack Armstrong in New Salem in 1831 set the tone for the rest of the book, which ends with Lincoln's marriage in 1842. Wilson suggests that Lincoln transmuted his youthful physical aggressiveness into the manly realm of politics (after the Armstrong match, Lincoln "did his fighting in the political arena"; p. 297). Wilson believes that Lincoln excelled as an underhanded practitioner of the arts of character assassination in unsigned letters to newspapers and occasionally flogged political opponents mercilessly in speeches.

In the end, Lincoln was redeemed by his marriage to Mary Todd—as unhappy a match as Herndon would have depicted, but a landmark for Lincoln's growth in character because he married out of pity for Mary and because honor demanded it, although he was in love with one Matilda Edwards at the time.

Wilson offers a one-sided picture of Lincoln because for some reason he ignores the best book on Lincoln written in the last thirty-five years, Gabor S. Boritt's *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* (1978). One glimpses a very different Lincoln in Boritt's book. Wilson, for example, can find "no . . . conscience" in Lincoln's canvassing for the Whig Party in the great presidential campaign of 1840 (p. 203). Boritt, by contrast, in a brilliant chapter entitled "The Log Cabin and the Bank," notes that Lincoln emphasized the complicated subject of central banking in the campaign, while his party abandoned high-toned talk of policy for barbecues and parades. Had he cut a

wider figure in the Whig Party at the time, Lincoln could in fact be seen as its conscience.

Even if the Herndon interviews have been maligned, no historian can render a full portrait of Lincoln by too exclusive reliance on one part of the vast literature on this man. Historians should use caution in reading Wilson as well as in reading Herndon's sources.

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DONALD C. PFANZ, *Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. PP. xix, 655. \$39.95.

"Dear Dick Ewell," wrote one of his fellow former Confederate generals in 1879, "Virginia never bred a truer gentleman, a braver soldier, nor an odder, more lovable character" (p. 476).

Richard Stoddert Ewell (1817-1872) was one of those fascinating second-echelon Civil War military figures who played important roles on occasion but who were often eclipsed by others—in Ewell's case most often by Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. The common understanding of Ewell was crafted half a century ago by Douglas Southall Freeman, who depicted the general as a brave, lovable, bird-like eccentric who usually carried out specific orders capably enough but who lacked the capacity for independent command and who was changed drastically by an August 1862 wound that cost him a leg and a May 1863 marriage to a widowed cousin whom he usually introduced as "my wife, Mrs. Brown."

Donald C. Pfanz sets out to draw a deeper, more complete picture of Ewell. By treating the general's antebellum military career in depth and by taking advantage of several recent Civil War battle/campaign studies, Pfanz presents us with another Dick Ewell. The general who emerges from these pages is still the odd, eccentric, likable, blunt, and often profane officer, but he is also a very competent military commander who understood soldiers, armies, and battles very well. He performed capably most of the time.

Pfanz argues that Ewell's decisions in his most controversial battles—Gettysburg and the Wilderness—were at least rational. In both cases, Ewell's critics have faulted him for not being aggressive enough. As a consequence, they maintain, he missed two good opportunities to strike at the enemy and in so doing perhaps cost the Confederates victory. In both engagements, Pfanz maintains, Ewell's decisions were usually sound when one considers the information available to him, the disposition and condition of his troops, the terrain, the strength of the enemy, the orders of his commander, and other factors usually ignored by his critics. In most cases the arguments are convincing—at least to the extent that Ewell's performance was usually as competent as that of his fellow generals.

Despite Ewell's record, however, his commanding officer, Robert E. Lee, lost confidence in him for

reasons that are not clear. Perhaps, as Pfanz suggests (p. 348), Lee simply wanted someone else to command in Ewell's place. Perhaps Lee was influenced by criticisms leveled at Ewell by some of the latter's subordinates such as Isaac Trimble, Jubal A. Early, Robert E. Rodes, and John B. Gordon. Perhaps in 1864 Lee did not want Ewell as the second highest-ranking officer in the army and the man who would assume command should Lee himself be killed, wounded, or incapacitated by disease. Whatever the reason, Lee pushed Ewell out of field service and into command of the Richmond defenses. Ewell served faithfully in that capacity for nine months.

Ewell was unfortunate in his new command. In September 1864, his "heroic efforts" (p. 417) were important in saving the Confederate capital, but they went largely unnoticed both by his superiors and by the public. Good soldier that he was, however, Ewell labored on to the end. For him, the end came on April 6, 1865, at Sayler's Creek when, through no fault of his own, he was cut off and captured along with most of his command.

This is the third and by far the best biography of Ewell. The research is impressive (the list of unpublished sources stretches across six pages of the bibliography). The illustrations and maps are very helpful. The index is more complete and detailed than is usually the case these days. Fortunately, Pfanz does not drag his readers through seemingly endless pages of boring, mind-numbing tactical detail. The appendixes include some material that is of little if any interest—especially Appendix C, "Lizinka's Landholdings," which lists and describes the considerable property owned by Ewell's wife. (She inherited the real estate from her father, her brother, and her first husband.)

It seems unlikely that any future scholar will ever tell us anything else of significance about Ewell the man. The role of Ewell the general, and his part in the history of the battles and campaigns in which he participated and of the army in which he served, will now have to be rethought in light of Pfanz's strong arguments. Ewell has found his biographer. His critics will have a tough time.

RICHARD M. McMURRY
Americus, Georgia

JOSEPH ALLAN FRANK, *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 304. \$40.00.

The rank and file of the Civil War armies have long fascinated historians. Even in the old days, when the doings of statesmen and generals dominated American historiography, the common soldiers of 1861-1865 maintained a high profile, most notably through Bell Irvin Wiley's classic studies of *The Life of Johnny Reb* (1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank* (1952). The advent of the "new social history" a generation ago sparked

more interest. Since then, studies of Civil War soldiers have proliferated. These are generally more focused than the older studies, for what particularly intrigues modern scholars is the soldier's mind. Historians today want to know what made Johnny and Billy tick.

Joseph Allan Frank offers a study of the "political socialization" of the men in blue and gray. That at least is what the subtitle promises; Frank's actual subject is considerably broader. The book examines how antebellum America's civic culture molded the men who would become soldiers, how the war refined and broadened the soldiers' political consciousness, how the soldiers influenced—and were influenced by—the political views of the civilian populace, and how the soldiers' intense political engagement was manifested in their wartime behavior. The key to it all, says Frank, is that these men were mostly neither professional soldiers nor conscripts but volunteer citizen-soldiers, men who went to war to defend republican ideals and who insisted that their army was nothing more, or less, than the sword of republicanism.

Frank has extensively researched soldiers' letters and diaries, and his book is enlightening in many ways. He has much to tell us, for example, about how the attitudes of career soldiers and conscripts contrast with those of citizen-soldiers; how school, church, and family imbued antebellum American boys with republican values; and how the citizen-armies of Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Bonaparte set the pattern for those of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. One finishes the book with a deeper understanding of how thoroughly the armies of North and South were steeped in political ideology: soldiers were inspired by it, officers were judged by it, even strategy and tactics were shaped by it.

Unluckily for Frank, some of his thunder has been stolen by James M. McPherson's prize-winning *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (1997). What Frank has to say about the soldiers' motivations, McPherson explains more fully and more lucidly. But Frank's book is not wholly overshadowed by McPherson's, for Frank goes well beyond the question of what impelled men to enlist and fight. In showing the myriad ways that soldiers acted out their beliefs, however, Frank sometimes claims too much. For instance, he ascribes Johnny's and Billy's frequent opining on army generalship to their republican-volunteer ethos. But surely all soldiers in all wars, whether enlistees, lifers, or draftees, whether citizens or subjects, have sat around the campfire gossiping about their commanders and second-guessing army strategy. Likewise, Frank ascribes (implicitly at least) the Confederates' frequent brutalizing of captured black Union soldiers to the perceived nature of the war, as well as to racism. But the latter alone is a sufficient explanation: white southerners had dealt savagely with rebellious blacks since the earliest days of slavery.

Exaggerating the explanatory power of ideology leads Frank into a couple of other errors as well. For

one thing, he glosses over (while perfunctorily acknowledging) the evolution of Union war policy. He gives the impression that the "hard war" (historian Mark Grimsley's term) marked by slave emancipation, property destruction, and reprisals against southern civilians was inherent in the northern mindset from day one of the war, although in fact it was provoked by repeated southern success on the battlefield. Had the Confederacy collapsed in 1861 or 1862, the war would have ended as it began: a very restrained affair. Frank also obscures the impact of battlefield events on the 1864 U.S. presidential contest. He makes Lincoln's reelection seem an inevitable consequence of the northern war mentality, though in fact the war-weary northern public might well have dumped Lincoln but for some fortuitous Union military victories that fall.

An important truth underscored by Frank is how similar were the minds of Billy Yank and Johnny Reb. Slavery and secession aside, the beliefs of the fighting men of North and South were remarkably parallel. It is an irony often remarked, but always worth recontemplating, that these men who had so much in common wound up slaughtering each other by the tens of thousands.

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EDWARD A. MILLER, JR. *The Black Civil War Soldiers of Illinois: The Story of the Twenty-ninth U.S. Colored Infantry*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 267. \$29.95.

Most studies of African Americans in the Civil War focus on the larger picture, describing battles, leaders, and decision making. Edward A. Miller Jr.'s book tries to do something much more difficult: to examine an individual African-American infantry regiment. The result is interesting but flawed, largely because of the limits of the source materials.

Miller divides his work into six chapters, with the focus on the activities and lives of the white officers and African-American enlisted men of the Twenty-ninth United States Colored Infantry. Following the Emancipation Proclamation, northern states began to recruit blacks, partially motivated by the fact that they could use them to fill their manpower quotas. Illinois followed suit but soon encountered a typical difficulty: the state's own black population was too small. The state responded to this challenge in the way many other northern states did. They recruited elsewhere; in this case they accepted recruits from nearby Missouri. By 1864, the regiment had enough men to be sent to Virginia for further training. Later in the year, they were moved toward the battlefield around Petersburg. Recruiting continued, with many of the second group of recruits coming from Maryland and Virginia. Throughout its history, there were great shortages of officers, and paperwork was infrequently or inadequately done. In Virginia, the regiment became a part

of the Ninth Corps, performing guard duty and work details. Relatively little time was given to improving the combat skills of these new soldiers. In July 1864, the Twenty-ninth participated in the Battle of the Crater and did not perform very well. Following this taste of action, the regiment, like the other African-American troops in the Army of the Potomac, was again relegated to labor details. After Lee's surrender, the Twenty-ninth was sent to western Texas to put down the last remnants of the rebellion and put pressure on the French to withdraw from Mexico. At the end of 1865, the regiment was finally mustered out. Miller concludes his book with a chapter on the postwar lives of the men and officers, most of whom returned to living in poverty and obscurity. For the vast majority, their Civil War experience apparently had hardly changed their lives.

Miller has presented a well-written, highly researched study. He provides the reader with a detailed portrait of the creation and life of a Civil War regiment. Unlike many such books, it is written from the point of view of the common soldier. The vast majority of African Americans did not leave detailed accounts of their military experience, however, as most could not read nor write. The regiment had few officers, and record keeping was not often done. Few newspapers were interested in the military exploits of the ex-slaves. As a result, source material to write the history of a particular African-American regiment is sparse. The official records contain some material, but the major source Miller uses were the pension records. Although full of details about individual soldiers, however, these are records with some problems. Many of the men knew little about their vital statistics, including when and where they were born. The pension forms also tell little about their war experience except for the injuries or wounds that served as the basis for many of the applications. In addition, the soldiers usually submitted the pension forms more than twenty-five years after the war.

Because of the sparse nature of the source material, any narrative of an African-American regiment would be handicapped. Unfortunately, Miller did not improve the situation by the way that he utilized the records. For almost every one of the ten companies of the regiment, he details the backgrounds of many of the soldiers. Since there is little information about each individual, however, this recitation is brief, largely repetitious, and full of suppositions. Little improvement is gained from the repetition. Another problem concerns the regiment's only major battle. Although there is a great deal of information about the Battle of the Crater, there is insufficient about the actions of the Twenty-ninth. As a result, Miller has done little but write a detailed account of the battle. Finally, Miller provides little analysis of the history of the regiment. Even with the paucity of sources, he has made no attempt to assess the similarities or differences of the history of the regiment with that of white regiments.

Miller tackles an important subject, the history of an individual African-American combat regiment in the Civil War. Limited by the nature and type of his source material, he has produced an interested but flawed history.

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KIRK SAVAGE. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 270. \$35.00.

In his brilliant study of public monuments to slavery, emancipation, and common soldiers, Kirk Savage captures the tragedy of the Civil War era. His central argument is that the effort to erect a monument to emancipation was a cultural enactment of the political tasks of Reconstruction. He concludes that the failure of Reconstruction was not simply political, but a cultural failure to give imaginative form to our best ideals. With the terrible finality of public sculpture, the Freedmen's Memorial in Washington, D.C. (Thomas Ball, 1876) entrapped the freed, kneeling beneath the commanding figure of Abraham Lincoln and passively receiving the gift of emancipation. A product of a series of competitions, the Freedman's Memorial belied the national commitment to racial equality. A haunting photograph that Savage reproduces, of a black youth staring up at the image of white dominance, captures the gulf between aspiration and commemoration.

Savage begins by showing how the concept of race employed the language of sculpture. In racist treatises placing the Negro between men and animals, classical statuary served as an empirical model of white racial superiority. Sculpting black bodies was thus problematic and potentially subversive. Once abolitionists appropriated the sculptural image of the kneeling, supplicant slave as a means of generating benevolent sympathy, slave holders found it difficult to disassociate any representation of the slave from abolitionism. Yet the most ambitious effort to give physical expression to the proslavery ideal relied upon a Northern sculptor and abolitionist, Henry Kirke Brown. Brown's proposal for the South Carolina State House revealed that pro- and antislavery thought converged on a single image of the body of the slave, tainted with barbarism but deserving an elevation that, however different in each camp, was sharply limited.

In the erection of monuments to slavery and common soldiers, Savage finds further evidence of cultural factors in Reconstruction's defeat. Richmond's Lee Monument (1890) seized upon the noble general as slavery's best face. The sponsors' obsessive concern with the relationship between Lee and his animal servant, Traveller, encoded the values of dominance and mastery as slavery's guiding ideals. In the indistinguishable monuments to common soldiers North and South, Savage finds a rehabilitated image of citizen-

soldiers. To submerge the slave-like experience of service in a mass army and mechanized war, soldier monuments had to extinguish any association with slavery or emancipation, especially in the form of freedmen soldiers. In the relaxed attention and white faces of monumental soldiers, local communities pledged allegiance to the new nation-state while effacing its military regimentation and racial obligations.

In bridging politics and consciousness, Savage rightly argues, the history of public sculpture helps us understand the persistence of racial inequality. But in describing Reconstruction as a cultural failure, Savage may underplay his own evidence of the new, if unrealized, possibilities. John Quincy Adams Ward's statuette Freedman (1863) imagined the moment of emancipation from the perspective of the freed. Alert and intent, tense in anticipation, Ward's Freedman was an agent of his own freedom. Harriet Hosmer's design for a Freedmen's Memorial centered on a cycle of four African-American figures, ascending from slave through producer and contraband, culminating in citizen-soldier. Hosmer's design failed to win support and the commemoration of emancipation shifted away from the freed toward Lincoln and his place in history. But whether the decision against Hosmer was a failure of consciousness or politics remains unclear. Savage presents a valuable analysis of the various subscriptions and competitions for the freedman's memorial, but a closer look at the views of contemporary abolitionists and Republicans might have clarified his argument.

Savage's keen analysis of the visual legacy of the Civil War is an essential corrective to our public memory of the Civil War, particularly where the public imagination has been shaped by Ken Burns's *Civil War* (1990). Burns flatters us in showing moral outrage against slavery as the cause of the war, then, without reference to what each had fought for, celebrates the reconciliation of white veterans, North and South. Savage forces us to look more honestly at the limits of that moral outrage and the costs of that reconciliation. An obscure photograph that serves as an antidote to Burns's Gettysburg reunions suggests something of what Burns omits and Savage recovers. It appears to be a typical postwar scene of a wagon moving along a dusty road, impatient whites commanding the labor of diffident blacks. On closer examination, it becomes clear that the wagon is weighed down with the granite base of a Confederate monument. That arresting image, and now Savage's full and moving study, remind us of the aspirations that were sacrificed in postwar reconciliation.

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PATRICK J. KELLY. *Creating a National Home: Building the Veterans' Welfare State, 1860-1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 250. \$37.50.

Patrick J. Kelly has written an excellent history of the origins and spread of the Civil War-era National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (NHDVS). His book joins a growing list of monographs and articles on the history of veterans, their widows and dependents, and the public policy that emerged in response to their needs. These interdisciplinary studies, with which Kelly shows himself thoroughly familiar, are particularly concerned with how a gendered "warfare state" emerged in the postbellum United States, then grew and remained separate from the twentieth-century "welfare state." Rights and responsibilities in the warfare state stemmed from a higher form of "martial citizenship" in which the state made claims on men for military service and in return pledged lifetime support for those damaged in body and spirit by the war. This was the martial contract that became clear in the Civil War era. Rights and responsibilities in the welfare state and the notion of "social citizenship," by contrast, came much later, and more grudgingly. Kelly writes convincingly of the NHDVS as an example of how culture shaped notions of citizenship and the development of state policy. His history of the NHDVS shows how the congressional authorization of long-term care facilities for disabled Union soldiers and sailors emerged as a distinctly mid-Victorian system of "homes" in design so that by 1900, almost 100,000 Union veterans had spent some amount of time in one of the NHDVS's eight domiciliaries.

Kelly divides his chronology of the NHDVS into three periods: origins during the Civil War; formative period from 1865-1873; and then maturity after 1873. He begins his history with a review of the immense number of Union Army and Navy men in need of long-term hospitalization, both from combat casualties and from disease. The scale of the casualty and sick lists after the first year of warfare dwarfed anything seen in the War of 1812 or the Mexican War, and the Union Army soon organized numerous hospitals. However, those facilities were designed for short-term care. The question of how to provide long-term care, especially to amputees, and who would supervise the care, had yet to be determined. During the war, Unitarian leaders of the U.S. Sanitary Commission (USSC) such as Henry Bellows, Charles Loring Brace, and Stephen Perkins outlined what they did not want in long-term care: they wanted to avoid a large Chelsea Hospital or Invalides-style asylum that would only serve to underscore the dependence of the inmates. Instead, they wanted the disabled veterans to be supported as much as possible in their own localities. Women leaders of the USSC also shared this view and began plans for privately financed facilities. Somewhat inexplicably in Kelly's account, Congress ignored the USSC call for local and voluntary treatment, and instead it created the National Asylum for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (NADVS) before the war's end. The new organization lay dormant until 1866, at which time Benjamin Butler energized it. Kelly sees the Massachusetts politician as one who helped forge the

link between the Republican Party and the mass of northern veterans, particularly over the issue of long-term care for the disabled veteran. Despite the use of the word "asylum" in its title, the NADVS did adopt the outlook of the Sanitary Commission elite in shunning any comparison to the almshouse and its dependent inmates. Instead, the planning was for homelike facilities that tried to replicate the family for those veterans who suffered disabilities. After 1873, Congress dropped the "Asylum" part and changed the name to National Home. Standards for admission to a home eased in the same way that the threshold for pension eligibility changed in the 1880s, so that access to an NHDVS home became almost universal without careful scrutiny about the cause or nature of a disability.

The NHDVS enjoyed support from Democrats, who usually opposed pension increases. All could subscribe to the ideology that the disabled veteran was owed a just debt of lifetime care from a grateful Union. Kelly closes the book with a chapter on life within an NHDVS facility. He finds the veterans carved out quite a measure of freedom, despite the efforts of the Home designers to enforce parental supervision. For a total institution, Kelly maintains, the hand of the "mother republic" was very light. In sum, Kelly has written a fine contribution to an important field and his work deserves a wide reading.

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BARBARA GOLDSMITH. *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1998. PP. xv, 531. \$30.00.

"If the secret history of this tragedy is ever brought to light, we shall have such revelations of diplomacy and hypocrisy in high places as to open the eyes of the people to the impossibility of securing justice for anyone when money can be used against him" (p. 404). These are words that might have been uttered in 1998 or 1999 regarding impeachment proceedings against President Bill Clinton. In actuality, they come from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, written after a Plymouth Church committee exonerated the church's pastor, Henry Ward Beecher, from adultery charges in relation to his parishioner Elizabeth Tilton. The Beecher-Tilton affair and its wide-scale public and private reverberations form an extended climax to Barbara Goldsmith's new "biography" of Victoria Woodhull.

Woodhull, flamboyantly visible in the *Gilded Age* for her spiritualism, feminism, and free-love views and practices, is remembered especially for addressing Judiciary Committee members from both congressional houses in 1871 in the stunning Woodhull Memorial, which argued that women were considered citizens in the United States Constitution and therefore already had the right to vote. She is remembered,

too, for running for the presidency against Ulysses S. Grant and Horace Greeley in 1872. And she is also remembered in 1872 for her newspaper, which—then and first—publicly broke the news of the Beecher-Tilton scandal, the celebrity affair that rocked American popular culture and opinion in much the same way as did the impeachment proceedings of the late 1990s.

Goldsmith's construction of the life of the vividly unforgettable Woodhull, however, operates much differently from its subject in the amount of attention and space that Woodhull receives in what ostensibly is her story. Whereas Woodhull was forever foregrounding herself with a flair for show and drama that seemingly, in her heyday, never flagged, Goldsmith's "life" becomes a pony to ride into the thickets of Victorian sordidness, sorrow, and crime. Woodhull, like a figure in a Chinese painting, is almost swallowed by the scene around her.

Almost, though: not quite. For Woodhull's "other powers" form the abiding connection between her and the related characters who make their way through these pages. The other powers are spirits, sex, and the sex named woman; and together they add up, for the men in control, to the power of the nonrational as it forms the underside of a culture on the make, on the move, and busy at rationalizing all of public and capitalistic life. Goldsmith sketches them out in literary and novelistic fashion, so that reading her book is akin experientially to reading a work of fiction. This is history dished out for popular taste. It is heavy on the salacious details of scandal, adept at shifting scenes from character to character, authoritative in declaring what historical actors were feeling and doing any given day, consummate in building plot to climax and then achieving denouement.

Aside from being a good "read" and revealing what more sedate renditions of the historical record eschew, Goldsmith's book raises important historiographical questions, although the questions themselves may not have been her intention. From the point of view of documentation, the Knopf style is not in itself conducive to full accountability. Much is there in the notes; much also is not. Primary sources are not always apparent, and neither is the previous work of other scholars. It is not clear, for example, how much of the spiritualist-feminist connection Goldsmith makes echoes the work of Ann Braude. Beyond that, however, the literary voice that drives the Goldsmith account means that questions of credibility of sources and conflicting evidence get overruled in the interests of the narrative act. A good story does not pause for perhaps's and maybe's. And if Goldsmith can find a journalistic reference that flew in the late nineteenth century, she is happy to let it fly once more. The search for historical "truth" does not seem especially painful or difficult here. Nor does a postmodern suspicion of narrative intimidate Goldsmith at all.

So, even with the leveling of sources that makes all of them credible authorities for an intensely personal-

ized account of history, there is something rigoristically old-fashioned about Goldsmith's historiographical stance. She may be historian as muckraker, but she is also historian as moralist and moralizer. The scenarios she reveals of human ugliness and misery—of the Claflin clan, from which Woodhull emerges, with their continuing dysfunctionality and lives of petty crime; of men in high places and their grasping venality, their hypocrisy, and their sexual code violations; of women in high and low places and the lives of private pain and oppression they endure—all of this is designed to shock and confront the reader. It is sensationalized history, to be sure. But it also raises questions about human beings as moral creatures. Along with that, its evocation of “other powers”—for the masculinized dominant culture, nonrational powers—makes of Goldsmith's book a work that implicitly questions the public social order. Although her Woodhull hardly comes off as saint and, in the end, reneges on her own principles of sexual freedom, she still carries an integrity-in-the-muck that renders her a sympathetic character in the midst of the failed women's rights movement of her time and the gross and oppressive behavior that, in the Goldsmith account, characterizes the men.

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ADRIENNE M. ISRAEL. *Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist*. (Studies in Evangelicalism, number 16.) Lanham, Md. and London: Scarecrow. 1998. Pp. xv, 181.

Amanda Berry Smith (1837–1915) was a legend in her own time. It was a legend that she assiduously cultivated through her autobiography and correspondence. Her book, *An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealing with Mrs. Amanda Smith the Colored Evangelist* (1893), sold widely. It was both preceded and followed by a large number of letters published in Wesleyan/Holiness, Methodist Episcopal, and African-American Methodist periodicals from the 1870s until her death. Smith remains an important icon in the American churches with which she cooperated. Within the last two decades, her autobiography has been reprinted at least three times in both the original and abridged forms. And yet, despite her enduring fame, this volume by Adrienne M. Israel is the first scholarly analysis of the life and work of a remarkable African-American woman whose career of seventy-eight years touched four continents in formative ways.

Beginning with the *Autobiography* (largely based on decades-old memories and some now lost diaries), Israel ferreted out confirmatory, corrective, and supplemental evidence from a wide variety of archival, printed, and government record sources. This is judiciously placed in the larger historical context, and the result is a carefully nuanced analytical narrative that takes Smith from her days as a slave in Maryland to her

death in Florida as a nationally known figure. It presents the story of the purchase of Smith's freedom by her father, two difficult marriages, the death of numerous infant children, and her religious quest for “sanctification.” Israel describes Smith's efforts to be accepted as a woman and minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church of which she was a member, and the discovery and rapidly growing appreciation of her talents in the primarily European-American Wesleyan/Holiness camp-meeting circuits. Her mission work in India with the Methodist Episcopal pioneer missionary James Thoburn and in Africa, sometimes in cooperation with the maverick Methodist Episcopal Bishop William Taylor, is documented in detail. Smith was also involved, from its first year, in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and she became a major figure in Wesleyan/Holiness evangelistic efforts in England, together with Hannah Whitall Smith, mother-in-law of Bertrand Russell. Back in America to retire in her sixties, Smith raised money for and opened (1899) the Amanda Smith Orphan Home in Harvey, Illinois, aided in the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and continued to speak throughout the country on Holiness and temperance issues. She spoke out for civil rights for African Americans. It is probable that no one else of her century spoke to as many people face to face, on as many continents, as did Smith (with the possible exception of her colleague William Taylor).

Israel's work on Smith provides a case study for a number of issues in American history. These include the internal workings of master-slave relationships in Maryland; the socioeconomic status and lives of freed African Americans in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York; the role of African Americans in the Wesleyan/Holiness camp-meeting movements; the difficulties of attempting to bridge the gap between European-American and African-American communities after the Civil War; the problems and promise of American philanthropy during the period 1860–1915; the African-American roots of American revivalism and Pentecostalism; the missionary triangle between the U.S., Britain, and Africa/India, 1875–1900; the problems faced by African Americans as missionaries to Africa; and the problems related to institution building among African Americans. These are issues beyond the scope of Israel's book, but she provides data that will make her research an important building block for other scholars.

Biographers often come to view their subjects with less than objectivity. This is not the case of Israel with Smith. Smith's strengths and weaknesses are treated with equal forthrightness. The inability to negotiate ecclesial and familial relationships as well as Smith's tendency, during her latter years, to celebrate perhaps excessively her own accomplishments and her failings as an administrator are all documented with the same meticulous care as the accomplishments. If there is any weakness, it is Israel's minimal engagement with re-

search on the experience of other African-American women of the same period. If there is any bibliographic stone unturned, it is that of difficult-to-locate British and Indian sources, including periodicals like *The Christian* (London), *Tongue of Fire* (Manchester), *The Indian Witness* (Lucknow), and *The Bombay Guardian*. These suggestions are for further research and are not intended to detract from the well-written, powerful story presented by Israel. This is a truly important book for many aspects of American, British, Indian, and African cultural studies.

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FRED KNISS. *Disquiet in the Land: Cultural Conflict in American Mennonite Communities*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 257. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

For plain people who fear and eschew "the world," Mennonites and Amish have received a fair share of the scholarly world's attention in the past half century. For Mennonites, much of this has come from scholars from within the tradition, especially those associated with the monumental *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955–1990) project and the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. The result has been a wealth of studies that have illuminated Mennonite history, sociology, and culture.

Fred Kniss attempts a synthesis of this work. His argument is straightforward. Contrary to common perceptions, although pacifistic, Mennonites in the United States have since the 1870s been anything but peaceful. They have experienced dozens of quarrels over everything from fundamental doctrine to the details of plain dress. The fruit of these differences has often been schism, creating a variety of Mennonite groups all tracing their spiritual ancestry to a common source but adjusting in different ways to the modern world.

Kniss divides Mennonite history for the last 125 years into four periods. The first, from 1870 to 1906, saw many Mennonites attracted to practices in the larger evangelical religious culture of the United States, especially the use of Sunday Schools and revivalism. But, as Kniss points out, innovators justified these departures as necessary to preserve tradition; for example, Sunday Schools were needed to instruct children in Mennonite distinctiveness and prepare a new generation of leaders. In the second period, from 1906 to 1934, a more conservative group of Mennonite leaders took hold, codifying tradition and the authority of bishops and espousing positions similar to those taken by the Fundamentalist movement. Innovators, especially those influenced by Protestant modernism and the Social Gospel, found themselves marginalized. The climax came when conservatives actually closed down Goshen College in 1923–1924. In the third period, from 1934 to 1958, a new generation of leaders, particularly Harold Bender

of Goshen College and Orie O. Miller of the Mennonite Central Committee, turned the Mennonite focus outward again through participation in Civilian Public Service during World War II and relief work afterwards. Bender and Miller always appealed, however, to a distinctive Mennonite vision that traditionalists found reassuring. Since 1958, the dominant note among American Mennonites has been increasing accommodation to the world. Thus dress regulations have been relaxed, televisions and radios admitted into Mennonite homes, and ties formed with ecumenical groups. The cost has been schism in many Mennonite communities and the departure of traditionalists to form their own churches and organizations.

This story is familiar, at least, to specialists in Mennonite or sectarian history. Kniss's contribution is two-fold. First, his research is exhaustive. In an attempt to consider *every* Mennonite conflict and schism since the 1870s, he has painstakingly combed virtually every imaginable resource. Thus his generalizations are based not just on a reading of the denominational press and the correspondence of church leaders, as is often the case in the writing of religious history, but on a perspective as close to that of the local congregations as possible. Second, based on that research, Kniss provides a theoretical framework for understanding how Mennonites have found themselves in conflict and the ways in which they have resolved those conflicts. Throughout Mennonite history, Kniss sees a tension between traditionalism and communalism. Traditionalists sought to preserve the old ways with as little change as possible; thus answers to any question were to be found in the collective wisdom of past experience. Communalists, in contrast, wanted to apply elements of Mennonite belief, especially the commitment to nonviolence, to the larger world in order to create a more just society. Sometimes, as in the first and third of Kniss's periods, Mennonite leaders were able to reconcile these tensions and thus avoid major internal conflicts. In the second and fourth periods, this was not accomplished, and the result was open conflict and division.

This review can only present the broadest overview of Kniss's theoretical structure, which is far more complex and nuanced than the traditionalist/communalist conflict. For historians, that will probably prove a challenge. Kniss is a sociologist, and throughout the book he is in discourse with other sociologists, not just those of sectarian religion but those who deal with larger questions of social and communal change. That makes some sections slow going for the uninitiated, like this reviewer. Still, the book is worth the effort. Well-researched, careful in judgment, and generally persuasive, it should prove useful to all historians of American religion.

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RONALD L. LEWIS. *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in*

West Virginia, 1880–1920. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 348.

Ronald L. Lewis's work is the most important recent book on Appalachian society. Lewis uses West Virginia, the only completely Appalachian state, as a microcosm for the entire region. The timber industry is his agent of change; the rapid deforestation that came with the railroads and sawmill towns destroyed a traditional agricultural backcountry society based on forest fallowing and free-range stock raising. In its place, the mill towns offered markets for local farmers willing and able to change to more intensive, more commercial agriculture, and industrial jobs for those who could not. The timber gone, the mills moved on, leaving behind polluted streams, cutover lands subject to floods and fires, displaced industrial workers, and farmers without the resources to compete in the markets to which they were now tied.

To understand this transformation, Lewis looks first at those transformed. Rejecting stereotypes of an egalitarian preindustrial subsistence society suddenly confronted by invasive capitalism, and basing his analysis on recent Appalachian scholarship, he argues that two Appalachias coexisted: one longer settled, developed, and linked to national markets, and one—the new backcountry this study investigates—less so. But even in the backcountry, the farmers were not anti-market; rather, the lack of transportation led them to favor products that could walk to market: livestock. Well before the coming of industry, western Virginia had social stratification, absentee speculation in land, and a large landless population. The representatives of commercial towns and farm regions had long demanded legislation promoting free labor and internal improvements; the makers of the new state of West Virginia saw themselves as agents for commercial progress. Both political parties accepted development on faith. Indeed, Lewis argues, using the language of world systems theory, developed West Virginia served as a “staging area” for the penetration of the backcountry. But when railroads and extractive industries came in the 1880s, the scale of change overwhelmed forest farmers and local capitalists alike.

Outside capital dominated, and all of West Virginia became a periphery exporting natural resources to the nation's urban core. The old Virginia legal philosophy, designed to protect local agrarian interests, gave way to a system designed to limit the liability of absentee-owned railroad and timber companies; in more than twenty counties, commercial farmers and businessmen tried to move the county courts to sites on the new railroads, where their interests could thrive. The railroad and mill towns transformed their hinterlands, ending isolation, commercializing society, and advertising a new consumer style. Timber camps generated a new, highly mobile, male society, based on new technologies and new skills, with its own rules and folkways. Labor shortages drew immigrants into areas previously peopled by old-stock settlers, generating

segregation by ethnicity, literal battles to control scarce workers, suits over debt peonage, and, when locals came to the towns seeking goods or work, confrontations between newcomers and displaced farmers. Above all, the timber industry denuded the land, leaving forests of stumps, less than half of which could be recolonized and farmed; forest agriculture collapsed.

Lewis skillfully draws the large outlines of this almost catastrophic change, but he leaves many questions for future researchers to answer. By demonstrating new commitment to blooded livestock and the purchase of vast amounts of commercial fertilizer, he sketches a new style of farming in the backcountry; I would like to know more about how an already stratified farm society reacted to new conditions. Did preexisting class lines determine who could commercialize production, and who would migrate to the mill towns? Whose lands escaped deforestation; which lands could be farmed after the mills left? Did large farmers sell off their surplus forest lands and invest the money into fencing, fertilizing, “improving” the remainder? Did the old local agrarian elites survive? My criticisms of the work as it stands are few. Lewis's reliance on the world-systems model might have been more theoretically justified and its terminology used more systematically. Since most readers are likely to assume that modern West Virginia was created by the coming of the coal industry, it would be helpful to have some comparison between the impact of the timber industry and that of coal mining on the countryside. But any such comparison would have to be largely speculative; there is little literature detailing the social results of the coming of coal. For now, Lewis's book stands virtually alone.

RALPH MANN
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THOMAS W. HANCHETT. *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875–1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 380. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Because of its modest size, Charlotte, North Carolina, has often been overlooked in regional urban studies. With around 2,000 people on the eve of the Civil War, the city did not reach a population of 100,000 until 1940. But Charlotte dominated commerce in the Carolina Piedmont from the mid-nineteenth century and by the 1920s exhibited many of the essential features of a transportation and banking hub. This excellent study gives the city the attention it deserves, especially now that it has emerged as a major international financial center.

Thomas W. Hanchett chronicles Charlotte's history through the lens of its landscape and spatial profile: the shape and character of its neighborhoods, land uses, street patterns, and populations. This very useful approach takes maximum advantage of the available historical sources and permits comparison with other

cities in the context of general urban development trends.

Charlotte's early rail connections gave it significant commercial advantages in the rich agricultural interior of North and South Carolina. These advantages were actually advanced during the Civil War and its aftermath, since Charlotte emerged unscathed, although it could never overcome Atlanta's superior rail connections with the Midwest. The growth of the textile industry especially fueled the city's growth between 1880 and 1930 and transformed its society and economy in the process.

Charlotte's growth was framed in the early years by a grid system periodically expanded by community leaders to insure continuity with existing street patterns. Typical preindustrial land uses prevailed, with work and residence and people of different races and economic status clustered together. New textile industries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries begin to erode these patterns by establishing distinct working-class neighborhoods near the mills. But Dilworth, the city's first streetcar suburb, was still organized as an extension of the existing grid system and was even designed with a section for black residents.

The political upheaval of the 1890s further disrupted these patterns and relationships by challenging the dominance of business elites, who reacted by using race to undermine the Populist coalition and disfranchisement, enacted into the state constitution in 1900, to limit its effects far into the future. These developments led the city's leaders to reassert their control in more explicit ways and to "recreate their town in a modern urban image, abandoning old-fashioned salt-and-pepper intermingling in favor of a city sorted out into a patchwork quilt of separate neighborhoods for blue-collar whites, for blacks, and for the 'better classes'" (p. 88). In particular, a strict separation of the races was the intent and effect of new Jim Crow laws that increasingly shaped interactions of blacks and whites. New white subdivisions—the most notable of which was Myers Park in 1911, designed by planner John Nolen—were set apart from the city through street layout and restrictive deed covenants. At the same time, Charlotte's downtown was growing rapidly in size and separating into distinct districts. From 1929 until 1977, the city was governed by a city manager and council elected at large and committed primarily to efficiency and a supportive business climate.

After 1930, the sorting out trends would continue with a vengeance, "finally splitting the city into pie-shaped wedges defined by race and income" (p. 224). These patterns were encouraged by federal government policies, which shaped the city's reorganization—and patterns of public and private investment and disinvestment—more than any other factors in the 1930s and beyond. Charlotte's commercial-civic elite were quick to take advantage of many New Deal programs, from urban renewal to accelerated depreci-

ation for new construction, once they recognized their potential for private development.

This book is meticulously researched and illuminates our understanding of southern and American urban history through a persuasive and original analysis of Charlotte. Hanchett makes too much of the uniqueness of the shift from "salt-and-pepper" to "patchwork quilt" residential patterns, since most American cities experienced the same transition. He draws attention to an important relationship, however: diverse residential patterns and spatial proximity became threatening to the elites only when other social controls were challenged or undermined. He perhaps exaggerates the distinctively "southern" character of Charlotte's development, although certain regional realities do pertain, such as a biracial rather than multi-ethnic population. And the city's history after 1950 is barely touched on. But on the whole, the coverage is good. Hanchett's judgments are thoughtful and well-supported, and the result is a most worthwhile addition to the literature on the urban South.

BLAINE A. BROWNELL
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LYNETTE BONEY WRENN. *Crisis and Commission Government in Memphis: Elite Rule in a Gilded Age City*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1998. Pp. xxiii, 231. \$38.00.

Lynette Boney Wrenn's study of Memphis politics during the Gilded Age is a welcome addition to the historiography on the urban South. Memphis is one of several cities in the region whose histories have not yet received adequate attention from scholars. There are an old-fashioned biography of Memphis by Gerald M. Capers, an analysis of the city's politics during the Progressive era by William D. Miller, and not much else. Wrenn has thus filled a noticeable gap.

Wrenn's book focuses on Memphis politics from 1879, when the city surrendered its charter to the state legislature, to 1893 when "home rule" was restored. Drawing on historical studies of community power, Wrenn raises questions about the role that elites played in governing Memphis during that period. Her methodological approach most closely resembles that of Carl V. Harris's *Political Power in Birmingham* (1977). Wrenn is also interested in the evolution of the city commission form of municipal government. Most American historians know that Galveston, Texas, adopted a commission government in 1901 after a devastating hurricane, but they probably are not aware that Memphis, Mobile, Shreveport, New Orleans, and several other southern cities did the same thing much earlier. Wrenn explores thoroughly the causes and impact of the transition from mayor-city council to commission government in Memphis.

The yellow fever epidemics that raged in Memphis between 1873 and 1879 were the driving force behind the changes in both the city's political leadership and the structure of its municipal government. Before the

scourge receded for unknown reasons, yellow fever claimed more than 8,000 lives in Memphis. City Hall was unable to cope with the disaster. Its financial impotence was partially due to debt accrued from lavish public funding of railroads and other entrepreneurial projects during the antebellum and Reconstruction periods. In the wake of the yellow fever cataclysm, some of the same business leaders who instigated those projects called for "retrenchment and reform."

Their desire to cut municipal expenditures was also fueled by the national depression that began in 1873. In addition to pruning the city's expenditures, the goals of Memphis's Gilded Age "reformers"—much like their successors during the Progressive period—were to streamline and centralize municipal government, rid it of the corruption deemed typical of ward-based politics, and facilitate the takeover of the reins of municipal power by the business elite. Memphis's nineteenth-century reformers were just like their counterparts elsewhere, except that they took the extreme step of abolishing altogether Memphis's earlier form of government and even the city's name, which was not formally restored to the city by the legislature until 1891. From 1879 until 1893, Memphis's government was known simply as the "Taxing District of Shelby County."

Wrenn's findings about Memphis are very similar to Harris's about political power in Birmingham. Between 1879 and 1898, according to Wrenn, fifty-seven percent of Memphis's municipal officeholders belonged to the city's wealthiest business leaders; between 1860 and 1878, only eleven percent did. The men who ran Memphis's government during the 1880s and early 1890s kept taxes low and underfunded municipal services like street illumination, street paving, and public education to the detriment especially of the city's poorer citizens. Because of anxiety about what another yellow fever epidemic might do to the local economy, the city's business/political elite emphasized sewer construction, assuming erroneously that good sewers would prevent another outbreak. But even with what they considered Memphis's most pressing need, speedy completion of a sewer system, they chose a cheap design that, in the end, proved inadequate.

Wrenn has some interesting speculations about why Memphis's early adoption of commission government has not received much attention from scholars. Perhaps, she suggests, the attitudes of late nineteenth and twentieth-century observers had unfortunate legacies that contributed to scholarly indifference about Memphis's experiment with commission government. According to Wrenn, because of the widespread but mistaken belief that the city's abandonment of its charter involved a total repudiation of its debt, Memphis's conversion to commission government was not regarded as a positive achievement by outsiders. Moreover, many of the municipal reform organizations at the turn of the century were based in the Northeast,

and their members had little knowledge of or interest in southern cities.

Neither Wrenn's findings about commission government nor her analysis of political power in Memphis break any new methodological ground. But she argues her case well in a lucidly written, well-organized book. It ought to find a wide audience among students of southern urban history and American municipal politics during the Gilded Age and Progressive era alike.

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SAMUEL C. HYDE, JR. *Pistols and Politics: The Dilemma of Democracy in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810–1899*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 288. \$34.95.

The violent feuding that plagued the Louisiana parishes north of New Orleans in the 1890s first captured Samuel C. Hyde, Jr.'s attention, but searching for the roots of that violence drew him back through almost the entire nineteenth century. Hyde's exploration revealed a persistent pattern of tension and mistrust between plain folk and planters shaped, in large part, by the geographic division of the "Florida" parishes into eastern piney-wood regions and western plantation districts along the Mississippi River. During the antebellum period, the economic and political power of the planter elite muted overt expressions of that tension, but that dominance unraveled in the wake of the Civil War. The planter elite were never able to regain the allegiance of the common folk after Reconstruction, leading to political disorder. Hyde argues that the deadly feuding of the late nineteenth century was the natural outcome of a "society long repressed and suddenly unfettered" (p. 15). This book is a carefully researched investigation into the dissolution of political control wrought by the upheaval of war and Reconstruction.

Hyde's book can be divided into three parts: the society "repressed"; the society in war; and the society "unfettered." After briefly considering the political and social turmoil that followed the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, Hyde details the ways in which the planter elite stabilized the region and undermined economic and political democracy. With the expansion of cotton and rice cultivation into portions of the piney woods in the 1820s and 1830s, yeomen accustomed to traditions of independence became increasingly dependent on the planter class. For example, wealthy planters used their political power both to stymie the development of public transportation and to garner lucrative private charters for ferries, roads, and bridges, effectively monopolizing access to markets. The political dominance of the elite grew out of a deferential political culture and a state constitution that inhibited popular electoral participation. When a "Jacksonian" insurgency belatedly stirred the political waters of Louisiana in the mid-1840s, resulting in a

more democratic constitution, conservative elites countered with a constitution in 1852 that expanded their political power by including slave population in apportionment. Hyde also argues that elites successfully scapegoated outside enemies, from the Creoles of the territorial period to the abolitionists and Republicans of the 1850s, to divert plain-folk hostility. While that point seems plausible, Hyde offers very little evidence or analysis to bolster his claim.

The Civil War and Reconstruction destroyed both the stability and the planters' dominance of the antebellum years. Guerilla warfare blurred the lines between soldier and citizen, providing residents of southeastern Louisiana with an "education in violence" (p. 15). That lesson continued after the war as elites, seeking a restoration of racial dominance and political control, brought terror to freedmen and white Republicans through the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camellia and persistently accused the Reconstruction government of corruption. Although those efforts contributed to the collapse of Republican rule, they did not bring stability to the region. Instead, Hyde argues, the planters became "victims of their own success" (p. 180) as piney-wood citizens who were increasingly contemptuous of all governmental authority rejected the guidance of the old elite. Even more ominous for the region, the war and Reconstruction left many convinced that violence was a legitimate and effective tool in settling political disputes. Here, then, lay the foundation of the bloody feuds of the late nineteenth century, as competing factions resorted to bushwacking and terror to gain ascendancy.

Hyde is adept at tracing political developments and makes a compelling argument for the centrality of political disorder in the region's violence. But he is less convincing when addressing the culture of violence among piney-wood yeomen. His argument that feuding reflected "a perverted understanding of the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian concepts of independence and honor" (p. 228) among yeomen is intriguing but almost completely unsubstantiated. Hyde too often resorts to cursory references to the people's honor, independence, and republicanism, terms that are too broad and vague to stand alone without explication. Still, his book is an important contribution to the history of a particularly fascinating form of southern politics and violence.

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CINDY HAHAMOVITCH, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 287. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This study of migrant farm workers in East Coast agriculture delivers more than its title promises. Cindy Hahamovitch has not only redeemed from obscurity

the immigrant and black workers who harvested vegetables in a region extending from New Jersey to Florida but also revealed the active role played by the U.S. government in ensuring an oversupply of labor. Along the Atlantic Coast, as in California, migrant farm workers have been ill-paid, ill-housed, and ill-fed, often earning just enough from their labor to enable them to move on to the next job. Growers' dependence on transient laborers to harvest perishable crops placed workers in a position of strength for one crucial moment, but farm workers' efforts at organizing were undermined by growers' ability to replace them at a moment's notice. The oversupply of labor thus depressed wages directly, through the market, and indirectly, by undermining the bargaining power that workers might exert through collective action.

Hahamovitch outlines a "Southern" model of labor control in agriculture that prevailed all along the Atlantic Coast, which was based primarily on racial coercion: "East Coast farmworkers were mostly African American (although Italians in New Jersey got more press), and eastern growers . . . chased labor recruiters out of their communities, used vagrancy laws to keep workers in the fields, invented a wartime work-or-fight campaign reminiscent of Confederate Army labor drafts, used tar and feathers on occasion, and even sponsored a cross burning in New Jersey" (p. 200). During World War II, when many African-American workers had been absorbed by industry rather than remaining trapped in debt peonage and seasonal wage labor, growers shifted to a "Western" model of labor control, substituting one ethnic group for another as each undertook collective action and pitting one group of migrants against another to hold wages down. Japanese Americans released from the internment camps, German prisoners of war, Bahamians and Jamaicans brought by the Labor Importation Program, and Mexicans with and without papers all toiled in the fields by the day and for the season, disfranchised by their lack of citizenship rights and disciplined by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In the Atlantic region, as in the Pacific, conditions "are dismal because the federal government intervened on behalf of growers, undermining farmworkers' bargaining power and relieving growers of the need to recruit labor by improving wages and conditions" (p. 203). Federal policy amounted to much more than farm workers' exclusion from the provisions of the Wagner Act. And government intervention began long before World War II, with the efforts of the Progressive-era United States Industrial Commission to channel immigrants into agriculture. Bureaucrats' inability to match the labor supply with growers' needs, coupled with growers' resistance to officials' attempts to guarantee minimal standards of pay and housing, vitiated such programs from the start. The state was not monolithic, however; during World War I, the U.S. Department of Labor tried to entice rather than compel workers into the fields, while the U.S. Depart-

ment of Agriculture (USDA) allowed growers to employ work-or-fight laws and terrorist tactics to force black people back into harvest labor gangs. A similar (and better-known) conflict between government agencies occurred during the Depression, when the Farm Security Administration established migrant labor camps that enabled workers to organize while the USDA, responding to the American Farm Bureau Federation, promoted the importation of foreign laborers. Serving as "padrone" was beyond the capacity of government agencies; "once federal officials delivered farmworkers into the hands of farm employers, they could not see to their welfare" (p. 190). The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union supplied labor to New Jersey growers during and after the war and supported a successful strike at Starkey Farms in Pennsylvania, demonstrating the ability of a militant labor movement to protect farm workers by controlling both the labor supply and conditions of work. But Public Law 76, enacted in 1947, extended the Labor Importation Program and banned "collective bargaining agreements between farm workers placed by a government agency and their employers." As Ernesto Galarza and his compatriots discovered in California, only a change in national policy will create the conditions necessary to enable farm workers to organize and act collectively.

GREY OSTERUD
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DAVID C. MAUK. *The Colony that Rose from the Sea: Norwegian Maritime Migration and Community in Brooklyn, 1850-1910*. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association; distributed by the University of Illinois Press, Champaign, Ill. 1997. Pp. xiii, 272. \$44.95.

The Norwegians, concentrated primarily in the Upper Midwest, are considered the most rural of American immigrant groups, and Norwegian-American scholarship has traditionally concerned itself mainly with their farming settlements. Still, although by 1910 some forty percent of them lived in cities, only recently has their urban history attracted much attention, beginning with Odd S. Lovoll's *A Century of Urban Life: The Norwegians in Chicago before 1930* (1988).

David C. Mauk here presents the second such study, this time of the Norwegians in Brooklyn, who came to comprise the largest urban concentration of their people outside Norway (p. x). Mauk soon discovered that his research required investigation of an important but hitherto neglected type of migration: that of maritime populations. He thus provides a new paradigm for seafarers' colonies scattered throughout the world.

Brooklyn's Norwegian settlement, centered in Red Hook near the Atlantic Docks and Ship Basin, was above all characterized by the extreme mobility of its long and short-term inhabitants, who, in Mauk's words, "literally floated in and out of the colony" (p.

215). These ran the gamut from sailors on shore leave, many of them frequent visitors, to those whose contracts ran out there or who simply jumped ship, usually to sign onto American or other foreign vessels, to those who "went on land," took up new occupations, married or sent for their families, and settled down. The numbers of Norwegians in the settlement at any given time always exceeded what the official statistics could record. Until the mid-1880s, transient seamen far outnumbered the settled Norwegian population.

Red Hook likewise provides a relatively late, urban example of point-to-point Norwegian migration, analogous to the earlier rural migration analyzed by Jon Gjerde in *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (1985). From the 1850s, the small seaports on Norway's south coast—the Agder and Rogaland districts—had thrived by building and manning wooden sailing ships for world commerce, with New York as their frequent destination. By the later 1870s, sailing vessels came under increasing competition from steamships. To keep down costs, Norwegian mariners, mainly from the south coast, were often forced to sail in unseaworthy vessels with hazardous cargoes (leading to the highest losses at sea among maritime nations during the 1880s), under miserable living conditions, and were paid only about half of American seamen's wages. Large numbers shipped out under foreign flags or emigrated for good, above all to Brooklyn. By the 1890s, Norway's south coast had become its area of heaviest emigration, while the American merchant marine was largely manned by Norwegian sailors.

Joined by Norwegian immigrants from Manhattan, the settled Norwegian population in Brooklyn outnumbered the transient element by the late 1880s and continued to grow. Although Red Hook was the center, Brooklyn's employed Norwegians most often worked elsewhere, afloat or in construction, while female domestics were found in more affluent parts of the city.

Brooklyn's Norwegians exemplify community formation in a distinctively maritime settlement. Red Hook's earliest institutions, in the 1870s—the Norwegian Seamen's Church, Deaconess Hospital, and Sailor's Home—were established for transient mariners by "emissary leaders" sent out from Norway and supported by the Norwegian-Swedish consul and an elite circle of shipping agents in Manhattan. These institutions strove valiantly against the iniquities of Red Hook's notorious "sailortown" but became increasingly dependent on support from the settled immigrants. During the 1880s, this anomalous situation led to heated controversies over the purposes and control of these institutions, in which old-country prejudices against the social elite played their part. By 1890, the original emissary leaders returned to Norway and numerous new Norwegian-American organizations at last took the lead in the community. Mauk presents a vivid picture of life in Norwegian Red Hook at its height, around the turn of the century.

In its geographical and occupational origins, its east coast, urban setting, its exceptionally mobile population, and the direct involvement of the homeland in its institutions, Brooklyn's Norwegian colony stands in striking contrast to the midwestern Norwegian heartland, which often regarded it with suspicion, if not ill will. This study reminds us that there could be widely differing types of migration and migrants from the same homeland, depending upon time, place, and circumstance.

Mauk has given us an innovative and thought-provoking work, again vindicating the Norwegian-American Historical Association's place in the forefront of migration and ethnic research.

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DOROTHY M. BROWN and ELIZABETH McKEOWN. *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. PP. viii, 284. \$45.00.

When future historians regard the Republican Congress elected in 1994, they may count its dismantling of welfare programs initiated by the New Deal as a tragic reversal in American social legislation. Once again, women, the poor, and the young have been victimized by the political seesaw that has characterized the relations between private charity and the capitalist state.

Since 1865, Catholic charities have adapted to such challenges yet have remained admirably consistent in their advocacy for the poor, a position assailed by the conservatives presiding over the welfare funding cuts of the 1990s. Ironically, while the umbrella organization, Catholic Charities USA, now represents the largest coalition of private social care, the majority of its current clients—homeless, immigrant, and refugee—are not Catholic.

Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown evaluate the relatively undocumented role of the Catholic Church in building a national network of voluntary charitable institutions between the Gilded Age and the New Deal. Insisting that charity address spiritual as well as material needs, agencies such as the National Conference of Catholic Charities, founded in 1910, attempted to influence public policy accordingly. Gradually, Catholic efforts have been superseded or supplemented by state-run social welfare that was created as a consequence of the Depression's mass unemployment and bank failures. In some cities, Catholic staffs and volunteers were simply folded into public efforts. Elsewhere, Catholic charities remained independent of community chest funds, but, nearly everywhere, they were obliged to accept city or state, if not federal, relief.

The paradox underlying the church's charitable agencies has been its resistance to secularization coupled with "its simultaneous and deliberate accommo-

dation to the emergence of the modern welfare state" (p. 197). This ambiguity was especially apparent in New York City, where Gilded Age ethno-religious connections between Catholic leadership and Democrats in Tammany Hall endured through the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. The Depression spawned multiple Catholic strategies, most concerned to preserve the faith of dependent children and to spread social teaching about the right to a living wage. Otherwise, despite rhetoric to the contrary, Catholics did adopt "outsider" tactics: they joined the tendencies toward the scientific engineering of social work, the professionalization of the social worker, and the centralization of charities. They also fell prey to muckraking journalism that targeted Catholic orphanages and asylums. Traditionally, Catholic social work has meant child-care institutions operated primarily by nuns and sisters. Often, their wards were not orphans but children of parents who could not afford to raise them. Catholic laywomen contributed valuable service here, first as volunteers and, after 1912, as graduates of social work curricula initiated at several Jesuit colleges and universities.

Nativists were quick to accuse Catholics of ineptitude or graft when it came to managing children, the poor, or public funds. Charges such as "orphans and pigs fed from the same bowl" became common, if unsubstantiated, tidbits for tabloids. In some cases, the criticisms were warranted, as with the oversized "congregate" houses for Catholic children that served as the major alternative to foster homes. In 1919, the Pittsburgh Survey found that one local institution housed nearly 900 orphans who were fed and clothed but otherwise woefully undernourished in their emotional and moral lives. To correct such abuses, the church instituted reforms, notably those derived from the study by John Cooper of Catholic University of more than eighty Catholic child-care institutions in the 1920s.

The book is scrupulously researched and documented, succinctly stated, and argued by means of statistical and qualitative data. Relying on diocesan and convent archives, Catholic college and university collections, and oral histories, sources favor the eastern third of the United States. Discussion of key conflicts highlight urban settings where Catholic orphanages, reformatories, and foster homes flourished. Analysis of transitional moments such as the New York Charities controversy of 1916, the creation of day nurseries for working mothers during World War I, and New Deal legislation that created the welfare state suggests how religious charities have been forced to expand their services and question their guiding principles during social and economic crises. This book complements existing studies of Catholic hospitals, philanthropy, and schools and enhances an existing literature about maternalism and the state that has been dominated traditionally by studies of Protestants and Progressives (Eileen Boris, Linda Gordon, Molly Ladd-Taylor, Gwendolyn Mink, Theda Skocpol).

Within this context, the authors could further probe their claim that Catholic social policy was "grounded in class not gender" (p. 178).

Once Catholics prospered in the 1950s and migrated to the suburbs, giving and volunteering declined dramatically. Although Catholic commitment to charity endures, one wonders, with fewer donors and volunteers, declining sisterhoods, and meaner federal and state policies, who will be left to claim the poor?

PAULA KANE
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DANIEL SOYER. *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. 291. \$39.95.

American immigrant history has often revolved around basic questions concerning the balance between retention of ethnic culture and adaptation to American norms. Whereas a previous generation of scholars stressed the disruption of migration and the pressure of assimilation, more recent historical works emphasize the ways that immigrants adjusted to American life on their own terms, using the blueprints of their particular cultures and institutions.

Into the mix of these newer trends in immigrant historiography comes Daniel Soyer's thorough analysis of immigrant associations in New York's Jewish community. In a carefully researched and highly readable account, Soyer presents a detailed discussion of Jewish *landsmanshaftn* (hometown associations) from their origins in East European Jewish communities to their development and transformation in New York City during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Soyer's examination of New York's *landsmanshaftn* demonstrates convincingly that the maintenance of these distinct ethnic associations not only coexisted with but actually facilitated immigrant acculturation. During the early twentieth century, New York Jews created thousands of *landsmanshaft* organizations, with a collective membership in the hundreds of thousands. *Landsmanshaftn* provided a foundation for communal life, offering religious services, mutual aid, sick and death benefits, and insurance, as well as a host of social, cultural, and recreational activities. Far from being nostalgic, backward-looking associations, *landsmanshaftn* focused most of their energies on helping immigrants adjust to American life. To be sure, concern for their European homelands remained a constant preoccupation of members, expressed primarily through fundraising efforts that regularly sent money to their hometowns. Yet, the activities and programs of *landsmanshaftn* were principally directed toward the needs of Jewish immigrants in the United States, addressing practical economic and social issues and reflecting the cultural and political interests of an immigrant generation.

Soyer offers a cogent account of the ways that *landsmanshaftn* blended the ethnic traditions that had long been part of East European Jewish associational

life with the norms and symbols of American fraternal organizations. Pamphlets, constitutions, and rituals reflected an amalgam of Jewish practices and images mixed with rites and emblems of non-Jewish fraternal orders. The blending of ethnic distinctiveness with American mores was more than mere symbolism. *Landsmanshaftn* offered an economic safety net for members of the Jewish community through insurance and mutual benefit programs, but, as they did so, they stressed American values of self-reliance and the male breadwinner ethic. (The majority of members were men, although women often participated in organizational activities, formed their own auxiliary societies, and, in some cases, became members in their own right.) In providing financial support, which sometimes even included hiring society physicians to tend to the needs of all members, *landsmanshaftn* eased the transitions of immigrant adjustment. At the same time, immigrant societies transposed the values of American culture into the key of Jewish self-help, sustaining a rich ethnic associational life designed for an acculturating immigrant population.

Landsmanshaftn reflected the internal diversity and complexity of the immigrant Jewish community. Societies varied widely according to regional, political, and religious differences. They were enormously successful as grass-roots organizations, offering not only mutual self-help but also social events, balls, and cultural productions that lent vibrancy and vitality to Jewish communal life. A few societies expanded their interests to larger communal endeavors, including, for example, establishing one of the first Jewish hospitals. In the arena of politics, Soyer offers an important corrective to the standard interpretation by historians, who generally concluded that *landsmanshaftn* remained aloof from labor organizing and strikes; he describes a more complex process at work. Labor issues often divided societies across class lines, but sometimes members used the imperative of shared heritage as "moral and material ammunition against the bosses" (p. 132).

Soyer offers a detailed sketch of the vast array of activities sponsored by *landsmanshaftn*, but he limits his discussion to New York City. In fairness, Soyer has good reason to confine his study to New York, given its unparalleled status as a center of Jewish population and culture during the immigrant period. Nonetheless, it might be instructive to discover if *landsmanshaftn* in other cities with sizable Jewish communities, such as Chicago or Philadelphia, shared some of the same traits that Soyer describes in New York.

Soyer carries his story through the World War I era, when *landsmanshaftn* worked furiously to raise money to send abroad and dispatched delegates to their hometowns to aid in postwar relief efforts. It was after the war, with the destruction of many European towns and the drastic reduction in immigration to the United States, that *landsmanshaftn* began to become increasingly nostalgic in orientation. As the immigrant generation aged and their hometowns receded further into

memory, members grew more interested in recalling and reconstructing their places of origin through memorial programs and publications.

Landsmanshaftn were, for the most part, a one-generational phenomenon. Although societies survived the immigrant era, they attracted a steadily declining membership in the second generation. *Landsmanshaftn* were most vibrant in the early decades of the twentieth century, and Soyer has offered the first detailed account of their complex and multi-dimensional role within the immigrant Jewish community. For a generation of Jewish immigrants, these societies were both the foundation for a thriving and cohesive ethnic community and an initiation into "the culture of democratic citizenship and ideals" (p. 205).

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STUART SVONKIN. *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 364. \$32.50.

This is an intelligent and meticulously researched study of the organized Jewish community's campaign for civil rights, civil liberties, and improved intergroup relations, focusing mainly on the postwar social philosophies and activities of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the American Jewish Congress (AJCongress). It is, in Stuart Svonkin's words, a "double-barreled historical analysis" that carefully analyzes the social-scientific research of Jewish leaders and agencies and the programs created by those agencies. Though Svonkin never says so explicitly, it is also another attempt at understanding and assessing the modern Jewish-American proclivity for liberal politics.

Svonkin immediately credits Jewish organizations with having played the leading role in defining the tactics and objectives of the intergroup relations movement and having made, more than any other ethnic or religious group, "vital contributions to the advancement of political liberalism and civil rights, [and] to the development of strategies for combating prejudice and discrimination" (p. 2). Svonkin recognizes a healthy dose of self-interest on the part of the Jewish agencies, who sought a meaningful role in American society, whose fight against prejudice was also a way of formulating an ethnic identity for a Jewish-American community growing distant from its immigrant roots, and whose work to modify prejudiced attitudes and to eliminate discriminatory practices against minorities would be greatly beneficial to Jews; but he does not go as far as historians Hasia Diner and David Levering Lewis in implying that narrow "selfishness" was the primary motivation for Jewish involvement in civil rights activities in postwar America.

Among the other things that Svonkin's book does best is to show that in the 1940s, and especially after the publication of Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myr-

dal's *An American Dilemma* (1944), many social-psychologists, and therefore many intergroup relations practitioners, increasingly saw prejudice as a psychological disorder. And while "education" and information dissemination remained goals of the Jewish organizations in the postwar period, there was decreased attention to "modifying attitudes" and more emphasis on eliminating discriminatory practices. Even more important, he makes a credible case that emphasis on psychological roots of prejudice led to general depreciation and neglect of the socioeconomic and political interests that divided groups.

But even Svonkin's own evidence suggests that the material and political components of prejudice were not entirely rejected by the Jewish intergroup relations movement. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, for example, found that "psychological anxiety" was a product of an excessively competitive socioeconomic system, and reasoned that the expansion of the welfare state would result in better relations between groups. That prejudice and discrimination could be eliminated, or at least ameliorated, by extending the social safety net was an idea that many Jews, strong supporters of the New Deal, embraced. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, however, New Deal liberalism was under attack, and when Jewish organizations including the AJC, ADL, and AJCongress championed social welfare state ideas in their programs and their public service films, the ideas were condemned as manifestations of "communism."

Svonkin says that as the Jewish organizations "adjusted to the new political terrain of the domestic cold war" they "abandoned socioeconomic explanations of inequality in favor of the assumption that problems of prejudice and discrimination could be solved within the context of existing political and economic relations" (p. 177). If this means that Jews were moving away from socialism and from promoting the radical restructuring of society, there is no argument with Svonkin's statement. But there is much evidence of continued Jewish political and social liberalism right up to and through the 1990s, suggesting that his stark conclusion is overstated. Svonkin himself admits that after the war, when Jewish organizations shifted from a strictly defense-oriented posture to the longer range task of education in human relations, "AJC, ADL, and AJCongress leaders redefined Jewish interests in universal terms and committed themselves to the creation of a more pluralistic and egalitarian society" (p. 17). And he also argues that one of the reasons Jewish agencies joined in the "anti-communism" of the Cold War period was to break the stereotyped link of Jews with communism, so that they could continue to promote progressive social action and safety-net programs without being accused of "pro-communist leanings."

Still, Svonkin does a service here in offering a fresh post-Cold War look at Jewish anticommunism in the 1950s and 1960s, a serious lapse in Jewish dedication to civil liberties. While the leaders of the AJCongress

refused to ally themselves with the reactionary forces of anticommunism and concentrated instead on affirming and extending American freedoms, the leaders of the ADL and AJC were pushed into emphasizing anticommunism over civil liberties. Even the AJCongress eventually went along with rooting out communism from within its ranks and from within the Jewish community generally, leading Svonkin to conclude that "Jewish intergroup relations agencies came to accept the central tenet of cold war liberalism: that communism was a criminal conspiracy rather than a legitimate, if unpopular, political ideology" (p. 162).

Perhaps it is unfair to ask a book that focuses on agencies to tell us more about the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary Jewish women and men, but it would put Svonkin's arguments in a somewhat different perspective to know, for example, that large numbers of Jews mobilized against Joseph McCarthy while the agencies maintained a discreet silence; or to know that in a survey of Jews in the 1950s, sixty-seven percent of the respondents answered the question "What is a good Jew?" by saying "someone who supports all humanitarian causes," or "someone who is liberal on political and economic issues"; and that in other surveys while some thought being a good Jew meant supporting Israel, twice as many thought it meant supporting the "Negro struggle." What Svonkin has done, however, in addition to providing a thorough and perceptive study of the Jewish civil rights agencies, is to show that disproportionate Jewish liberalism was a product not simply of a secularized prophetic tradition but of a complex cluster of motives including sincere idealism; the desire to maintain an ethnic Jewish identity while developing a meaningful American identity and role; and a self-interest which recognized that the creation of a society that protects minorities from oppression also protects Jews.

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FRANK HINDMAN GOLAY. *Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898-1946*. (University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Southeast Asian Studies Monograph, number 14.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 549. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$27.95.

In many ways, this is an old-fashioned book. To begin with, it provides a detailed description and review of American colonial policy in the Philippines. Histories starting with Charles Burke Elliott's *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (1917) have treated this subject in this manner. As do others, Frank Hindman Golay commences his story on the eve of the Spanish-American War, proceeds to the Philippine phase of that war, and then treats the colonial administration of the succeeding decades. Along the way, he follows the standard periodization of colonialism: the Taft era from 1901 to 1913, the Democratic years from 1913 to 1921, the Republican 1920s, the period of

gaining autonomy from 1931 to 1935, and the Commonwealth and war years.

In another fashion, this work follows tradition in stressing political and administrative history. Golay puts strong emphasis on colonial policy and practice and concentrates on the highest levels of decision-making in Washington and Manila. The narrative centers on legislative matters, and the author provides a lengthy blow-by-blow account of the annual course of bills as they journeyed through Congress and the colonial legislatures. The main characters in the work are the creators of policy, such individuals as William McKinley, William Howard Taft, Senator Millard Tydings, and Representative Jasper Bell. Golay also treats in detail those who served in the Philippines but exerted a strong impact, such as W. Cameron Forbes, Francis Burton Harrison, Leonard Wood, Douglas MacArthur, and Paul McNutt. What we learn of these individuals relates to why and how they affected colonial policy. The Filipinos who feature in the story are only those like Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Luis Quezon, and Manuel Roxas, who interacted most with the Americans in order to influence policy.

A result of this emphasis is that one learns little of indigenous Philippine history. Thus, here the era from 1900 to 1909 concerns the tariff struggle in Washington, which ended in free trade between the Philippines and the United States. What receives scant notice is the fact that the period was marked by an agricultural depression in the Philippines that had serious economic and social consequences for the native population.

A third way this work is very traditional is in its reliance on government documents, almost exclusively American, to tell the story. The *Congressional Record*, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, the annual reports of the chief colonial administrators, the papers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, private papers of involved Americans, and some U.S. newspapers provide the bulk of the data. Surprisingly, such useful collections as the papers of Quezon and Roxas were not examined. Indeed, judging from the footnotes, this is a work that could have been researched entirely in the United States. What should be said, however, is that few have delved into those materials as perceptively as Golay has, for he knows the Philippines well.

Within the context of much that is traditional, there are some innovations. In the narrative, the author has piled detail upon detail to make the picture more complete and his conclusions more convincing. For example, at the beginning, Golay traces American imperialism back as far as the Mexican War to show that McKinley's policy was in keeping with the American tradition of expanding its influence. And again, Golay comes closer than have others to explaining how MacArthur influenced the resolution of the issue of Filipino collaboration with the Japanese. He thus explains the politics of colonial administration in a more complete manner, demonstrating how American legislators looked after their own constituencies and

how Filipinos learned from their mentors to play the same game.

Golay is critical of American colonial policy. He asserts throughout that colonial policy makers and officials were self-serving and that the net effect worked to the detriment of the Philippine economy and democratic institutions. He sees specific consequences of American officials affecting the way government developed in the Philippines. For example, he posits that when Forbes served as governor general, he demonstrated by his actions the value of centralizing executive power firmly, even excessively, in the hands of the chief executive. Later Philippine presidents developed this pattern into a very authoritarian system. Elsewhere, trade policy and postwar rehabilitation assistance were arranged to keep the Philippines dependent politically and economically on America. None of this is new, but the depth of the analysis and the consistency of the criticism make the case more strongly than has been accomplished in previous, more self-congratulatory works.

The book is a long, hard read. The amount of detail, especially on legislation, is sometime onerous. Golay became ill before he had the opportunity to do a good revision of the text. He might well have eliminated some of the material and the repetitiveness that mars the narrative in places. Those entrusted with the editing did noble duty to put the footnotes in order, but they did not redo the text. The bibliography merely lists Golay's other publications. This is a work for Philippine specialists and diplomatic historians who can take into account its limitations.

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MILTON C. SERNETT. *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration*. (The C. Eric Lincoln Series on the Black Experience.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 345. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

The great migration of African Americans to northern cities that began just before World War I was far more important than its magnitude might suggest. To be sure, many more blacks remained in the South than left it. Nonetheless, persistent divisions of race and class in urban areas had their origins in this internal migration that continued into the 1930s. Although scholars have examined the migration's socioeconomic dimensions, less attention has been paid to its religious significance or, most importantly, to the roles played by African-American churches, long acknowledged as the institutional fulcrum of black life.

Milton C. Sernett's rich and wide-ranging book attempts to fill this conspicuous gap. The bipartite organization of the book reflects his two-fold argument. His first point is that participants experienced the migration as a religious event. While economic variables may have been crucial precipitating factors,

Sernett argues that African Americans, caught in a hostile environment and battling the psychological and physical onslaught of white violence, invested the migration with religious meaning. Drawing on a rich history of biblical interpretation, blacks rebelled against southern economic and political conditions in a way that resonated with earlier responses to enslavement: they saw the "exodus" as the latest chapter in an ongoing salvation history. Efforts by white southerners to staunch the flow by detaining or even arresting suspected migrants validated the belief that blacks were still in Egyptian bondage and confirmed that the only appropriate response was a pilgrimage out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land.

Yet if religion fueled the surge northward, black churches were not necessarily prepared to embrace what spiritual fervor wrought. Sernett's second claim is that the migration, in turn, fundamentally transformed African-American church life in both the North and the South and ushered in the modern era of black religious life. Painful, halting, and often inadequate to meet the spiritual and material needs of migrating church members, this transformation shifted the attention of black Protestant denominations and many leading clergy from the "traditional" concerns of charity and individual sinfulness, derived from rural and small-town southern religious models, to the "instrumental" necessities of feeding, housing, and employing new arrivals in urban areas that lacked black institutional support.

Sernett provides multiple angles of vision on black church responses to migration. At the national level, historically black denominations, short of financial resources and plagued by infighting, had spent the previous half century building a religious infrastructure in the South. Faced suddenly with the twin problems of newly depleted southern churches and overwhelming need in northern cities, black clergy had little awareness of the distinctive material, organizational, and intellectual demands of urban ministry. Cities like Cleveland and Detroit that lacked black institutional infrastructures were especially ill-equipped to handle the thousands of new arrivals. Gradually, visionary leaders such as Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., in Harlem and Lacey Kirk Williams in Chicago threw off the objections of traditionalist counterparts and converted their churches into social service centers, in which they fed, clothed, housed, and trained migrants for jobs.

Sernett traces local religious transformations in a chapter on Chicago, where African-American migration prompted a counter-movement of whites out of the South Side. In turn, he demonstrates, the religious landscape diversified dramatically: mainline black Protestants bought large edifices from fleeing whites, storefront churches arose in predominantly black neighborhoods, and a wide variety of "religious entrepreneurs" (p. 164) operated outside of traditional denominations. But the real story, he maintains, despite the scholarly attention paid to religiously exotic

groups on the margins of Christian orthodoxy, is that of the "growth and transformation of the mainline Protestant traditions" (p. 162). In the "boom time" (p. 184) of the 1920s, Baptists and Methodists witnessed huge numerical growth in existing churches.

This tale moves us a long way from an older critique of black church declension in the interwar years, premised on the notion that the otherworldly concerns of the mainline denominations rendered their churches obsolete in the face of the rapid urbanization and southernization of black religious culture. On the whole, concludes Sernett, black churches did help migrants, even as their own orientation shifted to become more politically involved and socially relevant. But no institution could bear the sole responsibility for the salvation of the race. Sernett's reflections on sociological and historical discourse in the 1930s highlight the class and regional biases of scholars like W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter Woodson, who examined the black church through an instrumentalist lens and found it wanting. Sernett rightly demonstrates that this still prevalent assessment must be tempered by a more balanced evaluation of both the continuities and discontinuities of black religious experience in the twentieth century.

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LESLIE MIDKIFF DEBAUCHE. *Reel Patriotism: The Movies and World War I*. (Wisconsin Studies in Film.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1997. PP. xviii, 244. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$15.95.

In June 1916, as war engulfed Europe, Cecil B. DeMille coolly contemplated the probability of bloodshed on American shores. "I am taking every precaution possible," the film director wrote in a letter, "but, of course, a scene like this, will have its toll of injured, so if you happen to hear of my sending a good many men to the Hospital, don't become unduly alarmed" (p. 8). Eleven months before the United States entered World War I, DeMille was warning his producers about the hazards of employing 1,000 actors in full costume and weaponry (including "eight pieces of old artillery throwing roundstone balls") to recreate the 1429 storming of Les Tourelles for his feature film *Joan the Woman* (1916). Leslie Midkiff DeBauche neither comments on DeMille's reflection nor juxtaposes the sanguinary pursuit of Hollywood spectacle with the concurrent carnage on the battlefields of Europe. If DeBauche is overly clinical in her descriptions of and judgments about an industry characterized by excess, her book nonetheless astutely deciphers the imaginative and often devious ways the film industry, in a formative point in its development, turned support of the war into legitimation for its everyday business practices.

In seven chapters organized around particular "case study" films covering 1914 to 1929, the book constantly

shifts its *mise en scène* from the locus of movie making to movie marketing to movie watching. In this manner, the book escapes the myopia of other business, political, and film studies accounts to delineate how the various components of the film industry successfully balanced support of the war effort with the business of film making and, in the process, reinforced and accelerated trends in producing, promoting, and exhibiting (not to mention consolidating control) that the industry had established before the war.

Dubbing its strategy with the overly diplomatic term "practical patriotism," DeBauche discusses how, like other businesses, Hollywood dispatched executives to assist the government in mobilizing Americans for war—and won classification as an essential industry. Such calculation also characterized the production and promotion of films. The war did not alter the way films were made or, for the most part, the types of films audiences viewed. During the nineteen months of U.S. involvement, all films drew on the war effort and exploited patriotism, but only a small number directly addressed the war. The war-related, feature-length "specials" discussed in each chapter exemplified Hollywood's characteristic flexibility. From the 1916 *Joan the Woman* to the 1927 *Wings*, the film industry was adept at gauging popular attitudes and adaptable in the face of rapidly changing circumstances.

The book's most valuable contribution is its nuanced interpretation of the distinctive ways this new popular medium of mass entertainment operated to build political consensus in support of the war. The key involved a reconciliation between the mass-produced, "national" nature of film production and the more diverse reception of local audiences. Using Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as a case study, the book's most salient chapter focuses on local exhibitors (at that point still nominally independent of the studios' growing consolidation of production and distribution) and their movie theaters as the critical juncture combining entertainment, information, and mobilization. Proceeding from the flag-festooned theater entrance, through the poster displays and enlistment stations in the lobby, to the auditorium's ringing patriotic music, exhorting slides, and (during reel changes) government-sponsored "Four Minute" lectures, DeBauche shows how, no matter what the film, the war dominated Americans' movie going experience. More profoundly, to the long-term benefit of the film industry, these methods helped equate in the public mind citizenship and movie going. The orchestration of the movie experience—along with other wartime devices, such as well-publicized film star mobilization activities and opportunistic newspaper advertisements (ascribing patriotism to specific films or, in the case of the influenza epidemic, heroism to the audience itself)—generated enough good will for the film industry to withstand the Hollywood scandals of the next decade.

DeBauche's case study approach is too narrow to provide a comprehensive view of Hollywood and films in the war years. However, because of its attention to

the varied components and venues of film production, distribution, and exhibition, this book is an important contribution to our still-evolving understanding of the impact of World War I on U.S. culture and society.

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JOHN EARL HAYNES, editor. *Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era: Essays on the History of the 1920s*. Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress; distributed by University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1998. Pp. xvi, 329.

ROBERT H. FERRELL. *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xi, 244.

These two books, a collection of essays from a 1995 Library of Congress symposium and the latest in a notable series on the American presidency, invite and invigorate our reassessment of Calvin Coolidge and his times. The Library of Congress volume contains many but not all of the presentations from the symposium. No unifying theme or point of view links its dozen essays, and although they are profitable and even stimulating to read, the reader should not expect a panoramic view of the 1920s. An exclusive focus on Coolidge or a more comprehensive survey of major themes that characterized "the Coolidge Era" might have made for a more satisfying collection.

Some of the symposium's products are excellent. Paul Johnson's scintillating keynote address makes a persuasive case for a genuine Coolidge political philosophy, minimalist though it might be, and for a strategy of silence that Coolidge rode to success. Perhaps the most valuable contributions come from John Braeman and Lynn Dumenil, authors of separate bibliographical guides to the scholarly literature dealing with the 1920s. Braeman's essay on "polity" is better at combining an interpretive framework with comments on specific topics than Dumenil's title-by-title sketches of books on social and cultural themes, but both guides are worth exploring.

Among the better essays, Daniel J. Leab's linkage of Coolidge, Will Hays, and the movies of the 1920s is imaginative in concept and has insightful comments on Coolidge's peculiar personality and the transformation of the film industry during the decade. Robert H. Ferrell concentrates on Coolidge's temperament and approach to the presidency, skimming from such topics as his shyness and stubbornness to how he handled press conferences and wrote speeches. Into a perceptive account of Coolidge and Herbert Hoover's sometimes difficult relationship, George Nash weaves a perspicacious overview of Republican politics during the 1920s. Warren I. Cohen's short but skillful essay on "America and the World" in fact deals with the world except Europe, which is the exclusive focus of Stephen A. Schuker's later chapter. Cohen argues that the

United States was hardly isolated during the 1920s but had abundant financial, cultural, and political involvement and influence around the globe. Schuker discusses how American foreign policy was conducted during the 1920s, as well as how America's growing economic power affected that foreign policy. America's failure to shoulder world economic leadership after World War I, he concludes, was not a major cause of the Depression or the insecurity that resulted in renewed war in 1939. This division of foreign affairs between the two authors seems somewhat odd, but at least the reader gets a thorough treatment of the topic.

A similar pairing of essays on economic development is less successful. Michael A. Bernstein dismisses other explanations for the Great Crash and the economic distress of the 1930s, then endorses the notion that by 1929 the American economy had reached maturity and stagnation. Gene Smiley's essay on income shares and income inequality contends that because tax avoidance among the very rich actually fell during the 1920s, their share of total income has been exaggerated, as has inequality in income. A single, comprehensive discussion of broader economic conditions and trends would have served the topic better than these narrowly focused essays.

Two essays seem somewhat out of place here. Ronald Edsforth's provocative piece on mass culture and the Americanization of working-class ethnics deals with some big themes, but its pertinence to Coolidge—even to a book on the 1920s—is problematical. In addition, it is long on conceptualization but rather short on the details that would drive those concepts home. Elisabeth I. Perry seeks to understand why woman suffrage failed to result in women having political equality with men. She focuses on Republicans in New York State, nicely limning that state's situation but leaving the reader wondering whether it was typical.

The picture of Coolidge that emerges from the Library of Congress volume is, in sum, incomplete and ultimately disappointing. But neither is the picture in Ferrell's book very distinct or satisfying. Two hundred pages do not conceal the fact that the Coolidge administration actually did very little, but even Coolidge himself seems strangely absent from Ferrell's book about him, as if the author was unable to come to grips with Coolidge's political thinking and how he transformed it into political success. Johnson's essay alone in *The Coolidge Era* conveys more about Coolidge's thinking and approach than does the whole of Ferrell's book. As an example, Johnson's extended examination of why Coolidge did not "choose" to run again in 1928 is more informative than is Ferrell's description of the same topic, although Johnson neglects the possibility that Coolidge sensed his health might betray him in another term.

Ferrell has some good insights—one is how Amherst faculty members possibly influenced Coolidge the student—but leaves the reader wondering about his overall interpretive framework. Although Coolidge's for-

mative political career is particularly underdeveloped here, even his political activities and policy decisions as chief executive remain rather mysterious. Introductory sections on Coolidge's traits and the shapings of his career would have benefitted from anecdotes and observations found in later narrative passages. Similarly, penetrating analytical comments—for instance, that Coolidge employed, almost like a military officer, “a careful ordering of responsibilities among subordinates that he did not interfere with unless some crisis arose” (p. 182)—are obscured by being buried in later unrelated discussions.

Too often, moreover, Ferrell digresses to consider topics (the growth of roads and gasoline taxes) peripheral to his subject. Better editing would have challenged such superfluous material as Samuel Untermyer's unflattering description of Henry Ford, occasional weak assertions (surely Coolidge did not overlook problems in the automobile industry primarily because he had no car), and an overreliance on certain sources (Harry S. Truman's experiences during the 1920s). The strengths of Ferrell's book are its recounting of the main features of the Coolidge years and some interesting snapshots of America in the 1920s, although one might quarrel with his emphases and conclusions in both areas. It is unfortunate that the book does not convey a better sense of the man at the center of this presidency.

In the end, then, neither book solves the enigma of Calvin Coolidge or even gives us a well-rounded picture of him. How this quintessentially provincial though crafty (and lucky) politician became the dominant political player of the 1920s probably reveals more about the times than about Coolidge. Inconsistent in focus and spotty in coverage as these two volumes are, however, they do challenge us to rethink the interplay between Coolidge and an era that could make—and consider—him a success.

DONN C. NEAL

National Archives and Records Administration

CHRISTOPHER ROBERT REED, *The Chicago NAACP and the Rise of Black Professional Leadership, 1910–1966*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 257. \$35.00.

In studying the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Christopher Robert Reed invokes a number of pertinent themes. These include conflicting priorities among professional, middle-class, and working-class groups, influences of a white elite in the branch's early years, intermittent apathies among black Chicagoans toward the branch, the mixed consequences for African Americans of urban, machine politics, the branch's commitment to egalitarianism, and race-based mobilizations within the South Side. He identifies a half-dozen phases of growth or transition experienced by the chapter from its origins as a committee in 1910 to the mass-action decade of the

1960s. Despite these essential topics, the book lacks consistent cohesion and clarity, in part because Reed occupies himself with narration and commentary more than synthesis and analysis. Readers are too often left to tie pieces together for themselves or to wonder what happened to an unresolved issue or event.

There are, nonetheless, strengths to be noted. The author shows how certain business, professional, and political elements, rather than the NAACP chapter, carried the action for racial advancement in World War I and postwar years. Chapter six, on branch president A. C. MacNeal's effective leadership from 1933 to 1937, is one of the book's best. The treatment of a heightened militancy within the branch and its renewed activism in public affairs (1954 to 1957, when the NAACP's Willoughby Abner became “the city's foremost agent of protest advocacy” [p. 162]) is compelling, as is Reed's explanation of Congressman William Dawson's overthrow of Abner in the organization's December 1957 election of officers.

That said, the volume's shortcomings loom. There are problems that skilled editing at the press should have corrected: run-on sentences, grammatical and syntactical gaffes, phrases as misplaced modifiers that leave awkward impressions, and occasional non sequiturs. The ceaseless renditions of branch officers in this-and-that election can sometimes prove quite distracting. Perhaps an appendix list with dates and duties would have satisfied Reed's commendable wish for inclusive thoroughness.

Although he refers frequently to jurisdictional tensions between the branch and the NAACP national office, Reed displays rather little familiarity with headquarters. Jane Addams was not suddenly “placed on the National Board of Directors” in the early 1930s (p. 78); she had been a member in the 1910s and 1920s. W. E. B. Du Bois did not resign in 1934 “under external pressure” (p. 104); that departure was mostly engineered by the national board and the executive secretary. Thurgood Marshall was hardly “a newcomer” to the NAACP in 1939 (p. 112); he had joined the legal staff in 1936. An undocumented reference to Charles Houston as “a nervous, unsure Association Counsel” at a 1937 Chicago meeting (p. 229, n. 44) defies the established image of that prominent attorney. The assertion that Marshall “by late July [1955] . . . returned to New York to meet with Walter White” (p. 172) is grievously improbable: White had died four months earlier.

Errors appear in text and footnotes, and imprecisions add to the difficulties. For example, the March on Washington Movement (MOWM), as a permanent organization, dates from the end of 1941, not January 1941, as Reed asserts (pp. 117–18) in two undocumented paragraphs on the MOWM and the Fair Employment Practice Committee. *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) was a St. Louis case; he never mentions that but implies, with no footnote (p. 148), that it had a California connection.

Reed's documentation style is seriously erratic,

which means that the text passages are not regularly and fully affirmed by evidence. Two problems recur. First, he places a footnote three-quarters of the way into a paragraph but then continues to use data in the text (without further citation) that is sometimes though not always derived from that previous footnote. This leaves the reader wondering where the documentation ends and Reed's commentary begins. Second, he frequently cites a source for a particular event in the text but leaves wholly undocumented several other items previously mentioned in the same or preceding paragraph(s). What should be an exercise in sustained scholarly discourse, then, becomes a series of free-standing declarations to be taken on faith. Footnotes do not always follow accepted forms of style or meet the academic standard of best possible source; far too many are defective or flat-out wrong; a few are too incomplete to ascertain their origin with any ease. Again, the press certainly should have intervened. As a scholarly publisher, it owes readers and customers a level of professional oversight not achieved in this book.

The volume badly needs a bibliography that would systematically disclose the nature and range of sources used. Finally, in a book that recounts nearly six decades of African-American neighborhood activism, ward politics, and demographic data, the lack of any Chicago maps, tables, or charts is sorely felt.

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PENNY M. VON ESCHEN. *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 259. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

This intriguing book is a welcome addition to the growing body of work on African Americans and U.S. foreign policy. It confirms the argument in Brenda Gayle Plummer's superb *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (1996) that African-American journalists and intellectuals had a sustained interest in foreign affairs and were crucial in linking domestic and global racism.

To Penny M. Von Eschen, African Americans not only were attentive to international issues but offered a radical critique of U.S. diplomacy. Inspired by World War II, the creation of the United Nations, and the growth of anticolonial nationalism in Asia and Africa, black intellectuals, trade union officials, and the African-American press called for "a genuine transformation of global power relations" (p. ix). Led by Paul Robeson, Max Yergan, Alphaeus Hunton, and the Council on African Affairs (CAA), African Americans argued they "not only shared an oppression with colonized peoples but that their fate in the United States was intertwined with the struggles of those peoples" (p. 40). This led them to a radical analysis of international relations that demanded both global

political, and economic independence. Fearful that American imperialism would replace European empires, they advocated not only an end to colonialism but also restraints on American corporate power and a more equitable redistribution of the world's wealth, a "worldwide New Deal rather than the American Century" (p. 157).

According to Von Eschen, this radical view was short-lived. By 1947, most black leaders had accepted Cold War anticommunism and severed existing links with Africans and Asians to focus on domestic race relations. They still endorsed Third World political independence, but most abandoned the call for a reallocation of global resources and accepted the Cold War's bipolar view of the world. This new "anti-Communist anticolonialism" was the result of a decision that support of U.S. policy abroad would encourage the government to fight discrimination at home.

This change within the black leadership was accompanied by the domestic red scare that tried to discredit Robeson, the CAA, and other radical African Americans and organizations. The acceptance of liberal anticommunism and government repression of radicalism effectively "severed the black American struggle for civil rights from the issues of anticolonialism and racism abroad" (p. 3). By the early 1950s, "the mass politics of the earlier anticolonial alliances had been superseded by a middle-class politics of symbolism and federal patronage" (p. 148).

A number of scholars have noted how the Cold War tempered U.S. support of decolonization. What is unique in Von Eschen's treatment is her emphasis on the call for fundamental international economic reform that accompanied the push for political independence. Von Eschen may exaggerate the extent of support within the black community for this militant proposal, as her evidence is often limited to a small group of Marxist intellectuals and activists. The author clearly is sympathetic to Robeson, Hunton, W. E. B. Du Bois, and others who dissented from Cold War liberalism and saw themselves as "citizens of the world." But they were atypical. More mainstream black leaders, such as Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accepted global anticommunism as a necessary strategy to gain support in the battle against domestic racism. They were pragmatic "Americans" who put their own self-interest ahead of that of Africans and Asians. Von Eschen is critical of their decision, but she needs to be more clear why this position triumphed so rapidly and so completely over the earlier, more radical vision.

Von Eschen has raised a crucial issue by showing the conflict among black Americans over decolonization and its implications for American race relations. The twin goals of Third World independence and global economic reform (even if articulated by a small minority) were a significant challenge to postwar American diplomacy. The book is the first study to illustrate the connection, and its provocative thesis will engage

scholars of African-American history and of U.S. foreign policy.

The book has a final strength: its extremely effective use of cartoons, photos, and posters to illustrate and support the author's main points. It is a model of how carefully selected visuals enhance a written text.

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DENNIS C. DICKERSON. *Militant Mediator: Whitney M. Young, Jr.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. x 384. \$30.00.

This is the second biography of Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League from 1961 to 1971. The essential elements of Young's story are well known. As Dennis C. Dickerson again makes plain, Young staked out a unique role in the civil rights movement by "communicat[ing] to white Americans the integrationist vision of millions of middle- and working-class blacks who wanted an end to social and economic barriers based on race" (p. 7). "Interpret[ing] the goals and grievances of black Americans to government, business, and foundations" (p. 2), Young worked to mobilize the formidable resources of those institutions "to end the poverty, deprivation, and discrimination that lay at the core of racial inequality in the United States" (p. 7).

As Dickerson shows, Young learned the art of racial diplomacy from his father, a Kentucky educator skilled at advancing the interests of blacks through canny negotiation with influential whites. His own talent for interracial mediation, which first emerged through his informal role as a liaison between black soldiers and white officers in a black battalion in World War II, was honed during his service in the late 1940s and early 1950s as industrial relations secretary of the St. Paul, Minnesota Urban League and as executive director of the Omaha Urban League. Thereafter, the deanship of the Atlanta University School of Social Work provided firsthand exposure to the emerging struggle for civil rights.

The executive directorship of the National Urban League gave Young the opportunity to practice interracial mediation on a national scale. Leading the League into the civil rights movement, he sought to educate powerful whites in business, government, and the foundations about the pressing needs and demands of black Americans, and he "developed specific programs to involve [them] in efforts to allay racial tensions and to ameliorate the black social and economic condition" (p. 2). At the same time, he fashioned a distinctive role as strategist and mediator within the civil rights leadership. Striving always "to maintain the delicate balance between acceptability to powerful whites and credibility with grassroots blacks," Young succeeded to a large extent in "cultivat[ing] the favor of blacks" (p. 319) while "persuad[ing] powerful whites to finance unprecedented social and economic programs to benefit the black population" (p. 318).

This book is an important complement to my *Whitney M. Young, Jr., and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (1989). Dickerson breaks new ground in a number of areas. The most important is his account of Young's interactions with the churches, fraternal and service organizations, business and professional associations, women's clubs, and educational institutions that provided the infrastructure for community life in black America. Their endorsement, Dickerson argues, conveyed widespread support for Young's integrationist leadership within the black population, made a tangible difference to the National Urban League, and enhanced Young's credibility and influence with powerful whites.

Beyond that, Dickerson fleshes out our understanding of Whitney M. Young Sr.'s role as a spokesman for blacks in Kentucky; Whitney Jr.'s career at the St. Paul and Omaha Urban Leagues; his working relationships with Urban League affiliates; his service on federal commissions and interactions with federal agencies; and his involvement with Urban America and the National Urban Coalition. As well, he provides the first account of Young's evolving relationship with Unitarianism.

In other areas, Dickerson's account is less comprehensive. These include Young's childhood; his education at Lincoln Institute and Kentucky State College; his service in World War II; his selection as executive director of the National Urban League; his personal and political relationships with other civil rights leaders; his relationships with the corporate establishment; and the nature and causes of public criticism of the authenticity of Young's blackness. Dickerson never brings Young alive as a complex, fully articulated human being. He provides limited insight into Young's family life and personal associations; more important, he chooses not to explore the personality and style that played such an important role in Young's effectiveness as a mediator and leader.

In sum, Dickerson provides a detailed narrative, closely grounded in extensive research, that extends our understanding of Young's life and career. Although he covers a great deal of familiar territory, he often provides new illustrative examples, so that the cumulative effect is one of enrichment rather than duplication of a well-known story.

The book's title rests in some tension with its contents. Although Young's role as a mediator is carefully explicated, his militance is taken as a given rather than explored and carefully substantiated.

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MARK V. TUSHNET. *Making Constitutional Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1961-1991*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 246. \$29.95.

Thurgood Marshall was the first African American to serve on the United States Supreme Court. Before his

appointment in 1967, he was for many years the chief litigator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and in that capacity he probably did more to alter constitutional law than any other lawyer in America. His triumphs included persuading the court to repudiate school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Ironically, as this book reveals, Marshall had more influence on how the Constitution was interpreted when he was a lawyer than during his twenty-four years on the Supreme Court. As a Great Society liberal trapped on a tribunal that, after the retirement of Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1969, grew increasingly conservative, he had little influence and was seldom on the winning side of a disputed issue. His most significant opinions were dissents.

His lack of real influence is probably the principal reason for the rather odd character of this sequel to Mark V. Tushnet's outstanding account of Marshall's NAACP career, *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1956-1961* (1994). This book is not really a biography. Tushnet devotes a mere two pages to Marshall's personal life. It is, more than anything else, a history of the Supreme Court during the years that Marshall served there (1967-1991). The first chapter traces his career from the time he left the NAACP in 1961 until his appointment, a period during which he served first as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and then as Solicitor General. The second and third chapters deal respectively with the changing composition of the Supreme Court between 1967 and 1991 and with Marshall's role on the court, "the way he ran his office, and his relations with his colleagues" (p. vii). Tushnet devotes the next two chapters to civil rights cases, then one to equal protection theory, and two to cases involving the death penalty. These were all matters in which Marshall was intensely interested, but the most striking thing about these chapters is how often he disappears for pages on end. Much of Tushnet's account deals with the activities of other members of the court. Ironically, what it demonstrates best is how little constitutional law Justice Marshall made.

Tushnet credits Marshall with developing the methodology the court came to employ when deciding non-racial cases under the Equal Protection Clause, but his argument is not persuasive. He establishes that his subject's sliding-scale approach better explains what the court was doing than does the multiple-levels-of-scrutiny framework it claimed to be utilizing. The fact of the matter is, however, that the court never adopted Marshall's methodology and continued, rhetorically at least, to resolve cases using the other approach.

Although Tushnet sometimes strains to enhance his subject's importance, this is a balanced book. It treats evenhandedly both Marshall's more internally influential liberal ally, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., and his conservative opponents. Tushnet is really hard only on Chief Justice Warren Burger. Although not supporting

those who have characterized Burger as a Machiavelian schemer, he does picture him as an inept bumbler with a limited intellect, who consistently mishandled controversial cases.

Tushnet's account is solidly grounded in published judicial opinions and manuscript sources. He has exploited extensively both Marshall's own papers at the Library of Congress and the much richer Brennan collection there, and he has consulted selectively the papers of other justices as well. His secondary scholarship is solid.

Tushnet has produced an account of what went on within the Supreme Court during Marshall's tenure that is not only well researched but also well written. Readers without a legal background will appreciate his very clear explanations of arcane doctrines that must be understood if one is to comprehend the debates among the justices. Tushnet offers readers extremely informative accounts of the court's internal arguments over civil rights and the death penalty. Lawyers and constitutional historians will find surprising how little animosity attended those over the era's divisive racial cases. All readers will come away from this book convinced that those contemporaries who claimed Marshall was not deeply involved in the work of the Supreme Court and let his law clerks (among them Tushnet) do his thinking for him were simply wrong.

Most will also conclude after reading this book, however, that Thurgood Marshall did not make very much constitutional law. He sensitized his colleagues to racism and to the human dimension of cases, which his background often enabled him to understand far better than they could. But he did not influence them much. Marshall's was a lonely and generally ineffective liberal voice, crying in a conservative judicial wilderness. Only his admirers off the court really listened.

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JOHN E. SEMONCHE, *Keeping the Faith: A Cultural History of the U.S. Supreme Court*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1998. Pp. viii, 499. \$39.95.

To survey the entire history of the Supreme Court in a single volume requires an ability to compress large-scale developments into treatments of modest length. John E. Semonche's successful performance of this task is made possible by his sound sense of proportion. The book is gracefully written for a wide audience, and it would serve admirably as the foundation text for a college survey course on the Supreme Court's history. A single theme, sounded in the book's title, runs throughout the book: that the Supreme Court is a primary keeper of a national constitutional faith that is central in binding a diverse population into a nation. Semonche deliberately plays on the term "faith," not merely analogizing the nation's constitutional values to religious faith but treating those values as a civil theology. The language of religion permeates the

author's discussions of constitutional law and the justices who declare it.

There are echoes here of Thomas Grey's article on "The Constitution as Scripture" (*Stanford Law Review* [1985]), Sanford Levinson's article on "'The Constitution' in American Civil Religion" (*Supreme Court Review* [1979]), and even Ralph Henry Gabriel's treatment of "the American democratic faith" in his book, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (1940). What is different is the systematic way in which Semonche casts the whole system of constitutional adjudication and lawmaking into a religious mould. Thus the judiciary is seen as a civil priesthood performing both priestly and prophetic roles; constitutional doctrine is seen as the elaboration of a civil theology; and the American people are seen as a civil religious community. Semonche does understand that American institutions have frequently failed to live up to the ideals of the civil theology; the failures, he says, are not evidence against his thesis about civil religion but rather are examples of backsliding.

Some readers may lament Semonche's tendency to conflate what he calls civil religion with what Robert Bellah famously called by the same name in his article, "American Civil Religion" (*Daedalus* [1967]). Bellah's subject was religion; it was "civil" only in the sense that the religion was watered down to a "Judeo-Christian" blandness, suitable mainly for invocations at public events and in presidential addresses. In contrast, Semonche's subject is what others have called the American civic culture, which he describes here as a religious faith. This choice of vocabulary has some risks. After all, calling the nation's constitutional faith a "religion of the republic" (p. 16) might strike some religious Americans as blasphemy.

Center stage in Semonche's drama is occupied not by constitutional law but by the Supreme Court as a body and the justices as individuals. Semonche acknowledges that not all justices, today or yesterday, would welcome his suggestion that they serve as priests or prophets or both. (Imagine Justice Antonin Scalia's reaction to this suggestion.) But some justices of recent memory, notably including Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., likely would accept the nomination. And the notion of the court's elaboration of constitutional doctrine as an exercise in civil theology is, at the very least, a perspective that can provoke good discussions in a college classroom.

Where Justice Louis D. Brandeis once called government a great teacher, Semonche narrows the focus; the book's subtitle might refer either to the role of the court in acculturating the citizenry or to the ways in which currents in the larger American culture acculturate the justices. This is a cultural history in the first of these senses. Semonche chiefly relates the court's role in teaching Americans about the basic ideals of the civic culture: freedom, democracy, equality, and the like. Although he refers occasionally to a "dialogue" with the public in which the justices not only teach but learn, the cultural history reported here

centers on the court's side of the conversation. (In one view, priests do instruct their parishioners more than they learn from them.) In another sort of cultural history, the reader—perhaps a college student—might learn about the influence of the women's movement on constitutional doctrines protecting the rights of reproductive choice or the successive influences of the civil rights movement and of backlash politics on the constitutional law of race relations. Semonche plainly has it in him to write this sort of cultural history of the Supreme Court, and at least some of his readers will be grateful for the next installment.

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LINDA K. KERBER. *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 405. \$25.00.

T. H. Marshall, whose arguments about citizenship are once again receiving a great deal of attention, remarked how difficult it was to specify the general duties of citizens, except for the duty to work (i.e. engage in paid employment). But he failed to notice that men and women were differently situated with respect to this and more specific obligations. Fifty years later, relatively few discussions acknowledge that men's and women's citizenship have differed or recognize the significance of coverture for the history of women's rights and duties.

Linda K. Kerber's book is thus particularly welcome. She examines five political obligations: to give loyalty to the state, to avoid vagrancy, to pay taxes, to undertake jury service, and to perform military service. Kerber uncovers the full complexity of women's position. From the outset in the United States, women were both excluded from, or seen as "privileged" to be exempted from, some obligations that men had to perform as part of their citizenship, while required to fulfill others. She also indicates how problems still exist for women today in areas such as immigration, taxation, and military service.

Married women's political status became an issue immediately after the Revolution. Anna Martin fled Massachusetts with her husband, and her son's subsequent claim to her confiscated property centered on the question whether a wife owed individual loyalty to the state. The verdict was that Martin could not have acted of her own volition; she was subject to the will of her husband. Her duty to her husband came before any political duties—supposing that she had them. According to the court, a *femme covert* "has no political relation to the state any more than an alien."

Women's "special responsibilities" to husbands and families were still used in 1961 in the Supreme Court to uphold women's automatic exemption from jury service. However, if women's primary obligations were said to be "private," that did not prevent them from being taxed—even before they won the suffrage. Ker-

ber looks at the case in the 1870s of the Smith sisters in Connecticut, who withheld their property tax on the grounds of "no taxation without representation." The famous slogan was of no help to women taxpayers, in part because taxes could be held to be owed in return for the protection provided by the state.

These examples raise a question that Kerber tends to gloss over. She states that women have always been citizens of the United States. According to the doctrine of *jus soli* they (and Native Americans, and African and Asian Americans) were citizens. But what does "citizen" mean in light of the evidence Kerber presents? For much of our history, women were like "subjects" rather than "citizens," governed without their consent yet required to perform duties.

Women were—in principle—"protected" by the state, but only men were seen as capable of providing "protection." Thus it is men who have reaped the rewards of military service (sometimes extended to their wives and mothers), which included a system of absolute preference in the civil service. Women's exclusion from the draft raises the question of whether they can be full citizens without undertaking all the duties. Kerber assumes that rights must be correlated with duties, a matter of some dispute. The question can also be asked whether in a democracy citizens' rights should be conditional on duties or contributions.

Kerber's discussion of vagrancy is especially interesting. Vagrancy laws were one of the props of segregation until the 1960s and showed that not all categories of women have been treated alike. "Work" has not meant the same thing for African-American women as (married) white women. The latter's duties were seen as outside the labor market. In contrast, black women and men were not only coerced into the labor force but had to be *seen* to be at physical work or risk arrest as vagrants. In 1935, agricultural and domestic work, and thus black women, were excluded from social security. The concept of the "employable mother" was introduced in the 1930s and haunted the 1996 welfare legislation.

Kerber's argument is full of rich historical material and fascinating insights. The main points are sometimes almost buried in details about individuals (and do we really need to know that some courthouses remain unchanged since the 1950s?), but her discussion, and the questions it raises, are vital for a full understanding of American political development. Anyone interested in citizenship should read, and will learn a great deal from, Kerber's book.

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VIRGINIA G. DRACHMAN, *Sisters in Law: Women Lawyers in Modern American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 334. \$35.00.

Among the many issues confronting a female litigator in the 1880s was whether or not to wear a hat in the

courtroom. Because male attorneys removed their hats when addressing the court while ladies customarily wore bonnets in public places, female attorneys were divided between following the example of their male colleagues or adhering to the proprieties of Victorian womanhood. As Virginia G. Drachman indicates in this revealing example of the difficulties facing the first generation of women lawyers, the debate over appropriate attire in the courtroom was far from frivolous. Pivoting as it did on the problem of how to be at once a lawyer and a lady, it exemplifies the equality/difference dilemma that plagued women lawyers and goes to the heart of Drachman's account of their troubled entry into the profession. Conflicted between speaking out or sitting demurely in law classes, between doing battle in court or retreating to the privacy of an office, and between satisfying professional demands and meeting the requirements of marriage and motherhood, women lawyers struggled to reconcile their professional identities with the precepts of the reigning gender system. Measured against medicine, which women could approach as "natural" healers and caregivers, and in comparison to other professions, law, Drachman argues, was "the most engendered and closed to women" (p. 2).

In this book, whose title is taken from a form of address nineteenth-century female attorneys used to evoke a closely knit community of professional women, Drachman tracks women from their state-by-state contests for admission to the bar in the 1860s to their qualified integration into the profession in the 1930s. She connects the grudging toleration of female attorneys to the drive for woman suffrage and deftly shows how rationales for accepting women as lawyers were both intertwined with and separated from rationales for accepting women as voters. Not only did would-be lawyers base their appeals to enter practice on a post-Reconstruction definition of female citizenship, but they argued that they would purify the profession through feminine influence. An emphasis on difference, then, accompanied the "jurisprudence of integration" from its very inception.

But the separatism that distinguished and sustained the women lawyers' movement of the late nineteenth century gave way to the egalitarianism of a meritocratic ideal. The stunning professional successes of a small female elite, according to Drachman, gave women a misplaced optimism about their future in a profession that was inherently hostile to their very presence. Although most male-run law schools admitted women applicants by the 1920s, they accepted only a very few, and professional opportunities for female law graduates were limited. Lawyering women who shed a separatist stance for the vaunted meritocracy of the legal profession, suggests Drachman, were destined for disappointment. Closed out of the large and growing corporate law firms of the early twentieth century, they were often unable to find legal work of any kind. In an increasingly stratified profession, they remained collectively at or close to the bottom. Despite the

formal equality that followed the ratification of the nineteenth amendment, late nineteenth-century patterns of professional discrimination were, in Drachman's view, reinforced.

Drachman might have placed her narrative in a broader and more complex cultural context, and she might have done more with the subtle permutations of the equality/difference dilemma over time. Moreover, her account of the Equity Club, a women lawyers' movement that began at the University of Michigan in the 1890s, has already appeared in her *Women Lawyers and the Origins of Professional Identity in America, 1887-1890* (1993). Still, this scrupulously researched and highly accessible history of women lawyers has much to offer readers, not least of which are twenty tables in the appendix that range from assessing the decennial increase in women lawyers to spelling out their primary areas of specialization. Illuminating, too, is Drachman's treatment of women in legal education and the rise of women-only law schools. While the admissions policies of Yale, Columbia, and especially Harvard look retrograde in comparison to the democratic inclusiveness of New York University, Howard University's avowed openness to applicants regardless of sex and race is belied by the fate of its first African-American female student, Mary Ann Shadd Cary. She was not allowed to graduate because she was a woman. But there are success stories here, too. In fact, Drachman's account of the collective struggle of women lawyers to carve out a place for themselves in the legal profession is most engaging when she personalizes it with the experiences of those who somehow managed to beat the odds. Her book is a highly welcome addition to the literature on women, law, and the professions.

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JULIA KIRK BLACKWELDER, *Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States, 1900-1995*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 308. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

The entry of millions of women into the labor force significantly influenced American life during the twentieth century and has become the focus of considerable scholarly attention during the past twenty years. This survey by Julia Kirk Blackwelder provides an accessible account for students and general readers and at the same time contributes a new perspective to the literature.

Blackwelder recounts the tale of women entering the labor force within the context of the development of the U.S. economy and the forces assisting or retarding occupational advances of women. She also explores themes of changing practices in education, family life, and socialization as they relate to women workers. She is especially sensitive to nuances of race,

class, marital status, and ethnicity in the growth of the female work force.

The book consists of nine chronologically ordered chapters and a conclusion and includes numerous photographs reflecting the diversity of twentieth-century women workers. Statistical tables derived from census data up through 1990 additionally chart changes in work and family patterns. The first two chapters look at wage-earning women and the educational forces that molded young girls' expectations of work during the early years of the century. Subsequent chapters examine developments in labor history as they unfold decade by decade, covering what is by now well-known ground.

What is new, however, is the focus on socialization and education. Blackwelder is interested in the connections "between employment opportunities and the messages about work that families, schools, girl's clubs, and women's literature directed toward women and girls, as well as the fit between hiring prospects and economic needs" (pp. xiii-xiv). To this end, she surveys vocational and traditional schooling, settlement houses, popular culture, and workplace culture as forces that both reflected and shaped changes in the lives of working women. Additionally, she traces two distinct stories through the decades: the connections of immigration and migration patterns to the changing labor market, and the evolution of the Girl Scouts of America as an organization devoted to the socialization of girls. Blackwelder concludes with a discussion of the relationship of contemporary family life to female employment.

Oral histories, secondary sources, photographs, and archival materials provide the supporting evidence. The oral histories, some of them conducted by the author, powerfully express personal experiences of general historical trends. Blackwelder benefits from the work done before her, as she avoids two pitfalls common in earlier studies: the lack of attention to the diversity of women's identities, and the lack of attention to events occurring away from the eastern seaboard. In both cases, she presents a broader account of a complex and diverse history than is sometimes given.

The structure of the book is ambitious but occasionally awkward. For example, the discussions of the Girl Scouts and migration, especially, seem in some instances to be disconnected from the rest of the text. But, at the same time, these add an important dimension to the larger history and suggest ways in which experiences of work and socialization intersected for young women.

Blackwelder's book is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the history of women and work. As a synthesis, it will be of use to students seeking an overview of the topic, and the original contributions linking labor history to changing practices in education and socialization will be of interest to scholars as well.

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ALISON M. PARKER. *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873–1933*. (Women in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 286. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$16.95.

Alison M. Parker focuses on the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in an effort to revise historical understandings of censorship in the United States. She maintains that most prior histories, written primarily by committed civil libertarians, have portrayed a "Whiggish" progression from nineteenth-century repression to late twentieth-century tolerance. Disproportionately emphasizing Anthony Comstock and his closest collaborators, they have mischaracterized the pro-censorship movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a small group of elite white males whose Victorian prudery generated an obsessive crusade against various forms of sexual expression. As an unfortunate result, they have overlooked the extent to which the American middle class supported censorship as part of a more general confidence that government regulation could promote constructive social change and, ultimately, democratic harmony.

While situating the WCTU in the mainstream of middle-class Progressive reform, Parker also emphasizes its distinctive reliance, as the largest women's organization in the country, on its maternal role in protecting children, and society generally, from dangerous influences. Maternal activism linked the WCTU's censorship efforts with its more famous campaign for temperance. As mothers and as Progressives, Parker observes, members of the WCTU worried more about immorality and impurity than about Comstock's narrower obsession with obscenity. Frequently invoking metaphors of disease, they asserted that words and images harm individual character, and that novels, journalism, art, and movies about drunkenness, sexual misconduct, and violence cause the immoral activities they depict. The WCTU used the language of science and social purity typical of Progressives to advocate censorship as a method of alleviating this contagion.

Particularly through Frances Willard, its charismatic president from 1879 to 1898, the WCTU censorship campaign extended maternal activism into feminist empowerment. Too many women, Willard complained, had become addicted to unhealthy novels, which glorified adultery as an expression of romantic love while developing passivity in readers. Willard believed that censorship of such fiction would help produce more politically engaged and socially responsible women.

The WCTU, Parker stresses, expressed its feminist activism by producing pure literature and movies. Unlike Comstock and his male allies, who limited themselves to the reactive repression of the obscene, the WCTU created a periodical, the *Young Crusader*, which attempted to inculcate values in children that

challenged conventional understandings of sex roles. The *Young Crusader* encouraged girls to escape the private domestic sphere through education and careers and to become involved in the traditionally male domain of politics. It simultaneously urged boys to develop traditionally female traits of compassion, cooperation, and spirituality. As film became an increasingly popular site of cultural production, the WCTU created its own movies, demonstrating to Parker a flexible acceptance of new media that rebuts portrayals of its members as stodgy anti-modernists. The production of pure literature and movies by the WCTU, Parker adds, challenges recent scholars who have detected an emerging distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" culture around 1900. Belying this distinction, the WCTU promoted a "middlebrow" culture while opposing impurity, whether in sculpture and ballet or in burlesque and dime-novel sensationalism.

Placing her study of the WCTU in broader historical perspective, Parker makes a provocative analogy between the pro-censorship activities of the WCTU and current efforts by "anti-pornography feminists." She correctly observes that both groups developed feminist arguments for government censorship of presumably harmful speech. Parker recognizes the current sharp divide between "anti-pornography" and "anti-censorship" feminists. Yet her historical analogy is incomplete because she overlooks the similar divide in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries between the WCTU and "anti-censorship feminists" such as Victoria Woodhull, Emma Goldman, and Margaret Sanger. Parker legitimately could have chosen to restrict her study to the "pro-censorship feminists" of the past, but that limitation weakens her attempt to put current debates in historical perspective.

At numerous other points in her book, the more Parker moves beyond her primary focus on the WCTU, the less effective she becomes. Even her frequent references to the distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" culture never adequately describe the central arguments of Lawrence Levine, Joan Shelley Rubin, and the other scholars she cites. Her comparison of Comstock and the WCTU, moreover, underestimates the extent to which the legal definition of obscenity supported by Comstock and his followers incorporated conceptions of immorality and social purity similar to those held by the WCTU.

Yet most of this book concentrates on the WCTU itself. In doing so, Parker contributes significantly to the history of Progressivism and feminism while demonstrating that censorship was a central issue of social reform from the 1870s into the 1930s.

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ESTELLE B. FREEDMAN. *Maternal Justice: Miriam Van Waters and the Female Reform Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 458. \$34.95.

This is a first-rate study of the life of Miriam Van Waters that, like the best of the new biographies (Kathryn Kish Sklar's work on Florence Kelley comes to mind), tells us much about the politics and culture of the time.

Born in 1887 and raised in Oregon, Van Waters, daughter of an Episcopal minister, began her career at the height of the Progressive-era reform and remained a pioneer in women's penal reform and juvenile justice through the New Deal and World War II, as well as the postwar era of reaction against social reform. In 1913, Van Waters became one of very few female graduates of the Ph.D. Program in Psychology at Clark University under the direction of G. Stanley Hall. Drawing on Hall's training, but more importantly on the model of female reform provided by Jane Addams, Van Waters embarked on her lifelong work; the early highlights included the position as superintendent of a juvenile detention home in Portland, and as superintendent at the Los Angeles County Juvenile Hall. In Los Angeles, she also founded an experimental school for girls who had been sent to juvenile court. By the end of the 1920s, she had established a national reputation in the area of juvenile reform; it was logical that she be appointed superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Framingham in 1932, where she remained until her retirement at age 70. At this state prison of several hundred, Van Waters enhanced her reputation as an advocate for prisoner's rights, including educational opportunities, job training and employment both within the prison and the wider community, and the right of convicted mothers to raise their children whenever possible. Van Waters probably became most famous among the Massachusetts public when she was forced to defend herself in the late 1940s against widespread charges, graphically covered in the local press, that she ran a lax, undisciplined institution that encouraged female sexual immorality, specifically, homosexual behavior; these charges almost cost Van Waters her job.

Magnificent archival work using private and public papers enables Estelle B. Freedman to render a vivid portrait of both the personal and public dimensions of Van Waters's life. The author nicely places her in the wider world of female reform among an important group of elite women. Because Van Waters's career spans the first half of the century, Freedman uses Van Waters's approach to delinquency to show that the commitment to the values of maternalism and Protestant liberalism, the hallmarks of Van Waters's approach to child saving, survived to mid-century, well after the rise of the professional expert and the emphasis on pathology. Van Waters's life also shows that while female-centered relationships became increasingly controversial as the Progressive era waned, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, networks of reform women sustained one another both personally and professionally.

Van Waters never married, although at one point she contemplated the prospect. She raised an adopted

daughter as a single mother and formed several households of mostly women, either friends, relatives, or attendants. Freedman explores Van Waters's intense female relationships, most particularly, her decades-long association with philanthropist Geraldine Livingston Thompson, as well as Van Waters's response to the charges of homosexuality. In doing so, the author provides us with the best and clearest discussion of the ambiguous, seemingly contradictory attitudes among a number of women of the time toward their sexuality. Van Waters recognized that deep female friendships might well, by mid-twentieth century, be labeled as homosexual. But she distinguished woman-centered relationships, even of an erotic nature, from the term homosexual, which "she reserved for a small minority of women who pathologically pursued women for sex" (p. 280). According to Freedman, Van Waters probably reserved such labeling for women below her own social class; nevertheless, she believed the charges of widespread lesbianism at prisons such as Framingham in the 1940s and 1950s to be exaggerations, part of an increasing tendency to "use the power of deviant labels to control women's lives" (p. 353).

The final part of the study, on the efforts to oust Framingham Superintendent Van Waters, shows how conservative politicians of the Cold War era used public fears about loosening sexual mores to go after many aspects of social reform. For Van Waters's enemies in Massachusetts state government, her progressive attitudes toward criminals, her so-called tolerance of homosexuality, and her association with left-wing New Dealers and radicals were all part of a package of subversive politics. This case study of how issues of sexual practice were used in the larger battles between conservatives and progressives stands as another reminder that our current political battles surrounding the presidency are not new. Van Waters's willingness to stand up to the charges and at least win the right to serve out her tenure as superintendent also reminds us that, sometimes, those who stand up to very explosive charges can succeed, if, like Van Waters, they are able to mobilize important organizations, and even elites, on their behalf.

Van Waters's successes surely depended on her ability to garner support among important elites, such as Thompson, who could provide money to sustain her career and her projects and who had access to important politicians. While she helped many women, Van Waters was not, as Freedman notes, much involved in the politics of mass movements. Van Waters was surely more enlightened in her approach to criminal justice and sexuality than most of her peers, yet Freedman concedes that the superintendent's attitude about her predicament in the late 1940s was affected by a suspicion of popular politics, a fear of the working-class mob. In order to give readers a fuller appreciation of women-centered politics, however, the author minimizes the limitations of this brand of elitist activism. This concern noted, her book makes a seminal

contribution to the history of women and the politics of social reform in the twentieth century.

MIRIAM COHEN
Vassar College

CANDICE LEWIS BREDBENNER. *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 294. \$45.00.

No historian who has investigated women's issues during the interwar period can fail to be aware of the centrality of the debate over married women's citizenship rights. Surprisingly little, however, has been written on the topic. Candice Lewis Bredbenner gives us a detailed overview of the struggle for independent citizenship for American women from the early twentieth century to the mid-1930s. As the author correctly notes, the progress of this reform crusade was related both directly and indirectly to the impact of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment on the post-suffrage women's movement, and the trend toward increasingly restrictive immigration and naturalization legislation.

Bredbenner begins her study with the Expatriation Act of 1907, convincingly demonstrating through well-chosen examples that the act adversely affected women of all socioeconomic levels. In effect, women who married non-U.S. citizens were thought to have voluntarily given up their American citizenship, since married women's citizenship derived from that of their husbands. In 1922, the organized protest and lobbying efforts of women's groups resulted in the passage of the Cable Act, which signaled a modest retreat from the concept of derivative citizenship for married women. With all its shortcomings, according to the author, this act was the best legislation that could be achieved at the time. Simultaneously, Congress moved toward drastically restricting the flow of the "new" immigration. As members of the National Woman's Party, with their transnational feminist perspective, moved to the forefront of the crusade for equal citizenship, the campaign to amend the Cable Act and accept the Pan American Union Treaty's endorsement of equal citizenship intensified. By 1934, the United States had abandoned the practice of marital expatriation, although not all women who had previously lost their citizenship through marriage were automatically repatriated.

Perhaps the most important of Bredbenner's contributions are found in the two chapters on the Cable Act and its interrelationships with naturalization law and immigration control. Here the author persuasively shows how the implications of woman suffrage reversed congressional willingness to provide easy naturalization for foreign-born women who married American men and raised troubling questions about "denationalizing" American-born women who married foreign citizens. Social feminists, such as those who belonged to the League of Women Voters, and equal-

itarian feminists, such as members of the National Woman's Party, had reacted quite differently to immigrant women and questions of Americanization. But in spite of the fact that this and several other very important issues divided women reformers during this era, Bredbenner demonstrates that they cooperated to form a united front in order to eliminate the remaining ambiguities and inequities of the Cable Act.

This well-researched, narrative study thoroughly explores the policy changes concerning women's citizenship during these years and provides much useful information about the impacts of the Expatriation Act of 1907 and the Cable Act of 1922. However, although the author includes a brief discussion about the difficulties of reconciling individualist feminism and the civic obligations of independent citizenship, she does not really address the kinds of theoretical questions about women's citizenship raised by the recent work of Linda Kerber and others. Nor is the context always as clear as it might be; for example, it is difficult to know what *proportion* of immigrant's wives were affected by the various changes in the law. Finally, important explanations of such topics as quotas and landmark court cases are too often found in the footnotes rather than in the text. Nevertheless, Bredbenner's book is a solid piece of scholarship and analysis about a very important early twentieth-century women's reform effort.

SUSAN D. BECKER
University of Tennessee

ANNA L. HARVEY. *Votes Without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920-1970*. (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 253. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

Anna L. Harvey's book answers a nagging question that has recurred perennially since 1920: why did women fail to use their votes effectively? Why didn't they develop a distinctive political voice? Harvey, a political scientist, develops an answer from the perspective of the 1990s, broadening the scope of inquiry to analyze women's political influence in the decades following the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification. Her deft mix of theory and evidence produces a compelling explanation.

Harvey's thesis, briefly put, is that women's exclusion from the vote prior to 1920 had "significant downstream consequences" for the type of electoral representation they later attained. In other words, history matters. It is a reassuring message to our profession and should predispose us to welcome the methodological insights this book provides. Harvey constructs a model for "a case of one" and uses it to "predict" the past: if an explanation meets the demands of the model, we may increase our confidence in its validity. Built into her model are recent theoretical constructs from political scientists about voter motivation and from economic historian Douglass C.

North regarding constraints imposed by institutional structures. Her explanations of these are clear, concise, and fascinating.

What she "predicts" is that women's prior exclusion from suffrage limited the opportunities available to suffrage organizations once their goal was achieved. Had the market for women's votes been perfectly competitive, these organizations could have leveraged women's votes to secure concessions from, or even to compete with, the major political parties. But the League suffered a comparative disadvantage deriving from its successful pursuit of suffrage. The organizational structures and policies that secured the vote became obsolete with the suffrage victory; leveraging votes from within the electoral system was a fundamentally different process. The major political parties were much better equipped for this purpose. Practiced at turning out votes, and aware from the suffrage victory that women could be mobilized, Democratic and Republican party organizations moved quickly to recruit female voters by establishing women's divisions at every bureaucratic level from precinct to national. The effect of this brief head start over the League was surprisingly important, and explaining it is Harvey's key contribution.

Harvey's inquiry is guided by theories of voting's social benefits or "solidarity incentives," which appear to be a primary motivator for voters. Once a critical mass of voters identifies with a group, further recruits are added with minimal additional effort. To oversimplify Harvey's argument, the suffrage organizations performed the hard work of initiating the group "women voters," and while they were regrouping for a new task, Democrats and Republicans mobilized this group as partisan voters and reaped the benefits for years to come.

The League recognized its disadvantage fairly quickly, after campaigning against the antisuffrage Republican incumbent in the New York Senate race of 1920 and suffering an embarrassing defeat. Shortly afterward, it began moving toward a policy of nonpartisanship. While League elites may not have realized the full impact of this strategy, it was a rational one, given that they had already lost electoral advantage. Once the threat of an independently coordinated women's vote was removed, parties leveraged women's votes for their own interests, and women's concerns were coopted or ignored. The parties maintained control until institutional changes in the 1960s lessened their role as vote mobilizers; then, at last, extra-party mobilization of women became possible.

In short, the reason women failed to develop leverage was that they had earlier been denied the vote. The rules of politics and the institutional constraints that worked against them would have worked equally against males had they instead been the previously disfranchised group. Thus Harvey answers the nagging question of women's political "failure" without relying on such amorphous variables as climate of opinion, gender ideologies, or gendered political cultures.

These hard-to-pin-down terms have achieved significance in recent women's historiography, in part, from attempts to explain women's disappointing political record. Harvey's findings do not invalidate the many studies of gendered culture that have enriched our understanding of nineteenth and early twentieth-century women in areas far beyond traditional political categories. The book does, however, provide a healthy dose of empiricism, and its argument for the centrality of institutional structures is convincing. Further, Harvey's work serves as an exemplary model of social science research, with theory consciously shaping the questions that guide the research. Perhaps more important, it explains the long absence of women's political influence in a manner at once sensible and satisfying.

PATRICIA G. ZELMAN
Tarleton State University

HUPING LING. *Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women and Their Lives*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1998. PP. xvii, 252. \$19.95.

Huping Ling's book is a testament to the growing maturity of Asian American historical literature in the last several decades. Notwithstanding the persistence of the "Oriental" image, as Chinese and Asian Americans have made strides in political and socioeconomic advancements, scholars have begun revisiting the significance of the Chinese American past in the larger narrative. The focus of this field has also shifted from simply foregrounding the historical contributions of Chinese Americans to one that highlights the agency of these actors and how that intersected with the lives of European Americans and non-Chinese racial minorities. Ling's sweeping saga of the lives of Chinese American women since the California Gold Rush is largely situated within that latter approach, though there is also a heavy emphasis on "naming" the contributions.

Aside from being the first book on Chinese American women to cover an expansive time frame, this study is also pathbreaking because it details this female experience in a number of different geographical regions, ranging from Hawaii to the East Coast, from the Upper Midwest to the South. Ling's coverage of the Midwest is particularly laudable, since scholars in the past have ignored the presence of Chinese American women and men in this region. Readers should be warned, however, that the author offers few regional comparisons and thus, the rationale for moving away from the emphasis on the West Coast has been somewhat undermined. Much to her credit, however, Ling does try to challenge the perception that the Chinese American female experience was unique. Ling has integrated her knowledge of the larger multiethnic American immigration past with the Chinese American narrative and found similarities and differences between these multiple histories.

In terms of the themes covered, the book offers few that are new or unknown to Chinese American scholars. It begins with the "push" and "pull" factors for emigration, which some immigration scholars have challenged. Seen as more of a systematic phenomenon, immigration, within the world systems theory, was shaped by colonization and capitalism in sending countries such as China as much as it was honed by labor demands of the receiving countries like the United States. Although Ling acknowledges that much for the prostitution trade, she is silent on the validity of this thesis for other first-generation Chinese American women.

The rest of the monograph offers insights into legal restrictions on immigration, settlement patterns, women's work, education, family life and personal identities, the generational gap, community and political involvement, and popular images of women. This panoramic view is chronologically divided into three distinct periods that correspond to the turning points in this female experience: early Chinese immigrant women from 1840s-1943; postwar Chinese American women from 1943-1965; and contemporary Chinese American women from 1965-1990. Such a periodization is a more accurate reflection of Chinese American women's history, which has evolved in ways that were different from that of Chinese American men. For example, as Ling points out, during the period of so-called unrestricted immigration (1848-1882), Chinese immigrant women were discouraged from coming and then barred from entering the country well before exclusion laws were promulgated.

Within this periodization, Ling offers a fairly nuanced understanding of the changing nature of female experience. For instance, those who arrived in the pre-1943 period mostly hailed from southern China, whereas those who emigrated in the following era originated in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other areas of China. Furthermore, reflecting the broadening class backgrounds of these emigrants, those who came after World War II enjoyed more socioeconomic mobility than those who preceded them. Unlike the earlier cohort, those who entered later encountered less isolation and discrimination, which in turn resulted from the changing sociopolitical climate and thawing of the Cold War. Women students, both from mainland China and Taiwan, in particular benefited from the lowering of those barriers. Ling's work is perhaps the first to offer an in-depth examination of the lives of these women students, who often came as "sojourners" but typically chose to stay for both professional and personal reasons.

This book is flawed in several respects. There is less discussion of working-class women compared to professional, middle-class women for the post-1943 period. The lives of these two groups could have been better differentiated. Ling is silent also on the question of sexuality, particularly lesbianism. The last chapter of this book, "Issues and Concerns," which covers a wide range of critical issues such as the "model

minority" myth, affirmative action, and interracial marriage, is too brief and is also loosely organized.

This work, on the whole, will be highly useful for classroom instruction in classes related to U.S. immigration, Asian American Studies, and Women's History. Scholars would also find the wealth of previously untapped information, particularly those culled from the National Archives and Chinese-language newspapers, augmented by an annotated bibliography, useful for furthering their research agendas.

BENSON TONG

Wichita State University

KATHY PEISS. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York, N.Y.: Metropolitan Books. 1998. Pp. xii, 334. \$25.00.

Kathy Peiss has written a history of American women's use of beauty products from the Victorian period into the present, although its strength and interest lie in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book's central, undertheorized argument is that women were not oppressed by the beauty industry, especially cosmetics, but enthusiastically participated in and created it. American women have not simply been deluded consumers of goods that undermine their self-esteem. Rather, they have reveled in beauty products, using them to navigate modern life and to create public statements about themselves as women. Although Peiss does not dispute the power of capitalism—corporations, advertising, and mass media—to create and profit from women's desire and fantasy, she argues that beauty culture is more complicated. Social relationships, rituals, and female institutions are critical in assessing the meaning of women's embrace of a culture devoted to their physical makeover.

She begins by examining women's efforts in the 1860s to improve their faces through beauty preparations whose secrets were passed between them or through the purchase of patent cosmetics and pharmacists' preparations. During the nineteenth century, the controversial use of "paint" or makeup to create an image or an identity began, an idea that Peiss identifies as fundamental and far-reaching in comprehending the power of cosmetics in everyday life (p. 49). Photographic and stage makeup introduced external and standardized models of beauty that challenged the natural ideal and began to find their way into ordinary life. Women's growing interest in beauty products was linked to their new sense of themselves as consumers. The theme of women using makeup to create a new public identity wends its way through the decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

One of the more interesting chapters is about the role of women in the cosmetic business. All sorts of women were beauty entrepreneurs. Madam C. J. Walker and Helena Rubenstein, the most prominent businesswomen, created empires and work opportunities for women. Peiss is interesting about the differences between black and white women's entrepreneur-

ial strategies, with the former more oriented toward personal dignity and collective advancement and providing a means to earn a living through selling beauty products or becoming hairdressers for the community. Beautifying was one of the few areas in which African-American women could express their entrepreneurial energies and earn a reasonable income. At the same time, Peiss points out that commercialized beauty raised political issues for the black community since often beauty standards were white, although Walker and others stressed racial pride and dignity through their products. Contradictions abounded in the calls for racial uplift and pride in magazines and newspapers of the 1920s and 1930s that simultaneously advertised face bleaches and hair straighteners. African-American women's pursuit of beauty represented desires for dignity, respect, and social participation, but that message was diluted throughout the 1930s as advertising, converging with white themes, began to focus on a beauty culture whose end result was romance and marriage.

The 1920s were critical years for mass-produced images that influenced female self-conceptions and beauty rituals. This was the period when a mass market developed for cosmetics and when the burden of female identity was shifted from an interior self to a personality based on marking and coloring the face. Makeup came to be seen as a true expression of individual feminine identity. Women increasingly internalized a regime of assessment and instruction, amid growing pressure to adjust their looks to new norms of feminine appearance. But, according to Peiss, they did "not simply copy the images they saw but adapted them to the requirements of their own lives"; makeup had become "a common language of self-expression and self-understanding" (pp. 201-02). She concludes on an upbeat note regarding women's ability to find pleasure, youthfulness, sexuality, and self-definition through the use of cosmetics.

In the last year of the twentieth century, there is a good deal of evidence that, despite or because of feminism, an unforgiving focus on women's bodies and faces as the keys to their happiness is more ferocious than ever. Numerous books are devoted to analyzing hegemonic, cruel, extreme beauty standards beamed at girls and women that undermine their health and even sanity. Alarmed writers document the suffering of adolescent girls and women based on unrealizable standards of beauty that create unrealistic and obsessive expectations of how their bodies should be, that victimize women and make them hate themselves, generating widespread anorexia and creating booming industries out of cosmetic surgery and dieting.

Peiss acknowledges the powerful hold of the cosmetics industry on women. She nods to but does not engage debates between feminists who decry victimization and those who uphold beautification and performance as resistance and self-invention and comes down, generally, somewhere in the latter camp. Hers is a measured position in an extreme situation. She does

not confront the late twentieth-century damage a vast, overwhelming, and inescapable consumer culture has created in the realm of female beauty. It may be that the power and destructiveness of the industry and media are not apparent until later in the twentieth century, after her book ends, that feminism and the crisis of heterosexual relations that the beauty industry has exploited are not so fully apparent until then. While the research is fascinating, in the midst of today's relentless focus on the objectification of women's bodies and faces there is something unsatisfying in asserting that women use makeup creatively. Part of the problem is that the book does not engage with other interpretations and contributions to the field. Peiss cites secondary work but does not use it to grapple with issues of objectification, gender, sexism, performance, sexuality, exploitation, culture, victimization, and identity. The material is undertheorized and underinterpreted. Although it is cheering to read an optimistic evaluation of women's resistance to their own objectification, and the material is wonderfully interesting, the book's distance from the damage around us is puzzling.

WINI BREINES

Northeastern University

JACK D. PRESSMAN, *Last Resort: Psychosurgery and the Limits of Medicine*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 555. \$49.95.

This book by Jack D. Pressman is at once a valuable history of psychosurgery in the United States, an apt reminder of how easily medical history is misread, and an insightful analysis into the nature of medical science. Between 1936 and 1951, nearly 20,000 Americans had brain operations for the treatment of mental illness. Most of these operations were lobotomies, which severed the connections between the frontal lobes of the brain and its deeper centers. Today, the terms "psychosurgery" and "lobotomy" arouse outrage and tragic visions of patients reduced to an emotionless, zombie-like state. Moreover, we know, the operations did not meet the standards of "good" medical science: the doctors who performed them did not have a sound theoretical or experimental basis for what they were doing. Therefore, they must have been incompetent or malicious. The usual moral drawn from the story of psychosurgery is that we must never again allow such charlatans to violate the protocols of "good" medical science.

Pressman acknowledges the horror and tragedy of psychosurgery but rejects the traditional lesson drawn from it as simplistic and dangerous. Based on an exhaustive analysis of hospital records, psychiatric correspondence, and contemporary medical literature, he argues that lobotomy was not an aberration from normal medical practice but central to it. To condemn it as "bad" science is unfair and anachronistic and ignores its affinities with other psychiatric and medical

therapies. Highly respected physicians and scientists promoted psychosurgery, and its Portuguese pioneer, Egas Moniz, received the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1949. Many intelligent people once regarded lobotomy as a medical success story akin to the discovery of germ theory or polio vaccine. The question is why? And why do we now look upon psychosurgery as the work of fools or monsters?

Pressman correctly addresses these questions by placing the history of psychosurgery firmly in its wider contemporary context. One can understand the positive reception of lobotomy and its subsequent rejection only by careful study of the dynamic of contemporary psychiatry, the dire condition of the nation's mental hospitals, and the complex relationship between science and medicine. Moreover, a careful examination of psychosurgery's initial success and subsequent failure can illuminate the ordinary workings of medical science in ways that traditional stories of medical triumphs (such as the discovery of diphtheria antitoxin) cannot. By traditional standards of medical history, the latter was a legitimate triumph because it "worked" therapeutically, while psychosurgery was an ignominious failure because it did not work — it did not "cure" anybody of any specific mental disorder. But this leaves the problem of why lobotomy was widely hailed as a significant medical breakthrough for nearly two decades.

Pressman's answer is first, that lobotomy did "work" within the context of its time. If it did not cure, it certainly changed patients psychologically and physiologically. Many case records reported that patients improved after the operation, if only marginally. Second, the history of lobotomy reveals that medicine routinely proceeds in ways that are less scientific and more influenced by social and professional concerns than most of us care to admit. Psychosurgery may have been a "stab in the dark," but the same is true of many more highly regarded medical developments. An eminent scientist such as Yale neurophysiologist John F. Fulton promoted psychosurgery because it seemed to demonstrate the clinical value of his own laboratory research on primate brains. (Pressman convincingly rejects the traditional story that Fulton's work with chimpanzees provided the intellectual stimulus for Moniz's development of psychosurgery. Fulton's true role, he argues, was more indirect and ultimately more important: he became the most important academic patron of the procedure and helped give it scientific credibility.) Many psychiatrists, striving for respectability as well as professional unity, embraced psychosurgery because they believed it would help to align psychiatry with mainstream scientific medicine. Many mental hospitals, derided as custodial warehouses and often severely overcrowded, underfunded, and understaffed, turned to lobotomies as a form of "human salvage" for patients for whom every other therapy had failed, and for whom even a slight improvement might be worth the risks. Many families anxious to do something for a loved one urged doctors to try even

this desperate remedy. The subsequent demise of lobotomy was due less to a rejection of its scientific validity than to changed circumstances: new drug therapies, psychiatry's retreat from its institutional base in the mental hospital, and the advent of more rigorous standards of what constituted valid medical knowledge and therapeutic effectiveness. Pressman's arguments are richer and more nuanced than this review can convey. Sadly, the author died shortly after completing this meticulously researched and elegantly reasoned book.

PETER McCANDLESS
College of Charleston

EDWARD K. SPANN. *Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and Its Members*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 247. \$45.00.

The Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) was a small, loosely organized group interested in issues of city and region, including housing and community development, transportation, recreation, and conservation. Among its principals were architects Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Charles H. Whitaker, and Frederick Ackerman, housing reformers Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer, economist Stuart Chase, conservationist Benton MacKaye, and Lewis Mumford, arguably the most influential writer about cities and regions in twentieth-century America. Collectively, RPAA members published an impressive array of books and articles promoting regionalism and other elements of their reformist agenda. They have also attracted considerable scholarly attention since the publication of Roy Lubove's *Community Planning in the 1920s: The Contributions of the Regional Planning Association of America* (1963); Carl Sussman's edition of articles written by RPAA members, *Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America* (1976); Daniel Schaffer's *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience* (1982); Donald Miller's richly textured biography, *Lewis Mumford: A Life* (1989); Mark Luccarelli's *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning* (1995); Robert Wojtowicz's *Lewis Mumford and American Modernism: Eutopian Theories for Architecture and Urban Planning* (1996); and Kermit C. Parson's magisterial edition, *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community* (1998). Clearly, if the vision of the RPAA has been neglected in the built environment, scholars have not ignored the importance of its members and their ideas.

Edward K. Spann's book thus covers much familiar ground, particularly in its analysis of three principal RPAA activities of the 1920s: MacKaye's advocacy of an Appalachian Trail that would preserve regional cultures, serve as a recreational outlet for residents of seaboard cities, and cause a countermigration to

healthy communities in the countryside; the involvement of Stein, Wright, Ackerman, and other RPAA members in the design and development of Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, and the “new town for the motor age,” Radburn, New Jersey, two experiments in community design undertaken by Alexander Bing’s City Housing Corporation; and “The Regional Community” issue of *The Survey* (May 1, 1925), edited by Mumford, which contained important essays by Mumford, Stein, MacKaye, Wright, Bing, and C. B. Purdum.

If much of the story of the 1920s will be familiar to readers, a genuine merit of this book is its tracing the story of the RPAA and its members through the 1930s. Building on the author’s *New York History* article, “Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Regional Planning Association of America, 1931–1936” (1993), the chapters devoted to the 1930s present the hopes (ultimately unrealized) that Roosevelt would make regionalism a focal point for the New Deal and the optimistic involvement of MacKaye and others in the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Spann chronicles the efforts of RPAA members to influence New Deal policy, their visions for a new American society that would emerge from the devastation of the Great Depression, and their fears as the decade ended and reactionary ideologies and militarism threatened the world order. Perhaps surprisingly, there is no systematic analysis of the Resettlement Administration’s greenbelt communities program, which clearly drew on the example of Radburn and the writings of RPAA members; similarly undeveloped is the treatment of perhaps the most influential member of the RPAA in the New Deal, Catherine Bauer, whom Gail Radford has explored in much greater detail in *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (1996).

Spann, whose *New Metropolis* (1981) established him as one of the most gifted historians to have written about New York City, surely found in the RPAA the intellectual ferment and reformist tendencies he celebrated in *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America, 1820–1920* (1989) and *Hope-dale: From Commune to Company Town, 1840–1920* (1992). But the RPAA has proven more elusive than even the fragmented politics and tumultuous society of antebellum New York. Spann writes about the RPAA and its causes with genuine enthusiasm and affection, but not with the authorial control he has demonstrated over the course of a prolific career. This book employs a biographical framework to elucidate the activities of the RPAA, a technique Spann used in a previous book, *Ideas & Politics: New York Intellectuals and Liberal Democracy, 1820–1880* (1972). Here, unfortunately, the strategy results in needless repetition. Perhaps it is important to quote MacKaye’s hopeful appraisal of Herbert Hoover as “our first engineer president” (p. 95) once, but three times (pp. 123–24, 153) is wearying

and symptomatic of broader organizational problems. Spann usually treats his readers to better history.

DAVID SCHUYLER

Franklin and Marshall College

GREG HISE. *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 294. \$35.95.

Greg Hise’s insightful book examines the development of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Region to reevaluate our notions about suburbanization in the post-World War II era. What he finds was not the unplanned, chaotic, and sprawling bedroom communities often associated with modern suburbanization but rather the “product of a planned dispersion of jobs, housing, and services throughout metropolitan regions” (p. 4). Indeed, the book is about historical continuity rather than the discontinuity associated with the postwar suburban movement. Hise ties the postwar suburban trend to two important interwar efforts: modern community planning and the minimum house movement.

Hise opens his book by tracing the influence of community planning, which refocused attention from the dwelling to the neighborhood. He sees the “Garden City” movement and the “Neighborhood Unit” idea as important influences. The interwar years, according to Hise, also witnessed an aggressive campaign to manufacture standard, low-cost houses for wage earners. Such ideas helped to shape the housing response to the rapid migration into California during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. A fascinating chapter on “Model Communities for Migrant Workers” looks at the Farm Security Administration’s innovative rural community projects for itinerant labor, projects that served as an example of community building efforts that could be developed quickly and efficiently.

World War II and the rapid expansion of the defense industry in southern California accelerated the growth of community projects. With massive migration to defense industry—particularly the airplane plants located within the Greater Los Angeles Region—decentralization made sense. Indeed, the author convincingly argues that the satellite communities emerging in Greater Los Angeles during the war were closely tied to the placement of airplane factories. Not just meant to be sterile bedroom communities, wartime developments such as Westchester, according to Hise, were planned as “complete communities for balanced living” (p. 148) that integrated residential, civic and commercial facilities.

Using a case study of a Kaiser Community Homes’ community project after the war, Hise challenges the traditional interpretation of the postwar suburban boom that identify it as homogeneous urban sprawl made possible by new and revolutionary production techniques appearing only after World War II. The author claims that production innovations were more evolutionary than revolutionary, that housing develop-

ments were located close to employment opportunities, and that economic and occupational diversity did exist within these new developments. In no way should the new developments be thought of as a rejection of urbanism and the city, the author concludes. Rather, community developers and planners thought about urbanism differently; they recognized "the intrinsic relationship between developments downtown and on the edge" (p. 160).

Hise concludes the book by examining the Kaiser community of Panama City and argues that the proposed development of San Fernando Valley suggests that planners and developers, influenced by early twentieth century planning notions, promoted a new type of regional metropolis made up of self-contained urban nodes. The final product of course would never satisfy the garden city advocates or even the neighborhood unit proponents, because of the strange mix of business principles and reform ideas. But its debt and ties to earlier ideas could not be denied.

This well-written and cleverly argued book provides another example of the maturation of both planning and suburbanization history. It also underscores the growing westward tilt of urban history by implicitly suggesting that Los Angeles was a trendsetter—concluding that its deliberate creation of a regional urban pattern was "consistent with development in most metropolitan areas throughout the country" (p. 214). Hise's identification of the postwar complete community developments as an alternative to traditional city and suburb is a particularly compelling argument that should be useful in the study of other metropolitan regions across the nation.

While this book is highly successful on so many levels, it fails to explain why the reality of complete community developments was lost to those who observed the phenomenon after World War II. One suspects that, had the author placed his story within the context of the changing discourse about the city and its metropolitan parts going on in the 1950s and early 1960s, he might have been able to handle that interesting question, too. For the organic metaphor of urban regional development gave forth to something quite different by this time, one that emphasized the parts as opposed to the whole. Such criticism aside, this is an important volume that needs the attention of not only urban and planning historians, but all who want to make sense of our contemporary metropolitan landscape.

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JAMES J. LORENCE. *Organizing the Unemployed: Community and Union Activists in the Industrial Heartland*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996. Pp. xx, 407. \$22.95.

Although mass unemployment was the overriding problem facing the nation in the 1930s, there have been surprisingly few studies of the movement of the unemployed. James J. Lorence's well-researched study of the Michigan movement provides a detailed portrait of its diverse organizations and varied protest activities. Lorence also enriches our knowledge of the much-studied United Auto Workers (UAW) by exploring the roles of the unemployed in building the UAW and of the UAW in aiding the unemployed.

The movement began with Communist-led community organizing and direct action. With the onset of the New Deal, a variety of groups competed as advocates for the unemployed. When the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established in 1935, the Workers Alliance (WA), a merger of all the major unemployed organizations, successfully applied a "collective bargaining model" (p. 11) to lead and represent workers employed on WPA projects. The UAW, on the heels of its spectacular sit-down victories, displaced the WA as the representative of WPA workers in Detroit during the 1937–1938 recession. Already weakened, the WA faced red-baiting attacks and disappeared in 1941. The UAW's WPA Welfare Department faded, too, because of the war boom and the elimination of the WPA in 1943.

The central figures in Lorence's story are the activists—Communists, Socialists, and other radicals—who organized the jobless. Often jobless themselves, these activists sought to alleviate the immediate problems of the unemployed and to build a social movement that embodied the values of egalitarianism, caring, and solidarity. Their accomplishments were many. The unemployed movement secured concessions that eased the circumstances of the unemployed. Experiences gained in the unemployed movement enabled many activists to become organizers of the UAW. Thousands of WPA project workers became union-minded, and unemployed workers provided important assistance to UAW strikes. Although Lorence emphasizes the theme of competition for the loyalty of the unemployed, he documents a remarkable degree of unity across political and organizational lines.

For the general reader, the most interesting feature may be the careful attention to the ethno-cultural contexts that helped shape the unemployed movement in different regions of the state. Lorence emphasizes the strength of Communist-oriented Finns and the "collective social ethic" (p. 79) in the Finnish community as contributing to a vibrant and militant movement in the Upper Peninsula. On the other hand, the influence of the conservative Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids with its concepts of "social harmony" and "deference to authority" (p. 10) led to a weak unemployed movement in western Michigan.

Where does Lorence's work fit into the debate in the labor history literature? Some scholars argue that the 1930s was a missed radical opportunity, a time when an "alternative unionism" was in the works but was snuffed out, while others see the coming of the Con-

gress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) as a critical gain for working people in the 1930s, and one to which radicals made a sizeable contribution. Lorence's principal theme is that unemployed workers gravitated to the UAW because it provided capable leadership that met their needs, providing support for the pro-CIO camp. He characterizes this process as a taming and cooptation of 1930s radicals, providing backing to the "alternative unionism" school. Rather than seeing this process as one imposed on workers, however, Lorence argues that the unemployed movement "welcomed . . . co-optation" (p. 82). Even with this caveat, this reader finds the cooptation argument unconvincing. Although Lorence notes a shift to lobbying and working with government officials, he also recounts the continued use by the unemployed movement of direct action techniques. It seems odd to argue, moreover, that "the New Deal had long since succeeded in coopting the [Workers] Alliance into the bureaucratic structure of an evolving liberal capitalist state" (p. 272) when its leaders were being forced out of their WPA jobs as Communists.

Lorence maintains that important factors in the eclipse of the WA in Detroit were its image of radicalism and its vulnerability to Communist charges. There are two problems with this argument. Lorence shows that direct action was critical to winning victories and consolidating a base of support among the unemployed. If the WA had eschewed radicalism, it would have had no base at all. Moreover, the UAW also had an image of radicalism from the sit-down strikes and the presence of Communists and Socialists in its leadership. The UAW split into two unions in 1939, with the losing conservative faction accusing its union rivals of being part of a Communist plot. Lorence is on firmer ground when he stresses the institutional strength of the UAW and when he notes that the WA remained the leader of the unemployed in the Upper Peninsula and in other communities where the UAW was less influential.

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KATHERINE PANDORA. *Rebels within the Ranks: Psychologists' Critique of Scientific Authority and Democratic Realities in New Deal America*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Psychology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 260. \$59.95.

Katherine Pandora has written a remarkably interesting account of Gordon Allport, Gardner Murphy, and Lois Barclay Murphy, three psychologists who developed a trenchant critique of neobehaviorist social science in the 1930s. Allport is perhaps best known for *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Gardner Murphy received his widest recognition for *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure* (1947). Lois Barclay's major work, *Vulnerability, Coping and Growth*, did not appear until 1976. However, their early psychological research in New Deal America was

especially fascinating; during this period the trio contested, from within the profession, the boundaries of acceptable scientific practice and knowledge. By focusing on their work of the 1930s, Pandora has not only filled a neglected gap in the history of psychology but has also produced a fine study of the ways in which science, society, and politics inform and shape one another.

Two major, interrelated themes weave themselves through Pandora's narrative. One focuses on the cultural context from which psychological science of the 1930s emerged. The other theme looks more directly at the nature of scientific discourse, focusing on the ways in which different methodological approaches shaped not only the kinds of questions one could ask but also what counted as scientific knowledge of the mind.

Pandora begins the book by placing Allport and the Murphys within an intellectual and political context shaped by the radical wing of Progressivism and radical activist Protestantism. She is particularly skillful at showing how these three psychologists combined their political commitments with William James's "radical empiricism." Radical empiricism, as defined by Allport, consisted of a "theory of knowledge, admitting all experiences of fact as hypotheses to be verified by future experience" (pp. 22–23). Pandora suggests that this radical empiricism gave Allport and the Murphys philosophical and methodological justification for their emphasis on individuality and the "individual-in-social-context" (p. 5). Their religious belief in social salvation as a precondition for individual salvation then provided a moral link from the individual to the social. This mix of religious social activism and Jamesian philosophy provided the trio with the crucial cultural resources by which they posited that science should be used for egalitarian economic ends. It was also against this background that their scientific interests developed, especially their concerns about the ways in which personality and society simultaneously construct each other.

Pandora also attempts to provide a social and cultural context for neobehaviorism, though less convincingly than she does for the dissenters. She argues that neobehaviorism "can be seen as emerging from a sense of anxiety about the city and a quest for control over the strangers who inhabit it" (p. 155). Behaviorism, for Pandora, arose out of scientists' desire to master and predict an increasingly unpredictable urban population.

The greatest strength of Pandora's work is in her explication of the methodological issues raised by these "rebels within the ranks." Although Allport focused on personality psychology and the Murphys on social psychology, these three psychologists shared an approach that favored "thick" description over experimentation, context over abstraction, and singularity over generalization. In contrast, neobehaviorists' scientific authority, in large part, resided in their ability to make universal knowledge claims. This required ex-

punging the particularities of the individual case by ferreting out differences, devising abstract, often quantifiable categories, and banishing the investigators' subjectivity. For Allport (as well as the Murphys), their mainstream colleagues' methods of acquiring knowledge did "little to engender understanding . . . for the individual person" (p. 64). Instead, they argued that the investigator's subjective insights and attention to the individual case were crucial for understanding the structure of personality and social psychology. Pandora uses these methodological conflicts to great effect, highlighting not only the social context in which they arose but also pointing to the larger epistemological issues they raise for both social and natural sciences.

Pandora's narrative is not without its faults, however. Foremost among them is her rather schematic exposition of neobehaviorism and its kindred spirits. Granted, she admits to using neobehaviorism as an umbrella term to encompass a variety of experimentally oriented perspectives. Nonetheless, her failure to provide greater detail of this rather diverse group of psychologists leads, at times, to an overly simplified dichotomy between the politically progressive, methodologically flexible dissenters and the rigid, short-sighted experimentalists. This difficulty notwithstanding, Pandora has produced a fine case study of the ways in which culture and science are constitutive of each other. In so doing, Pandora has written a history that should be of interest to specialists as well as to historians of medicine and science.

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KEITH E. EILER. *Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940-1945*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. PP. xvi, 588. \$39.95.

With this most unpretentious title, Keith E. Eiler begins a remarkably precocious book about everyone's favorite subject, World War II. There is not much derring do in the work; little of the heroism of *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *The Thin Red Line* (1998), or the works of Stephen Ambrose; none of the novelty of Rosy the Riveter, none of the pathos of Ernie Pyle nor the elegant, amused cynicism of A. J. Liebling. The book is a simple, straightforward account of the mobilization and brilliant career of Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson, who helped insure that the heroism and pathos were not in vain.

The book begins with Patterson's youth, moves on to his combat experience in World War I, then investigates his career as a lawyer and a judge. A fuller discussion of this pre-World War II phase of Patterson's career would have been appreciated, but the author had other beachheads to assault and moved quickly to do so. Mobilization is not a very gallant endeavor, involving contracts, priorities, machine tolerances, plant capacities, planning, materials alloca-

tion, one rifle versus another. Yet mobilization was the very stuff of the defense effort at home that insured American success abroad. The book's other contents include management, materials, labor, personnel, manpower, shortages, conversion, reconversion, and prices and profits. Throughout, the milieu was tense, chaotic, and unpredictable, an ambiance that Eiler captures very well: Patterson was "always looking into an unknown future from the perspective of an uncertain present" (p. 204). Among the book's many assets is an invaluable eighteen-page chronology of events in parallel columns showing how domestic and foreign, military and civilian events interacted. One could use either column for a college course outline.

More than anything else, the book is about connections, to employ a modern cliché. Every part of the war effort affected every other part. The bottom line in war was not whether small businesses or large got the contract, whether the miners got a raise, whether women or blacks got reform, whether General Motors got placated, or whether bureaucratic mobilizers Donald Nelson or Sidney Hillman got the upper hand but rather how any action contributed to the success of the men coming ashore on a Higgins boat at Normandy beach or a landing craft at Tarawa. The book does not make a "Cook's Tour" of the ethnic and racial minorities of the country. It does not dwell on the impact of the war on women. It gives short shrift to the notion that the government discriminated against small business in favor of big. As far as this reviewer can recall, the work does not even mention the phrase "military-industrial complex." It does not examine the Truman-Mead Senate investigating committee with the usual kudos. And it does not treat anybody's interest as sacred: labor, capital, minorities, sections, contractors, or politicians. It assumes that all these groups shared a public interest in winning the war. Like Patterson himself, Eiler treats the war effort as hallowed. Through dedication and skill, Patterson insured that it would also be successful.

All this is done with an even-handed scholarly manner that is outstanding. Although the author is quite familiar with the published literature on the war, the book is written almost entirely from primary sources, representing immense research. The book does not read like a detective novel, but given the complexities of its subject matter, it reads very well. And the author is not afraid to throw in words of wisdom along the way. Eiler, like Patterson, does not shrink from controversial issues, but he confronts them factually rather than ideologically. Thus, for example, revisionist historians who, in an attempt to repaint the picture of wartime solidarity, glory in the strike activity of unions will not be comforted by reading this book. They will be confronted with an explanation that labor stoppages cost the war effort in ingots of steel unsmelted, airplanes languishing on the assembly line, and tanks left without armor.

Similarly, Eiler does not neglect the race issue. Patterson was an eminently fair man and he often

supported the reform efforts of Judge William H. Hastie, the African-American advisor to the secretary of war, despite the jaundiced public and military view of them. But he had to make painful decisions that postponed race reform in the interest of national defense. When peace came and Patterson became secretary of war in 1945, however, he immediately started the machinery that ended military discrimination against blacks.

When Patterson died in a plane crash in 1952, he was praised by men of all sorts: Senate Majority Leader Ernest W. McFarland, Harry S. Truman, George C. Marshall, and Walter White, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In his conclusion, Eiler emphasizes that Patterson brought "a sense of uncompromising urgency" (p. 471) to the job of mobilization, and Eiler brings a similar sense of gravity to the task of writing its history. Unmistakably, the author agrees with Patterson that a public servant can transcend the legitimate, immediate special political interests of a society in order to defend its ultimate ones.

ROGER W. LOTCHIN
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GERALD F. LINDERMAN. *The World Within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II*. New York: Free Press, 1997. Pp. viii, 408. \$26.00.

PETER SCHRIJVERS. *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II*. New York: New York University Press, 1998. Pp. xiii, 325. \$34.95.

These volumes enhance the growing literature on the combat experience in World War II, filling a gap of ignorance created by the reluctance of combat veterans to discuss candidly their experiences and made worse by the recent growth of the "Good War" myth. Gerald F. Linderman, known for previous studies of fighting in the Spanish-American War and the Civil War, looks at the reactions of American frontline troops to the nature of battle. Much of what he says reinforces conclusions reached by previous scholars.

GIs, like all soldiers, were initially naïve, underestimating their opponents, talking big, and expecting the other guy to die. When reality dawned, usually partway into the first campaign, certain coping mechanisms came into play. One was to develop a specialized knowledge of the job at hand, applying lessons learned from the battlefield and fostering combat intuition. This was not entirely successful, because it was clear that luck as much as savvy saved individual lives. Facing that irrational element, soldiers called for supernatural intervention, praying to God or "Lady Luck." But not all prayers were answered, and luck was a perverse "bitch." Also, relying on luck and acquired battle instinct robbed one of control and led to the dangerous eclipse of reason. The final coping mechanisms, reached often alongside of exhaustion, were numbing, coarsening, even brutalizing. Finally, one

tried to survive by shutting out horror at the expense of humanity. Linderman correctly notes the danger that this could flood over into contempt for life, shooting prisoners, robbing and raping civilians, and delighting in gratuitous destruction. In Europe, says Linderman, such forgetting of the accepted rules was sporadic and individual, not widespread, consistent, or sanctioned by authority, because of mutual respect between enemies. An omission here is the author's failure to address the charge that Americans, with official approval, maltreated many German prisoners in retaliation for the death camps. Linderman argues that in the Pacific, brutalization of the senses came faster and was more pervasive in response to Japanese cruelty. This reactive scenario is not entirely satisfying. Many U.S. personnel were predisposed by Pearl Harbor and longstanding contempt for Asians to fight ruthlessly; Japanese atrocities only stoked the flames.

Linderman's greatest contribution is in questioning myths about combat that still have wide currency. It is popularly believed that war provides a grand spectacle, an intoxicating adventure as the complexity of life is simplified to the elemental "live or die," and consequently that there is a "high" transcending even sexual climax. The author suggests that each of these is exaggerated. Spectacle is extinguished in the ruin of war, while living on the edge leads from stimulation to exhaustion. Also, comradeship in the club of war is overrated. Although GIs found comfort in the buddy system, it could not compensate for frontline misery and fell apart when a man failed his friends. Also, the oft-repeated claim that combat veterans are a fraternity with special insight denied civilians has never been proven. Sometimes, veterans' claims that civilians cannot appreciate their experience are a deliberate distancing of resented noncombatants. Linderman states correctly that many GIs begrudged doing more than their share of the fighting, but he understates the extent to which anger and combat trauma continued to plague postwar lives. Also, he deals neither with race nor homosexuality as factors affecting the nature of comradeship.

Linderman's point—that the spectacle of war does not sustain—could be the paradigm for the work of Peter Schrijvers, a Belgian scholar who had often wondered why Americans exude pity, even condescension, for those who live outside America and assume that Europeans, even in the late twentieth century, lead cramped, deprived lives. He finds much of the answer in the American experience of the world wars, particularly World War II, where American soldiers saw a Europe exhausted by two huge conflagrations and took this to be normality for the continent.

The GIs who served in Europe saw great natural beauty, magnificent architecture, ancient artifacts. At first, this could enthrall. Yet it was quickly tainted by the soldier's suffering and his exposure to the meanness and inhumanity of war. Europe's ever-present past actually seemed to be part of the problem, the disease, that had brought the debacle about. European

nations had been unable to forget past quarrels or to liberate themselves from a feudal past that had produced tyrants like Adolf Hitler. Even Europe's many languages suggested an archaic inability to overcome historic barriers. Europe's fields literally and symbolically smelled of rotting corpses. So far as natural beauty went, Americans endured nature as combatants rather than visited it as tourists. They fought through its mud, rain and ice, blistering heat, jagged rock, lethal Normandy hedgerows, quaint villages hiding German snipers, and beautiful forests sown with mutilating land mines. They hated the pain and death that they associated with the European landscape.

They also saw what Europe's inability to liberate itself from what the patterns of history had done to the economy. They were appalled by the deprivation of Europe, the lack of luxuries, even essentials of living. Although Britain had not been invaded, its people were poor compared to Americans, and many endured mean lives. On the continent, civilians picked over the dead on both sides, begged, or prostituted themselves for food. Europe appeared bankrupt morally and economically, and the impression was indelible. The GIs did respect the cleanliness in the Low Countries, the artistic ability of the Latins, the professionalism of the German opponent. At first, the fighting ability and mechanical equipment of the Germans impressed the Americans. As the enemy war machine wore down, however, this respect evaporated as horse-drawn equipment and raw young boys were encountered in battle.

In short, the experience of war reinforced a preexisting American attitude that Europe was moribund, held captive to its bloody history, and morally and economically rotten at the core. The revelations of the death camps only confirmed that the continent was sunk in decadence and decay. The GIs were convinced that the future must be guided by the youthful new powers, one from the East and one from the West, the Soviet Union and the United States. These fresh, vital forces, meeting on the ruins of Nazi Germany, represented hope for the future.

I find Schrijvers' thesis compelling; it helps to explain why, even today, Americans openly assume that Europeans who move to the United States must necessarily be better off in all respects than they were in the Old Country. The author has also done a service by reminding us that history must be inclusive and look at the interactions between peoples. My only criticism is that Schrijvers tends to overstate his case. Not all GIs loathed Europe or lost their awe of its ancient treasures. Some loved the people and respected their lack of materialism. Also, I am hard-pressed to believe that most Americans found the European climate less temperate than their own, even when they were fully exposed to its rigors; think of Mississippi in August or Milwaukee in January. Again, not all GIs were middle class, shocked by European deprivation. Indeed, shock could go the other way; British GI brides, going to the South, expected to find Tara but sometimes got a

sharecropper's cabin without running water. And I have some trouble with the idea that many Americans ever saw the Soviets as a youthful, fresh breath of power. Certainly, Joseph Stalin would appear more in line with the GIs' systemic rot theory of European growth.

Finally, both books give only token mention of the consequences of their themes for the postwar world. This is unfortunate, for the repercussions are with us still, molding lives, international politics, and American distrust of the past unadorned by myth.

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JAMES A. BILL. *George Ball: Behind the Scenes in U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 274. \$30.00.

James A. Bill set out in his "unconventional" biography of the American statesman, George Wildman Ball, to "uncover the essence of the American foreign policymaking system and to develop a model of statecraft for the twenty-first century" (p. xiii). The author's biographical approach is unconventional insofar as he selectively focuses on Ball's corporate law career, his strongly held foreign policy ideas, and his diplomatic service, which began during World War II when Ball accepted a position as counsel to the Lend-Lease program.

After the war, Ball joined the international law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly, and Cox, initially representing Venezuelan oil interests, Cuban sugar businesses, and French economic enterprises. He also began a close association with French economist and diplomat Jean Monnet, who greatly influenced Ball's thinking on European economic and political integration and became Ball's role model concerning the techniques of personal persuasion and networking. During the Eisenhower era, Ball defended Henry A. Wallace against Joseph McCarthy's slanders, worked in Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign, developed a lifelong dislike for Richard M. Nixon, and became acquainted with or befriended politicians, international corporate leaders, and influential members of the foreign policy establishment. In 1954 he helped found the "Bilderberg group" of Western political and financial leaders who shared ideological and material interests in European-American cooperation and trade. When President John F. Kennedy came to power, Ball won the post of undersecretary of state for economic affairs, specializing in European economic and political integration, trade and tariffs, and Congo, but he also counseled Kennedy on other matters, including the war in Indochina and the missile crisis in Cuba. He continued to serve under Lyndon B. Johnson, advising him not only on European trade issues but on European defense and the crises in Cyprus, Congo, the Dominican Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Vietnam. On September 21, 1966, Ball resigned from the Johnson administration for family and financial

reasons and joined the Lehman Brothers banking firm; he had long neglected his family and had never been able to parlay his economic connections and expertise into great personal wealth. Nonetheless, in November 1967 and March 1968, he participated in the fateful meetings of Johnson's circle of "Wise Men" about the war in Vietnam, and in April 1968 he responded to Johnson's call to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN). His stint at the UN, however, was brief. Ball resigned to work for Hubert H. Humphrey's presidential campaign. During the years of Jimmy Carter's presidency, Ball was excluded from power by Zbigniew Brezinski's opposition, but he continued to express his views on important issues of policy and politics, such as Arab-Israeli conflict, until his death in May 1994.

Bill argues in his final chapter that Ball, unlike many other key policy makers, was not preeminently a globalist and, more importantly, exercised exceptional prudence in the practice of statesmanship. He dubs Ball's behavior "phronesis," an Aristotelian term meaning good "judgment embodied in action in particular circumstances" (p. 204). Bill unfavorably compares Henry A. Kissinger, an extreme globalist, whose diplomacy was one of shortsighted realpolitik and selfish vanity.

Although Bill's unconventional biography adds little that is significantly new about Ball's career compared to Ball's own memoirs and other books on specialized topics, such as David L. DiLeo's *George Ball, Vietnam, and the Rethinking of Containment* (1991), the author does provide a useful, balanced synthesis of Ball's life sprinkled with additional evidence and illustrative anecdotes drawn from Ball's personal papers and interviews with his former colleagues. Some of the information Bill presents, however, casts a shadow on his praise of Ball's prudence and foresight. During the 1960s, Ball was, for example, an imprudent lobbyist for the Multilateral Force proposal. His recommendations on America's misguided Congo policy were apparently partly influenced by his business interests there. He initially opposed U.S. mediation of the Cypriot civil war. Although widely recognized as a prescient critic of Johnson's Vietnam escalations from within the administration, he defended those policies to Congress and others on the outside. In his pursuit of power and influence as an adviser, he not only compromised his principles but was at times, like Kissinger, a shameless self-booster. Despite his ambitions for power and his fervently held views, however, Ball was no doubt a more prudent and farsighted statesman than most others during this period of militant American hegemony and Cold War crisis. Bill does not adequately explain the sources of Ball's foreign policy views, but his book is a useful study of an important second-tier policy maker, who, like other "in-and-outers," maintained positions and ties with the international corporate world while intermittently serving in government and who, within the career bureaucracy, exercised

considerable influence on the making of foreign policy.

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IRENE L. GENDZIER. *Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1945–1958*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 470. \$39.95.

Behind the apparent ease with which American marines waded ashore onto Beirut beaches in July 1958 lay years of negotiation between United States officials and members of the Lebanese elite. Foremost among the latter was President Kamil Sham'un (1952–1958), who had succeeded in obtaining a commitment from Washington to send in American troops when he gave the signal. In this book, Irene L. Gendzier explains how U.S.-Lebanese relations arrived at this point.

Although the Eisenhower administration made its largest overseas troop commitment at Beirut, the American public had little knowledge of U.S.-Lebanese relations. One of Gendzier's goals is to detail the close ties between the two nations, extending back to Lebanon's independence from France in 1943. These relations became more complex in the early postwar years as U.S. firms sought transit rights for pipelines to carry Iraqi and Saudi Arabian oil to the Mediterranean, and Pan American Airways negotiated for landing rights at Beirut. These and other initiatives received strong support from U.S. officials.

Gendzier admits that strategically Lebanon did not hold the primacy of an Iran or a Turkey, but she affirms its growing importance to the U.S. after Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power following the Egyptian revolution of July 1952. Once Nasser established ties with the Soviet Union, Sham'un used American concern over increased Soviet activity in the region to extract the fateful commitment from Washington.

Gendzier argues persuasively that U.S. intervention in 1958 came not solely in response to the coup in nearby Iraq but more importantly because the reformist opposition in Lebanon's civil war, whom Secretary of State John Foster Dulles did not trust, seemed about to overwhelm Sham'un and destabilize the region. The arrival of the Sixth Fleet appeared to follow naturally from the U.S. commitment of May 13, 1958. And yet, absent the Iraqi coup, we cannot be certain the U.S. would have kept its promise, fulfillment of which hinged on four interdependent points. The Eisenhower administration had a lot of wiggle room. But we do not need a definitive answer. It is enough that Gendzier has put Lebanon center stage, reminding us that it was never merely a surrogate for Iraq.

One finds another story of Lebanon here; one that has not been told in much detail elsewhere. American policy makers did all they could to maintain the status quo in the troubled 1950s. They recognized the need for economic and political reform but turned their backs on reformers, lest they introduce instability into an already turbulent region. (At the same time Wash-

ington was pursuing similar policies in Iran and elsewhere in the area.) Thus, officials ignored demands of "radical" unions for better working conditions. They turned aside opposition calls for cutting the link between religious confession and politics, fearing a threat to the existing ruling class. One can only speculate how such a reform might have altered Lebanon's later, bloody history.

Gendzier emphasizes the "calculated and exploitative relationship between Washington and Beirut," which she claims was characteristic of American policy throughout the region (p. xiii). This comes as no surprise to those familiar with the history of U.S.-Middle East relations. What her study also reveals, but does not emphasize sufficiently, is how successfully some regional leaders such as Sham'un (the shah of Iran was another) could manipulate the Americans to achieve their own objectives.

Minor themes abound. Gendzier clarifies the role of the much-maligned Nasser in this affair. Long before U.S. intervention, he calmly suggested the same solution that Washington later adopted, without, of course, any credit to the Egyptian leader. The anti-Sham'un forces in the short-lived civil war were as strongly pro-American as was the president. Israeli leaders established ties with Maronites even before 1948 and encouraged American intervention in 1958. This provides interesting background for understanding developments of the early 1980s in Lebanese-Israeli relations.

Gendzier passes over almost in silence the role of France during these critical years. One wonders how Paris, which retained many interests in Beirut, responded to American intervention. Had French fortunes fallen so low by 1958 that the U.S.—and Gendzier—could safely ignore them?

More important than any omissions, however, are some stylistic difficulties that make heavy going for readers. Gendzier quotes extensively from diplomatic cables, and their abbreviated language interrupts the flow of the story. Elsewhere, too many sentences (see chapters one and seven) defy easy decipherment. Columbia University Press ought to have presented a more reader-friendly volume. Ultimately, of course, responsibility lies with the author.

In spite of these imperfections, specialists will benefit from the wealth of information and detailed analysis on U.S.-Lebanese relations.

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MARGOT A. HENRIKSEN. *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997. Pp. xxv, 451.

In this book, Margot A. Henriksen explores the influence of the atomic bomb on postwar American culture. She argues that scholars have underestimated the bomb's sustained disruptive impact on the American

psyche. Surveying popular culture from the 1940s through the 1960s, particularly film and fiction, Henriksen tries to show that apprehension about the bomb affected most forms of artistic expression.

America's use of atomic weapons, and the subsequent nuclear build-up, contributed to a national sense of guilt, increased moral ambiguity, and general anxiety in the postwar years, according to Henriksen. She cites examples of rebellion against Cold War ideals from film, fiction, art, poetry, and popular music. Moreover, she sees the growth of a "culture of dissent" that responded to the development of nuclear weapons (p. xx). She posits that this criticism became more confrontational and mocking through the use of black humor, exemplified by Stanley Kubrick's film *Dr. Strangelove* (1964).

Henriksen devotes most of her attention to film. Admirably, she discusses movies without assuming that the reader has seen them, and she displays a fine eye for detail in her analysis of film. Her enthusiasm frequently prevails over brevity. Paraphrasing and additional assessment would be preferable to the book's numerous lengthy block quotations of movie dialogue.

Henriksen is intrigued by Alfred Hitchcock's films, which she sees as addressing the themes of postwar madness and societal confusion. Her interpretations of Hitchcock's work are selective. She neglects the conformist elements of his films. Henriksen presents Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954) as representative of artistic dissent because it provided a glimpse of "an emblematic community of America's lonely, alienated and violently discontented" (p. 137). However, one could argue that the film slyly endorsed then burgeoning suburbia through its depiction of a spiritually vapid urban setting where residents lived in a disturbing combination of claustrophobic proximity and awful isolation.

The writings of Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and J. D. Salinger and the films of James Dean are covered by Henriksen when she studies cultural unrest in the 1950s. She is to be commended for including the author Jim Thompson. She does not mention women Beat poets who published in the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as Diane di Prima and Lenore Kandel. Indeed, most of the writers, poets, actors, artists, and social critics that Henriksen mentions are men. Absent from this section, too, is the emergence of the civil rights movement.

Henriksen provides a strong assessment of the revived interest in civil defense and bomb shelters in the early 1960s. Regrettably, amid these thorough and thoughtful passages she quickly dispenses with the Cuban missile crisis. Henriksen regards the increasing use of black humor in film and fiction in the 1960s as a subversive assault on Cold War ideology. Within the context of subversion, she finally discusses the civil rights movement, but it is an awkward fit, as is the placement of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) here. She offers intriguing observations about chang-

ing depictions of American families in television sitcoms during the 1960s, but overall her treatment of television is somewhat diffident. Henriksen's brief foray into the work of artists such as Andy Warhol and Tom Wesselmann also seems incomplete and perfunctory.

One obvious problem in Henriksen's book is that neither the civil rights movement nor the Vietnam War neatly fit within her explanation that postwar discontent stemmed from concern about nuclear weapons. Henriksen minimizes the shattering cultural impact of the Vietnam War, saying that the "culture of dissent emerged well before the worst excesses of the Vietnam War were evident" (p. 341). She overlooks the fact that the war itself provided what SDS leader Carl Oglesby termed in early 1965 "the razor" that shredded the belief that democratic ideals guided American foreign policy. Vietnam and the civil rights movement made the dissent that Henriksen herself has described as occurring primarily in film, fiction, and art a pervasive public trauma.

This is a work of synthesis, so specialists will differ with Henriksen on particular points. She dredges up the seemingly deathless anecdote about Richard M. Nixon's so-called "madman theory," which was convincingly rebutted by Joan Hoff's *Nixon Reconsidered* (1994). When Henriksen places Barry McGuire's number one hit from 1965, "Eve of Destruction," within the framework of rock protest songs, she could say more about its connection to the protest tradition in folk music. A young folk singer named P. F. Sloan wrote the song, and McGuire was formerly a member of the folk group the New Christy Minstrels. Lyrically and musically, the song resembles Bob Dylan or Phil Ochs more than concurrent rock.

Henriksen's extensively researched book provides an interesting perspective on post-World War II American culture. Commendably, she has written for a broad audience. She occasionally compresses too many complex issues within too few pages. The plethora of examples mentioned makes the book cluttered in places. Thorough exploration of fewer topics would have kept the narrative flowing more smoothly. The breadth of Henriksen's effort is admirable, however, as is her inclusion of popular fiction, science fiction, and films such as *The Birds* (1963) and the harrowing *Lady in a Cage* (1964). Henriksen oversimplifies the anxiety and turmoil of this period by attributing so much of it directly to misgivings about nuclear weapons. But her book will certainly stimulate further research into the relationship between the proliferation of those weapons and the profound societal upheaval of these decades.

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ANDREAS WENGER. *Living with Peril: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nuclear Weapons*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1997. Pp. xvi, 461. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$26.95.

CAMPBELL CRAIG. *Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 216. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$19.50.

A kind of end-of-century complacency has come to surround the topic of nuclear strategy, the result of the Cold War's end, which has lulled us into the mistaken impression that a long-standing danger has been removed. But the passage of time—and, with it, the end of superpower conflict—also makes possible new perspectives, and the release of previously classified documents a deeper understanding of the "bad old days."

Campbell Craig's brief but brilliant volume on the nuclear strategies of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations is an example of the best of this post-Cold War scholarship. Based on declassified documents recently made available at presidential libraries and in the redoubtable Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series, Craig's book blows the smoke away from the stale debate over whether Ike's was a "hidden-hand" presidency or the lucky bumbling of a would-be Svengali in favor of a refreshingly new thesis, which the author argues convincingly: having had personal experience of war, Eisenhower was so determined to prevent a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union that he opposed his closest advisers as well as learned academics in order to make such a war almost literally unthinkable, and, to that extent, impossible.

The deliberate choice that Ike insisted on was one between peace and global annihilation. To that end, Eisenhower steadfastly resisted the importunings of his own secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, and of a whole platoon of armchair strategists—civilians mostly—who urged him to include limited war and tactical nuclear weapons to the strategic menu of ways to deal with the Communist threat. Ike's approach was almost the antithesis of strategy as normally understood, for war planning at least implies choices. By deliberately making the single choice as stark as possible—"all or nothing," as Craig notes—Eisenhower understood that he was really giving the enemy overseas (as well as the hawks in his own camp) no choice but peace.

The twin inspirations behind Ike's position were the Clausewitzian notion that total war can begin on a small scale and the president's realization that the U.S. enjoyed a substantial nuclear advantage over the Soviet Union, popular impressions of a "missile gap" notwithstanding. Should the Russians be rash enough to start a war over Berlin, Eisenhower told his National Security Council in January 1959, "we will finish it. That is all the policy the President said he had" (p. 94).

Craig argues that President John F. Kennedy and his whiz kids arrived on the scene aghast at this approach and fully intending to muddy the strategic waters by adding an entire spectrum of military options to U.S. war planning—one that would eventually stretch from

the Green Berets to Curtis E. LeMay's "Sunday Punch." This goal was even achieved, at least on paper, with Robert McNamara's revision of the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) for war with the Soviet Union. But McNamara himself ultimately surrendered to the conclusion that had been the starting premise with Eisenhower—that a nuclear war could not be won, and hence must not be fought—following the chastening experience of the Cuban missile crisis. Even the whiz kids came to rely on what Kennedy adviser McGeorge Bundy later called "existential deterrence" to keep the peace. Ironically, existential deterrence would be in place some thirty years before Bundy coined the term, because of Eisenhower.

Refreshingly, Craig writes with a lively style and is not afraid to point out when his venerable elders—statesmen or historians—are found to be wearing nary a stitch. His thesis, therefore, is a valuable corrective to the notion that nuclear strategy arrived *de novo* with the Kennedy administration or sprang from the forehead of McNamara. Although one may quibble that a few of Craig's portraits are a bit too sharply drawn—Dulles may have been a Presbyterian moralist, but he was also an early and driving force behind the nuclear test ban, for example—both the originality and the rigor of the author's analysis is impressive.

A workmanlike but ultimately less impressive work is Andreas Wenger's book, which draws on some of the scholarship of the past ten or fifteen years but does not go beyond it. Wenger's book attempts to follow four "streams of thought," ranging roughly from the view that nuclear weapons serve no useful purpose beyond deterring their own use to the contention that states may advance their political aims by employing them in gamesmanship. The problem with this approach is that these "streams" so often criss-cross and merge or turn into rivulets that later become dry sand that it is hard to tell where this debate actually comes out. The author himself seems implicitly to recognize this fact, for the majority of the book is a straightforward narrative of events, which covers some now rather familiar ground.

Although Wenger's book, like Craig's, cites a plethora of recently declassified documents, its conclusion is neither remarkable nor original in the assessment that both Eisenhower and Kennedy engaged in "nuclear learning" about the "psychopolitical" benefit of nuclear weapons—the major precept of this education being that there is little or no actual political utility to nuclear weapons in a world of nuclear powers.

Curiously, one historical issue raised by both authors that remains, however, only a brief and truncated discussion in the two books is the topic of preventive war and preemptive attack. As Craig and Wenger acknowledge, the possibility of striking first to disarm and perhaps destroy the Soviet adversary before his weapons posed a mortal peril to this country was seriously raised at least twice in the Eisenhower administration before being beaten down. What neither author discusses is the revival of this option within the

Kennedy administration at the time of the 1961 Berlin crisis, when some of those close to the president discussed the feasibility of a disarming strike against Soviet strategic forces if the crisis appeared to be getting out of hand.

Historians have only recently learned the details of another occasion when the Kennedy administration considered a preemptive attack—against China's nascent nuclear program—in this particular case, with Soviet complicity if not cooperation. Those occasions when the United States, whether out of fear, dread for the future, or some hoped-for geopolitical advantage, considered removing the Soviet threat in the most direct way possible seem a worthwhile topic for further exploration and the proper focus of a future post-Cold War nuclear history.

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ROGER D. LAUNIUS and HOWARD E. MCCURDY, editors.
Spaceflight and the Myth of Presidential Leadership.
Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997. Pp. 262.
Cloth \$36.95, paper \$19.95.

Readers will immediately appreciate the impressive line-up of contributors to this volume. They include Fred Greenstein (with David Callahan) on Dwight D. Eisenhower and early space policy; Michael Beschloss on John F. Kennedy and the lunar project decision; Robert Dallek on the politics of the Apollo Program; Joan Hoff on Congress and the the political context of space initiatives of the 1970s; Lyn Ragsdale on the George W. Bush and Ronald Reagan years; Robert Ferrell on international politics and negotiations; and John Logsdon, on national leadership and presidential power. Finally, editors Roger D. Launius and Howard E. McCurdy add knowledgeable commentary in their introduction and conclusion.

In their introduction, Launius and McCurdy describe the book's approach in terms of the expectations space advocates had for the "imperial presidency" as a means to achieve political endorsements and federal dollars for space exploration. Complex political dynamics, as well as the rise and fall of the imperial presidency syndrome, proved frustrating to space-age partisans. As the editors explain, the book evolved from a two-day symposium convened in 1993 by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) History Office and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. While some of the contributors, like Logsdon, had written about space policy issues, the symposium's principal presidential scholars had not previously addressed the space program in much detail. Consequently, these essays have a fresh quality about them, enhanced by the broad and keen perspectives that the participants brought to bear on the subject.

In the case of Eisenhower, Greenstein and Callahan argue that he contributed to space activities in the indirect way that often characterizes current interpre-

tations of his presidency. His support of rocketry in the name of national security provided essential building blocks for subsequent technology and space policies. By the time of Kennedy's administration, a number of basic bureaucratic trends were already in motion. As Beschloss points out, Kennedy effectively used Cold War exigencies as a rationale for many space policy initiatives, an approach that beguiled space advocates (a shifting but often impressive lineup of bureaucratic, military, and industrial leaders). They came to believe—mistakenly, as it turned out—that the momentum of the imperial presidency would carry the day in securing necessary political support and budgetary largesse for expanding space programs. Because President Lyndon B. Johnson's unparalleled understanding of the Byzantine ways of Congress led to adequate budgets for a successful lunar landing program, space partisans continued to hitch their wagons to presidential stars. As Dallek points out, however, the realities of Johnson's wheeling and dealing belied the real ability of presidential power alone to sustain space programs. Johnson's brokering abilities were not those of his successors, and Congress proved increasingly hostile to political maneuvering.

By the time that Richard M. Nixon took office, Vietnam and other issues eroded presidential devotion to space programs as crucial to national well-being. Hoff explains how space advocates mistakenly blamed Nixon's personality for a lack of momentum in space technology; they failed to comprehend political realities and the limitations of presidential policy initiatives in the hands of an increasingly truculent Congress. With the election of Reagan and his successor, Bush, the space community anticipated positive dividends, based on public pronouncements of both officials. As Ragsdale notes, congressional skeptics and effective lobbying by competing bureaucratic entities eventually forced the space community to reassess its position and pay much more attention to the many competing segments of government, not just the presumed power of White House endorsements.

Although the space community invariably looked to international relations as a factor that would enhance space programs, Ferrell shrewdly points out that such expectations often became paradoxical. On the one hand, presumed competition with the Soviet Union helped win dollars and endorsements supporting the lunar landing in 1969 (the Apollo Program). On the other, international conundrums could constrain as easily as they could encourage an activist space policy. Logsdon, a veteran observer of space development, comments on the tendency of presidents to use American space success as a symbol for international leadership and as a pattern for molding a more successful domestic society at home. The editors conclude with an astute analysis of space-age politics in terms of "pork-barrel" legislation, state politics, and general public attitudes about space exploration and the space race of decades past. One fascinating aspect has to do with the shifting attitudes of Democrats and Republi-

cans over the issue of space-related items in the national budget. For example, Democrats found convincing rhetoric in the language of rocketry and the New Frontier during the Kennedy years—a sort of space-age egalitarianism. Over time, as the aerospace industry employed larger numbers of workers in the South and West in particular, Republican congressional delegations became far more supportive, and Democratic politicians became less enthusiastic about big rockets and more favorable to specific social legislation. Never as simple as it looked, the relationship between space policy and national politics—especially presidential politics—was always changeable and continues to change. Whether one finds this epoch of space exploration to be admirable or a chronicle of misguided international competition, it remains nonetheless as one of the benchmarks of the twentieth century. As Ferrell wrote "It has been a long passage from the 1950s to the 1990s, pursued on the U.S. side largely by the nation's presidents, without much understanding by the American people, pursued at the beginning and perhaps through most its passage for the wrong or at least questionable reasons. But in its results, the cornucopia of achievements, it has been vastly worthwhile" (p. 198).

Each of the chapters ends with an impressive set of source notes. There is a very useful index. Overall, this collection has more cohesiveness and continuity than many such published proceedings. It has been skillfully edited. Scholars as well undergraduates will find much that is useful in this publication. Against a backdrop of political analysis, it sets the standard for future discussions of the space program.

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MURRAY FRIEDMAN. *What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance*. Assisted by PETER BINZEN. New York: Free Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 423. \$24.95.

SETH FORMAN. *Blacks in the Jewish Mind: A Crisis of Liberalism*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 274. \$35.00.

These two works are about history, memory, identity, and especially power—and how these things are claimed, used, and for what purposes. Murray Friedman presents a comprehensive view of the relationship between African Americans and Jews from the colonial period to the present, largely organized in a chronological format but not to the neglect of thematic discussions. Seth Forman's book is a twentieth-century discussion, a sort of cultural-intellectual history of the ways Jews have recently related to, and imagined, black Americans and their perceived needs.

Friedman's book is grounded in the thesis that there *was* indeed a positive, progressive alliance of blacks and Jews during much of the twentieth century, despite

the "irresponsible historical revisionism" of writers such as Harold Cruse, David Levering Lewis, and Leonard Jeffries, which has characterized this relationship as one-sided and primarily benefiting Jews, often to the detriment of African Americans. The author concedes that there were times of turbulence in this relationship—the present state of things being a case in point—but argues that there was extensive common ground shared by blacks and Jews and their joint efforts led to positive advances in civil rights, social sciences, and cultural expression. Friedman's "sorrow and anger" over the rupture of the alliance substantially motivated his writing of this book, and his nostalgia informs much of the emphasis and perspective of this study.

At the beginning of his narrative, Friedman plunges headlong into the heated controversy over the extent of Jewish participation in the African slave trade. Overall, his affirmation that Jews were involved in the traffic and the enslavement of blacks, along with his conclusion that the Jewish role, compared to those of Christians and Muslims, was "marginal at best," seems balanced and well-founded, though his discussion is not based on original research but instead a synthesis of selected secondary sources. Also, his contention that Jews tended to take on the values of the region in which they settled is convincingly presented. Generally, they benefited, especially in the South, from the perception of them as white people, which allowed them access to many of the privileges and opportunities denied to blacks. According to Friedman, they were "aided by the ever present assumption of white supremacy," in which their Jewishness, in many instances, could be submerged. As a corollary of their whiteness and its attendant privilege, their relationship to blacks, even when in alliance, was a lopsided one, not that of social equals.

African-American views of Jews were often ambivalent and contradictory. There had been, since the Christianization of significant numbers of blacks, a kind of affinity for the Jews as a people who had also been oppressed and enslaved but who had persevered and kept their faith. The putative entrepreneurial drive of the Jewish community appealed to black leaders such as Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and Elijah Muhammad, who believed that its business acumen might serve as a model for African Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the financial (and supervisory) assistance of Jews, and Jewish lawyers were instrumental in some of the litigation for civil rights. But there were always suspicion and conflict. Some blacks—and latter-day writers—questioned the motives of Jews who were involved in African-American affairs. Some saw Jewish paternalism and self-interest as the motivating factor for their engagement, which was best expressed by Jewish control of civil rights organizations, their control of black access to the arts and social sciences, their role as merchants and landlords in African-American

communities, and their manipulation of blacks and their grievances as a buffer against societal hostility and intolerance that might otherwise be directed at Jews. In weighing these assertions, Friedman concurs that Jewish interactions with African Americans were based on complex motives, including self-interest. However, he maintains that moral conviction ("a special sympathy for and a unique ability to understand the suffering of blacks") was the more salient motivation.

For Friedman, the high point of the black-Jewish alliance was the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The collaboration of black protest leaders, clergy, student groups, and their grassroots constituencies with Jewish civil rights organizations, labor unions, and progressive lawyers led to landmark court decisions and legislation, which ended *de jure* segregation and discrimination in most areas of American life. Along with black leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Ella Baker, and Bayard Rustin, a number of Jewish individuals figure prominently in Friedman's extensive discussion of this period, including Stanley Levison, Allard Lowenstein, and Joseph Rauh. The alliance of African Americans and Jews was fractured and finally broken by a number of post-1965 events, most importantly the rise of the Black Power movement, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school controversy, Jewish neoconservatism (and especially opposition to affirmative action), and the alignment of African-American political consciousness with the Third World (and largely against Zionism). More recent events, such as insensitive remarks by Louis Farrakhan and Jesse Jackson and the Crown Heights crisis of 1991, are simply symptomatic of the continuing cleavages between blacks and Jews. Friedman's solution is optimistic, but not delusionally so, and calls for the two groups to keep lines of communication open while attending to the needs of their respective communities.

This book is an admirable effort to tell a complex story, with all of its triumphs, difficulties, and nuances, in a fair, accurate manner. In most instances, Friedman succeeds at doing just that. But, unfortunately and unsurprisingly, given the nature of the topic, there are problematic features of this study in both content and perspective. Primarily, there is an inclination to regard Jews as almost natural allies and sympathizers of blacks, instead of seeing a partnership that develops out of an intersection of mutual self-interest, specific historical conditions, and sometimes kindred visions of the ideal society. Moreover, there is a grating tendency on Friedman's part to view Jews as innocent victims when African Americans targeted them as symbols of oppression. While acknowledging infrequently that Jewish slumlords, grocers, and others could be racist and exploitative regarding their black clientele, the author usually sidesteps this issue and does not adequately explore the sources of black hostility. What the reader is left to conclude is that ghetto uprisings that targeted Jewish business owners emerged more out of black irrationality, pathology, and willingness to buy

into classic anti-Semitic scapegoating than from long-term, day-to-day personal encounters and experiences with Jews as landlords, merchants, and economic powerbrokers in African-American communities.

Friedman's optimism and personal biases, stated upfront, do not lead him to make many omissions, and one does not get the sense that he has embellished much regarding the relationship between blacks and Jews. There are some references made that virtually beg for elaboration, however, such as the impact of Israeli ties to the apartheid regime of South Africa on black-Jewish relations. Altogether, Friedman's book is a concise, timely addition to the growing literature on African Americans and Jews. Although hardly the last word, it will likely serve as a guidepost for future serious study of this important, albeit controversial, topic.

In his book, Seth Forman sets forth an intriguing argument. He contends that with the postwar decline of anti-Semitism, American Jews could not solely define themselves in terms of their victimization by external prejudice and discrimination. In search of a new, or supplemental, identity, Jews embraced the black civil rights struggle, but at the cost of trading their rich spiritual, ethnic heritage for the more hollow, assimilating civil religion of liberalism, rationality, and social/racial equality. According to the author, some Jews became so committed to the African-American quest for freedom that they neglected to address concerns and issues specific to their own communities. Even worse, they tolerated strains of anti-Semitism present in the Black Power movement and New Left in order to realize the aspirations of non-Jews. To Forman, the psychic costs of this commitment to blacks, not to mention the expense in human, financial, and other resources, have had tragic consequences for the religious continuity and communal agenda of American Jewry.

At the root of the dilemma, according to the author, is the fact that Jewish culture is more Jewish than anything else, not naturally susceptible to the American ethnic melting pot. Thus, for Jews to become American was to become un-Jewish and to de-emphasize the particularist religious and ethnic traits of the group. This was a cost that blacks did not have to pay for their claim to citizenship and inclusion. Black culture and history were essentially indigenous in character by the twentieth century, and the weight of their tragic history, presumably on white conscience and guilt, has made their cultural distinctiveness, indeed the celebration of it, tolerable and, most importantly, *American*. To Forman, this was something for Jews to envy: inclusion without having to renounce one's ancestry. And there were other benefits that blacks accrued, too, such as affirmative action, social programs, foundational support, and the general acknowledgment by government that African Americans were a distinct group, deserving of special consideration based on past suffering. Jews were denied these supports, having been socially constructed as white

people by Black Power advocates, the New Left, and, most importantly, the U.S. government. Further, this "racialization" of American life, which did not account for Jewish ethnic uniqueness, left Jews with a less functional identity, having been disowned and alienated by increasingly anti-Semitic and undemocratic groups on whose behalf they had once worked.

Unlike Friedman, Forman does not see many benefits in the Jewish alliance with blacks during the civil rights era. He instead sees a postwar crisis in Jewish identity leading to a disastrous preoccupation with other people's problems. While the author views Jewish participation in the civil rights cause and other progressive movements as necessary and in line with the Judaic ethos, he nonetheless asserts that Jewish leaders did not ask frequently enough the question "Is it good for Jews?" before offering their resources and services to non-Jewish causes.

Although generally scholarly in tone and well researched, Forman's book has a polemical feel, despite efforts, such as the chapter on the New York Intellectuals, to engage in serious analysis of disparate ideas. Jewish particularism, loss of identity, safety concerns, and communal imperatives course through this work to an extent that makes Jewishness, as an attainable goal, appear reified. The author laments that "American cultural and political institutions have been more responsive to Black communal needs than Jewish ones" and he seems to discount the fact that many Jews were irresistibly attracted to the assimilating dynamism of postwar American society, consciously and largely successfully choosing to make themselves over as non-ethnic Americans. This purposeful submergence of Jewishness, whether through increased exogamous marriage, suburbanization (or "white flight"), or declining observance, has made Jewish communal needs a vaguer proposition compared to those of blacks, who have not had the same access to power and opportunity that white-skin privilege and the possibility of assimilation have afforded Jews. Forman's envy of the survival of a distinct black identity and its recognition in affirmative action and other programs romanticizes both the tragic historical cornerstones upon which African American identity is substantially constructed and the extent to which government and U.S. society in general have seriously recognized and effectively addressed the socioeconomic and other consequences of being black in America. Although Forman's work offers some insight into postwar Jewish ideology and politics, it gives more of a view of the author's own commitments.

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RICHARD KLUGER. *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. xix, 807. \$35.00.

Few events in the health history of America approach the epochal twentieth-century devastation wrought by cigarettes. The sheer mortality toll of the cigarette habit undoubtedly surpasses the impact wrought by either the Columbian exchange or the nineteenth-century cholera epidemics. The struggle to demonstrate and curb this decimation has long preoccupied public health advocates, and even at the century's end it continues to compel the attention of journalists, legislators, administrations, and judges—but surprisingly few historians. Now Richard Kluger, a publisher, novelist, and former *Forbes* reporter, has beaten the professionals to the punch. Extensively researched and colorfully and engagingly spun, this book offers us the first full-length (808 pages) historical narrative of this monumental struggle pitting deaths against profits, of which there is still no end in sight.

True to his former identity as a business reporter, Kluger centers his attentions mostly on the industry itself, especially early on. The rise of the cigarette industry in the late nineteenth century onward comes primarily through the eyes and decisions of founders like Buck Reynolds and a few upper-level executives, especially those in advertising. The main drama here and throughout is that of the marketplace: major and rising companies compete for market share, and outcomes are explained through the vagaries of personality, pricing, and advertising “pitch.” R. J. Reynolds and American Tobacco run neck and neck through the early decades of the twentieth century, as “toasted” Lucky Strikes slug it out with Camels’ “lift,” while Phillip Morris’s “counterfeit Englishness” initiates its long climb. By 1964, cigarette manufacturers had garnered some forty-two percent of the American populace as their customers.

Enter the doctors, armed with epidemiological swords. As with the businessmen, those few whom Kluger has decided were especially influential get considerable and often chatty attention. Ernest Wynder, the supremely confident and energetic pioneer of American smoking studies, as well as Cuyler Hammond, Bradford Hill, and later medical figures like C. Everett Koop and David Kessler enjoy nearly as much biographical coverage as do tobacco executives. The medical story culminates early on in a blow-by-blow account of the negotiations over Surgeon General Luther Terry’s landmark 1964 report, which declared that cigarettes caused cancer and were public health enemy number one. For Kluger, the surgeon general’s report sets the stage for the remaining two-thirds of his book. Public health scientists, advocates, and their politician-allies go to war against the habit and its proponents, as cigarette manufacturers and their scientific allies struggle with resulting dilemmas in marketing, politics, and ethics. The scientific issues and political fronts shift from cancer to nicotine addiction to second-hand smoke, but the terms of conflict and the power alignments stay remarkably constant. The cigarette industry endures throughout, until recently maintaining much of its political clout,

and even some moral high ground, through an alliance with tobacco farmers and an appeal to consumer rights. Despite the progressive bans on advertising and on smoking itself in public places, the percentage of Americans who smoke never dips below twenty-three percent. Most remarkable of all, although R. J. Reynolds loses its market share and undergoes a hostile takeover by the early 1990s, Philip Morris emerges not just as the market leader but one of the most successful firms in all of American business.

Most impressive here is the steadiness of Kluger’s moral compass. Refusing to make tobacco executives into cardboard villains, he evenhandedly insists on their humanity. At the same time, he does not hesitate to remind us just how egregiously deceitful and horrendous their actions could become. He is also not above portraying excesses among public health advocates, from the rather tenuous demonstrations of harm from “secondhand smoke” to the authoritarian shrillness of those pushing for a smoking ban. As historical analysis, though, this book is a disappointment. Assumptions about how modern big business and science work attribute far too much influence to “heroic” individuals. Kluger shows little interest in larger historical contexts or questions, from the institutional and intellectual changes that might have enabled the medical and public health opposition in the postwar years, to the social and cultural change that might have rendered twentieth-century Americans so susceptible to the cigarette “pitch.” Indeed, we hardly get any glimpse at all of those who took up smoking, beyond some tantalizing initial accounts of smoking’s pleasures and a final biographical sketch of Rose Cipillone, one of the first smokers to pose a serious challenge to the industry in court.

Clearly, Kluger has not written this book with professional historians in mind. He offers little support for those who would come after him. Despite extensive and detailed quoting from nearly 300 participant interviews, he nearly dispenses with citations or other scholarly apparatus. In my view, the book’s length and lack of contextual analysis largely preclude its use in the history classroom. Nevertheless, its accessible style and the media spotlight it has drawn to its subject, along with the difficult and enduring moral dilemmas it has shown to be at stake, should prod more of us to take up where Kluger has left off.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JAIME E. RODRÍGUEZ O., *The Independence of Spanish America*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 84.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 274. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Jaime E. Rodríguez O.’s comprehensively researched account of the independence period in Spanish Amer-

ica is the most important work of synthesis on the subject since John Lynch's *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808–1826* (1973). Lynch's book has had a very good run, and will remain important to scholars and students alike. Rodríguez offers a new perspective and gives us some thought-provoking insights into an extraordinarily complex process. His careful narrative of the events of the independence period contains nothing to which the specialist will take exception and can certainly be recommended to anyone approaching the subject for the first time.

Specialists in the field, however, will notice a distinct originality as to focus. Most of those who have written on the independence period in Spanish America (including myself) have tended to present the story as a brave epic in which bands of courageous Creole revolutionaries, against high odds, overthrew the awesome Spanish-American empire and led their countries into the light of national freedom. And since the wars of independence *did* lead to the emergence of new nations, that version of the story cannot possibly be untrue. Nevertheless, Rodríguez's account, "revisionist" in the best sense of that horridly overworked word, is a persuasive reminder that the context of the creole revolutions deserves a closer look than it has commonly received. On this score, he has done us all a valuable service, weaning us, perhaps, from the too-ready assumptions that the Spanish-American case falls simply within the framework of R. R. Palmer's celebrated "democratic revolution" in the Atlantic world and that there are no further questions to be asked.

What Rodríguez does, and does convincingly, is to reestablish the *Spanish* dimension. That dimension might seem obvious, but it is not. Concentration on the American side of the story, on the heroic careers of the liberators and the struggles of the emerging nations to find their way in the confusing early years of freedom, has often meant that the Spanish imperial angle has been either ignored or at least neglected. Yet it was always there to be seen. It is a commonplace of the literature, for instance, that before the catastrophe of Napoleon's 1808 invasion of Spain, there had been no real demand for independence among the Spanish-American elites. They may have chafed under certain imperial restrictions, and their awareness of their distinctive creole identity was certainly growing, but this did not translate into a separatist political program of the sort that crystallized in the thirteen colonies in the early 1770s. Only with the dire imperial emergency of 1808–1810 did Creole readerships begin to think seriously about political reform, and then for the most part in terms of greater autonomy for their territories within a reorganized Spanish Empire. Only a tiny handful of revolutionary "patriot" Creoles wanted independent republics.

But was there ever a real chance of a reorganized empire? Rodríguez valuably incorporates the Spanish political side of the story into his account. The Spanish liberal thrust that developed at the time of Napoleon's

invasion resulted in the effort to create a constitutional monarchy with a pan-imperial legislature. Delegates from at least some of the American colonies were elected to the new Cortes. The "American party" became a significant, though never overwhelming factor in its deliberations; metropolitan Spain was never prepared to concede more than half the seats to transatlantic constituencies. Such an arrangement might have worked, thinks Rodríguez. But the return of the banished King Ferdinand VII in 1814, and his instant restoration of absolutism, spelled an end to all such experiments. The liberal revolution of 1820 briefly succeeded in reestablishing the constitution, and in those parts of America still controlled by Spain there was apparently a renewed enthusiasm for a reorganized empire with a pan-imperial Cortes. (Rodríguez's evidence on this point is compelling). But by then it was too late: Ferdinand's harsh repression in South America had swelled the ranks of the revolutionary patriot Creoles, whose demand for independence (already won in southern South America) was non-negotiable. It is interesting to speculate whether a different Spanish monarch—someone more farsighted than the pig-headed, reactionary Ferdinand—could have saved the empire. Rodríguez's stimulating and readable account implies at least the possibility. But as Edmund Burke said, à propos the British-American crisis of the 1770s, "a great empire and little minds go ill together." It would be hard, when it comes down to it, to find a littler mind than that of Ferdinand VII.

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JONATHAN C. BROWN, editor. *Workers' Control in Latin America, 1930–1979*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 328. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The historiography of Latin American labor movements has had a peculiar trajectory. Until the past decade, it tended to lag behind the North American and European historiographies, concentrating on trade unions, ideological schisms, and political parties or on structuralist approaches such as dependency theory, even as the new social history was transforming the fields of labor and working-class history elsewhere. More recently, however, the turn toward cultural history has tended to push labor history to the margins among Europeanists and North Americanists, while Latin Americanists have responded to new trends in gender studies, cultural history, and linguistic analysis by incorporating them into the still lively field of Latin American labor history.

In light of these transformations in the field, the anthology under review here seems oddly anachronistic. The book is a collection of essays (or "vignettes," as editor Jonathan C. Brown calls them in his conclusion) on instances of working-class militancy in Latin America, and most of the contributions began as

masters' theses or seminar papers produced at the University of Texas at Austin. Probably because of this common provenance, the book does have the virtue of being relatively consistent in its thematic frameworks, and I was impressed by the number of different countries (Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Peru) covered in the volume. Several of the essays also make important contributions to a particular historiography (for example, of the Bolivian and Guatemalan revolutions). But the collection suffers from being organized around a set of analytical concepts and questions that are either too nebulous to be of much interpretive value, or that would be regarded as resolved, maybe even passé, by most Latin American labor historians.

On the first score, we have the very concept of "workers' control" that appears in the volume's title. Both the editor and several of the contributors explicitly reject the Gramscian version of workers' control as control of production through factory councils, or David Montgomery's use of the phrase to refer to control over the work process by skilled craftsmen. Instead, they opt for a "broader idea" of "workers' control over their working lives . . . including, but not limited to, the battle for wage increases, job security, better working and housing conditions, and control over the productive processes" (p. 12). In short, this definition covers virtually anything beyond the formal political sphere that workers and their families are likely to demand. Not only does this seem overly inclusive, but it is made all the more problematic by the attendant claim that the "locus of this broader struggle is usually the shop floor or the work site" (p. 12). What is the value of broadening the notion of workers' control if one then reverts to the widely criticized argument that consciousness is formed at the point of production (thereby downplaying such factors as family and community, not to mention notions of citizenship and political rights)?

As for the issues that I have the temerity to declare "resolved," I would cite as the most egregious the authors' entirely uncontroversial claim about worker agency. The book actually opens with a "protest" by the contributors against historians who have treated the workers as passive or insignificant actors in Latin America's history. I cannot recall a single serious piece of scholarship on labor in Latin America published during the last fifteen years that has labeled workers as passive; on the contrary, a more common problem has been the tendency to bend over backwards to see worker resistance at every turn and to overestimate the autonomy of working-class politics and culture. Similarly, the volume emphasizes the need to "hear" the workers' voices—a widely shared concern reflected in the avalanche of oral histories and testimonials that have been published over the last decade—but says nothing of the recent scholarship, influenced by literary theory and cultural anthropology, that complicates the way we approach oral evidence and conceptualize the voice of the subaltern. Needless to say, the con-

tributors to this volume are not obliged to take into account every new debate or tendency in the field of labor history, but anyone reading their essays could easily conclude that Latin American labor history is still running to catch up to the U.S. and European labor history of the 1970s (let alone the historiography of the last two decades)—a conclusion that would be a grave injustice to the field.

Setting these serious caveats aside for the moment, I did find many of the essays in this volume useful and interesting. Andrea Spears, in "Rehabilitating the Workers: The U.S. Railway Mission to Mexico," recounts the fascinating interaction among U.S. technicians, Mexican managers, and Mexican workers during World War II. Rather than telling a simple, formulaic tale of Mexican railroaders struggling against racist, modernizing foreigners or corrupt local officials, Spears shows the way workers were able to exploit the conflict between Mexican supervisors and U.S. advisors to their advantage. Marc Christian McLeod's essay, "Maintaining Unity: Railway Workers and the Guatemalan Revolution," offers compelling evidence of the crucial role of railroad workers in the Guatemalan Revolution (1944–1954) and demonstrates that rank and file workers, not a handful of Communist activists as much of the later literature would claim, were responsible for the union's militant reputation. Even in this case, however, the author might acknowledge that the sources he is criticizing (p. 121, n. 4) were all written in the 1950s or early 1960s and that recent studies of Guatemalan labor, such as Deborah Levenson-Estrada's work, provide a very different picture of organized labor during the revolution.

Maria Celina Tuozzo's essay on Argentine labor and railway nationalization gives us a detailed and provocative account of the way shopfloor conflicts and issues fueled workers' support for the nationalization of British-owned railroads in Argentina. This is an important and under-researched aspect of the nationalization movement, but the article is unnecessarily dismissive of other motivations (such as the appeal of nationalist discourse) for supporting a buyout of the British railroads. Indeed, Tuozzo opens her article by declaring: "This chapter's focus on labor processes and workplace relations questions the stereotype of the workers as irrational actors, uncritically obeying the commands of their populist leader [Juan Perón]" (p. 128). Significantly, the footnote that follows this statement only cites studies that, the author acknowledges, do *not* treat the workers as passive, in effect admitting that the stereotype is a straw person. But perhaps more important, by setting up the debate in these terms, Tuozzo makes anything other than workplace-related motives a sign of worker irrationality. Why should workers be uniquely immune to the emotional appeal of nationalist discourses?

As one would expect in a volume organized on the assumption that the workplace is the decisive source of working-class consciousness or identity, issues such as gender relations, community, and culture get relatively

short shrift. But there are some exceptions. Joel Wolfe's article, which focuses on women textile workers in São Paulo, Brazil, discusses the ways in which gender complicated the rank and file's relationship with the union leadership. While I find his contention about "São Paulo's industrial workers manag[ing] to establish a high degree of control on the shop floor" (p. 208) wildly exaggerated, he does demonstrate that issues of shopfloor control are not peculiar to predominantly male trades. Andrew Boeger, in "Struggling for Emancipation: Tungsten Miners and the Bolivian Revolution," gives us a clearer sense than most of his fellow contributors of the ways in which community issues informed workplace struggles. And his portrait of miners whose militancy is more intermittent and limited than the famous (Trotskyist-led) Bolivian tin miners helps us to construct a more variegated portrait of workers' roles in the Bolivian Revolution.

Some of the essays, however, are textbook examples of the limited value of essentialized categories for understanding historical processes. In his essay "Continuing to be Peasants," Josh de Wind claims that the Cerro de Pasco miners of central Peru, due to their incomplete proletarianization and "petite bourgeois aspirations" (p. 266), focused their militancy almost entirely on wage and workplace safety issues and consequently refused to participate in the more "political" working-class actions. But in the very next chapter, Joanna Swanger argues that the Chilean copper miners, precisely because of their long experience as fully proletarianized workers, were unwilling to moderate wage demands for political purposes, even with a beleaguered socialist government in power. To be sure, both essays include information on the history of these two mining communities that help the reader to formulate alternative explanations for the miners' political behavior. But the authors themselves seem overly content to rely on *a priori* analytical categories in drawing their conclusions. And to make matters worse, Brown fails to explore these contradictions, or any meaningful comparisons of the ten case studies, in his introductory and concluding essays.

Ten years ago I would have regarded this volume as a welcome addition to the burgeoning field of Latin American labor studies. Although even then the claims about worker agency and shopfloor resistance would not have been especially innovative, they would certainly have been in sync with much of the literature being produced on Latin American workers. But paradigms shift and fields move on, not simply because it is fashionable to do so but because scholars seek to ask new questions and complicate old assumptions. Certainly some of the essays in this volume contribute to that process, but overall the book addresses debates, both political and intellectual, that are, themselves, already history.

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WIM KLOOSTER, *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648–1795*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, Caribbean Series, number 18.) Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV. 1998. Pp. x, 283. f. 50.00.

The transatlantic trade of the Dutch Republic has never received the same scholarly scrutiny as the trade with Asia, and the Dutch East India Company has always been viewed as successful while the West India Company, its counterpart operating in the Atlantic, has been seen by comparison as a failure. This may have resulted from projecting the nineteenth-century success of Indonesian trade back into the past. Historical literature has generally confirmed this image without subjecting the Atlantic trade to a thorough evaluation.

Studying the Dutch Atlantic trade during the *ancien régime* was more complicated than the Asian trade. The latter was controlled by the monopoly-holding East India Company, which had its records well preserved. The West India Company, by contrast, gradually lost its trading monopoly, and subsequently an assortment of private companies came to control Dutch Atlantic commerce. This meant that the records of these activities became scattered among a great variety of depositories or were completely lost.

Based on extensive research in various Dutch and Spanish archives, Wim Klooster's study of the Dutch illegal trade with Spanish and French colonies is a pioneering assessment of one aspect of this long-neglected Atlantic trade. He argues convincingly that the Dutch transatlantic trade was far more valuable than thus far assumed, and, if the trade with Africa is included, it nearly equals the value of Dutch commerce with Asia before the nineteenth century.

Starting his book with an analysis of the Dutch and Spanish commercial systems in the Atlantic, Klooster focuses on the role of the islands of Curaçao and St. Eustatius. These Caribbean islands became the essential hubs of the transit trade through which the Dutch were able to extract large amounts of colonial commodities from the Spanish Americas and the French Antilles. Curaçao's role as a slave trading depot for the Dutch traffic with the Spanish colonies was already well known, but the author sheds new light on the *asiento* slave trade, primarily through his discovery of essential but long-lost contemporary documents.

In addition to clarifying the record of the slave trade, Klooster discovered a vast trading operation with the Spanish settlement on the Caracas coast (Venezuela), operated primarily by Dutch merchants from Curaçao and feeding into their bilateral trade with Holland. Spanish law and treaties between Spain and Holland confirmed the illegality of these activities, but merchants from Curaçao and planters and merchants from Caracas (and occasionally other Spanish-controlled areas as well) benefitted from this symbiotic relationship enough to risk retribution. According to Klooster, Dutch shippers carried huge quantities of cacao, hides, tobacco, and other products from the

Spanish colonies in exchange for Dutch textiles and other manufactures. From St. Eustatius, the Dutch penetrated the French colonial sphere in a similar fashion, obtaining large amounts of sugar that were then shipped to the Dutch Republic.

Klooster explains how the Spanish government tried to combat these illicit activities by protesting to the Dutch government, authorizing privateering against the smugglers, and creating a special company (Guipuzcoana) to combat illicit trade, but with only limited success. As a peripheral province, Caracas was regularly under-supplied by the Spanish, which made the colonists prone to ignore imperial laws.

In his final chapter, Klooster summarizes the economic benefits of these illicit activities for the Dutch economy. Holland's neutrality in most of the eighteenth-century wars often provided Dutch merchants with the opportunity to trade illegally with foreign colonists. He concludes that the value of the commodities obtained by way of Curaçao and St. Eustatius exceeded those shipped from the Dutch plantation colony of Suriname. And products shipped from Suriname and these two islands combined amounted to more than half the value of the Dutch commerce with Asia during the same period.

Although Klooster explains the intricacies of Dutch smuggling from Curaçao and St. Eustatius thoroughly, he could have differentiated more clearly between Dutch smuggling by Curaçao-based merchants and illicit trade by Dutch ships operating from bases in Holland.

This is an important book. Its publication coincides closely with two other recent publications about Dutch Atlantic commerce, Henk den Heijer's *Goud, ivoor en slaven* (1997) and George M. Welling's *The Prize of Neutrality* (1998), which also claim that Dutch transatlantic trade was much larger than has generally been assumed. These works provide encouragement to other scholars to explore remaining aspects of Dutch transatlantic trade so that definitive measurements of this important commerce can be made.

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REBECCA HORN. *Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519–1690*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. Pp. xiv, 356.

Over the past decade and a half, our understanding of the political and economic structures of pre-Cortesian indigenous society and indigenous responses to conquest in Mexico has undergone a revolution. Much of the change is due to the work of ethnohistorians and anthropologists examining Nahuatl documentation of the colonial period. One major source for this development are contributions of members of what might be described as the University of California-Los Angeles school of Nahua studies mentored by James Lockhart. Rebecca Horn is the latest participant, and one can see

in her book obvious genuflections to its predecessors. This includes the use of linguistic development as a measure of acculturation following Lockhart's pioneering studies in that field, and the analysis of Nahua institutional and social development following Robert Haskett, Stephanie Wood, and S. L. Cline, as well as Lockhart himself.

Nevertheless, the present work is more than just a coda to prior contributions. It breaks new ground by delving into how the presence of Spaniards, as entrepreneurs who sought collaborators rather than slaves, changed the economic and social milieu of Coyoacan. Economic agency and the pursuit of self-interest in relations with Spaniards are major themes which Horn returns to the discussion of Nahua transformations.

The volume is divided into two parts, which consider, respectively, the formal structures of government and Spanish-Altepetl relations, and the transformations of landholding and the economy within Coyoacan. In the first, Horn examines the structure of the Altepetl, municipal government, Spanish provincial government, and questions of tribute and labor demands. In the second, she explores Nahua landholding, changes that took place within the Altepetl structures, the rise of Spanish estates within municipal boundaries, and the impact of a Spanish market economy on Nahua economic activity.

The chapters in part one, although they offer additional depth and information on conditions close to Mexico City, do not really depart from the structures described in other recent analyses. The importance of the Altepetl in indigenous thinking, the existence of factions among the noble families, and the erosion of the authority of the Tlatoani lineage under municipal structures imposed by the Spanish do not come as any surprise. The most important new point contained in these sections concerns the structure of the Altepetl and the political role of sub-*calpulli* structures, the *Tlaxilacalli*, to which Indian loyalties were directed. Her explanation of the economic and political significance of these entities in Coyoacan goes far beyond what any other researchers have suggested. There is also significance in Horn's analysis of how *Tlaxilacalli* and *calpulli* leaders used the political presence of Spaniards in efforts to restructure preconquest arrangements more to local advantage. The Spanish did not destroy Nahua political systems but rather created an environment of peace in which the centripetal forces of "local patriotism" (p. 30) could prevail over the need for defensive alliances. Thus, Horn places the beginnings of the erosion of the Altepetl and their replacement by the pueblos of the eighteenth century at the moment of conquest and sees them as the consequence of indigenous ambition—and pre-Cortesian arrangements—rather than Spanish action.

It is in part two, with its consideration of the impact of the presence of Spaniards and Spanish ideas on Indian economic patterns, that Horn makes her real contribution. Using a variety of sources, particularly lawsuits, she explains the development of a provincial

hispanicized population in Coyoacan who owned land, operated *obrajes*, *batans*, and other artisanal activities, and acculturated the Nahuas of Coyoacan to hispanicized conceptions of landownership, entrepreneurial activity, and commerce. The membership in this provincial community in the late sixteenth century was not comprised of high elites and office holders from the capital, or their *criados*, but rather middle-class Hispanic immigrants who sought collaboration with the indigenous population in profitable endeavors. The presence of this leaven of Spanish commoners with strongly local orientations transformed the relationship between the local community and the imperial metropolis just a few kilometers down the road. By the end of the sixteenth century, Horn suggests, you could not distinguish factions along ethnic lines. Economic self-interest, not ethnic identity, created alliances between individuals and the leadership of different communities.

Horn's analysis of the process by which land was accumulated and the complexity of relationships involving issues of landholding and economic enterprise, and her suggestive illustrations of how Nahua commoners, as well as nobles, learned to participate in the market economy serving Mexico City, deepen our understanding of the dynamics of colonial development in a very meaningful way. No longer can we see the late sixteenth century as a period in which Nahua society, at the level of the commoners, existed independently of the larger colonial system. At least in the valley of Mexico near the imperial capital, Indian commoners and Spanish commoners found themselves rowing in the same boat.

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JUAN CARLOS GROSSO and JUAN CARLOS GARAVAGLIA. *La región de Puebla y la economía novohispana: Las alcabalas en la Nueva España, 1776–1821*. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora. 1996. Pp. 272.

In the early 1980s, Juan Carlos Grosso and Juan Carlos Garavaglia, distinguished Argentine economic historians, became the first historians to use the vast (then uncatalogued) records of the colonial *alcabala* (a six percent tax to be paid upon all sales), housed in Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación, to reexamine the late colonial economy of New Spain. Eschewing the broader vice-regal aggregations used by American historians John J. Te Paske and Herbert Klein, Grosso and Garavaglia chose instead to concentrate on the intermediate level of the intendancy and the micro-level of the district. By examining the records of a tax that aspired to record even the minutest of transactions in the remotest of locations, Grosso and Garavaglia aimed to shift the quantitative analysis of late colonial economic trends away from its prime concern with transatlantic bullion and fiscal flows (with its attendant bias towards the external sector) to an

analysis of internal networks of exchange. These four essays, previously published separately between 1985 and 1988, represent the first fruits of this ambitious research project (a project that, due to the untimely death of Grosso in 1995, may never reach full fruition).

The second part of the title of this book is a better reflection of its content. Although the region of Puebla features throughout, the prime concern of the first three chapters is methodological: to demonstrate how *alcabala* records can be used to refine our knowledge of late colonial economic trends. Only the final essay, much of which is based upon sources other than *alcabala* records, approaches the more general question of the province of Puebla's economic performance during the eighteenth century, particularly the reasons why this once dynamic region stagnated. Chapter one explores the strengths and pitfalls of *alcabala* records as indicators, not only of exchange but of production, consumption, and overall economic performance. This chapter is essential preliminary reading for any economic historian who is considering using quantitative sources to study Hispanic economies before the tax's abolition (the *alcabala* lasted in Mexico until the 1870s). Chapter two demonstrates how *alcabala* records can be used to gauge the relative economic performance and product specialization of New Spain's increasingly complex and diversified regional economies. At this quite aggregated level, it is evident that *alcabala* records are principally of use for confirming what is already known from other fiscal sources and from regional studies, rather than for proposing any new explanations or interpretations. *Alcabalas* come into their own as a uniquely rich source for revealing the complexities of economic behavior when examined at the subregional and local levels. Grosso and Garavaglia provide excellent examples of this kind of analysis in chapter three, which explores three particularly dynamic regions—Veracruz, Durango, and Sonora/Sinaloa—and in chapter four, which shows how, beneath the surface image of Puebla's eighteenth-century stagnation, numerous examples both of subregional growth and of pathological decline can be found.

Although this book will be of use primarily to quantitative economic historians at a research level, to those who knew Grosso the essays are a memorial to his love for Mexico, particularly for Puebla, and to his extraordinary dedication as a highly original economic historian. The book by no means exhausts the potential of the *alcabala*. Written at a time when economic historians were still concerned above all with production and exchange, Grosso and Garavaglia, although alert to the richness of their data, paid little attention to the cultural significance of the products that the *alcabala* receivers recorded in such minute detail.

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JEFFREY M. PILCHER. *¿Que Vivan los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. (Diálogos Series.)

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1998. Pp. x, 234. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$16.95.

Like a good dinner, Jeffrey M. Pilcher's book leaves one satisfied yet eager for a little bit more. Appearing in the publisher's *Diálogos* series of course adoption books on Latin America, it covers more than five centuries of food and culinary history in 165 pages of text. As a result, many of the topics and controversies addressed cry out for fuller treatment.

That said, Pilcher's book is an entertaining and informative survey of food in Mexico from pre-Columbian times to the present. As his subtitle indicates, his primary goal is to explore the relationship of cuisine to the formation of Mexican national identity. He also discusses the role played by class and gender in the eventual emergence of a national cuisine based on both indigenous and European foods.

Pilcher begins by examining the maize-based diet of the Aztecs and other Mesoamerican peoples. The sixteenth-century conquest of Mexico introduced new plants and animals, consumed above all by the conquerors and their descendants, who disdained indigenous foods. The creation of *mole poblano*, attributed to a seventeenth-century nun, is often hailed by Mexican authors as an early harbinger of *mestizo* cuisine because of its felicitous combination of Old World spices with New World chiles. Little documentary evidence of its origins exists, however, partly because of a dearth of printed Mexican recipes and cookbooks before the nineteenth century.

El cocinero mexicano (1831), which was perhaps Mexico's first printed cookbook, adopted an assertively nationalist tone, but, according to Pilcher, Mexican elites remained ambivalent about all aspects of popular culture. They embraced French haute cuisine during the nineteenth century, but their devotion to chiles shocked foreigners. This ambivalence was further reflected in what Pilcher calls "the tortilla discourse," a debate touched off in 1899 when Francisco Bulnes linked wheat consumption to national progress throughout history and concluded that maize, which he declared to be nutritionally deficient, was responsible for the backwardness of Mexico's Indians. Even Manuel Gamio, a pioneer of *indigenismo*, recommended substituting soybeans for maize in rural diets. The issue was finessed, Pilcher suggests, by the emergence of a postrevolutionary culinary nationalism of middle-class origins that incorporated popular and regional dishes and accepted both wheat and maize. By 1950, moreover, Bulnes's arguments had been conclusively refuted with evidence showing the high nutritional value of maize, beans, and chiles.

Pilcher addresses many other food-related topics in the latter part of his text, among them the mechanization and commercialization of tortilla making, the impact of the Green Revolution, and the post-1960 substitution of sugar and fats for corn and beans in lower-class diets. At times, he fails to integrate these excursions into the main theme of the book, but this is

a minor flaw in a work that is based on reading in a wide range of works on food in Mexico and other cultures as well as on research in Mexican and Rockefeller Foundation archives. As Pilcher indicates, Mexicans are serious about food and have produced an extensive body of writing on the subject. Pilcher's book is a valuable addition to the sparse English-language literature on the cultural and social history of food in Mexico.

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DAVID NUGENT. *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885–1935*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 404. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This book tells a regional story of nation-state formation in the northern Peruvian jungle district of Chachapoyas. By the 1930s, a politically subaltern coalition of dissident elite intellectuals and urban and rural intermediate strata called into question the supremacy of local *castas*, patronage networks woven together through marriage and made up of landed elite families and their allies in commercial, military, and political posts. Mobilizing a discourse of popular sovereignty, citizenship, and rights that had been present on paper and in the pronouncements of state representatives since the nineteenth century, this coalition rose up and challenged the national state to intervene in Chachapoyas. The result was a new and more inclusionary system that allowed for wider participation in local and regional politics, connecting the district more effectively to the national state.

David Nugent carefully reconstructs the traditional system in Chachapoyas, tracing the webs of kinship and marriage and the discourses and practices of violence on which powerful *casta* members relied to confront rivals and dominate trade, production, and taxation. He also unravels the functioning and contradictions of public language and ritual—how provincial strongmen did one thing and said another—and shows the symbolic impact of impunity on local political culture. Nugent suggests, however, that the contradiction between an aristocratic sovereignty reproduced in practice and a popular sovereignty encased in the public language of rule ultimately facilitated the unravelling of the *casta* system.

Two catalysts were responsible for the *castas'* undoing, a process referred to in Chachapoyas as the "democratization." The first was the consolidation of a self-conscious group of *Amazonense* university students from Chachapoyas resident in Lima, who in 1926 formed a regional association and began publishing a newspaper. Through a detailed analysis of the paper's content, Nugent suggests that "*Amazonas* interjected a powerful democratizing, homogenizing voice into local affairs" (p. 229), substituting a vision of social hierarchy based on inherited characteristics such as race, gender, or class with a vision of social difference based

on merit and ethical behavior. One of the main leaders of this movement, the son of a landed family on the outs with the ruling *casta*, used it as a stepping stone to Congress in the early 1930s, organizing the "Independent Labor Party of Amazonas."

The second catalyst for democratization in Chachapoyas was the formation of Aprista political cells in the district. Through "people's universities," local Apristas helped formulate an alternative political culture based on national and ethnic pride, notions of equality and justice, individual pride and autonomy, and the need for solidarity and unity against elite abuse. Interviews with surviving members of the cells and documents preserved in the Amazonas departmental archive allow Nugent to identify Apristas as literate, predominantly male *cholos* who composed an intermediate group between elite landowners and Indian peasants.

With great sensitivity to local discourse and practice, Nugent successfully reconstructs for us the story of "democratization" remembered in Chachapoyas, with its emphasis on the unity of *el pueblo* in its struggle against the *castas*. By not unpacking the story further, however, he leaves some important unanswered questions. Although Nugent notes the condescension of *Amazonas* newspapermen toward Indians and women, for example, he neglects to step back and reflect more critically on what implications there might be for "democratization" in the fact that notions of meritocracy and ethical responsibility get constructed without discarding hierarchies of race, class, or gender. One wonders also about the class differences between the Aprista groups and the *Amazonense* university students. Whereas the latter formulated a discourse of moral uplift and of paternal tutelage for Indians, children, and women, the former spoke a much more empowering, egalitarian language of pride and solidarity. Although both groups clearly did share a desire to rid Chachapoyas of stifling *casta* rule, Nugent does not dig beneath the similarities to reflect on tensions and differences. Did all benefit equally from the post-1930 political order? Or were some (one suspects, the group around the Independent Labor Party of Amazonas) more equal than others?

A further omission in the story of "rising subaltern groups" (p. 321) is their connection to national powerholders. The university students, after all, got their start in Lima, and APRA was a national organization with a national agenda. Might there have been national political factions eager to find alternative allies in Chachapoyas and therefore willing to jettison the *castas* in a reconfigured local power structure? Here, too, it seems that Nugent is excessively respectful of regional claims that local heroes "spontaneously" adopted notions of popular sovereignty. Although the active and creative involvement of local coalitions and factions in statemaking is indisputable, we also need more actively to question the transparency of regional movements. The end result may be a comparison between Latin America and Europe that notes histor-

ical variations on a common theme: the existence of a crowded political field in which shifting alliances of subaltern and dominant groups, regional and national factions, continue to negotiate the transformation of hierarchies and of claims to citizenship everywhere associated with the making of nation-states.

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B. J. BARICKMAN. *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780–1860*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 276. \$55.00.

In this carefully researched book, B. J. Barickman challenges long-held assumptions about the far-reaching shadow of the sugar plantation over the agricultural economy of Bahia, Brazil. Confronting "the plantationist perspective on its home ground" (p. 2) is Barickman's description of the significance of his research into Bahian agriculture from 1780 to 1860. Barickman rejects the idea that Bahia was a great sugar plantation, similar to Barbados. Although he does recognize that "slavery permeated the entire rural economy" (p. 132), and that "the sugar trade necessarily commands a special place" in a survey of Bahia's export economy (p. 33), his book shows that within an export economy based on slave labor, there were viable alternatives to the plantation. Bahian agriculture was far more diversified than is suggested by its usual depiction as a monocultural economy based on sugar and slaves.

Central to Barickman's argument is the role of manioc flour, or cassava, the staple of the Bahian diet for the city resident and the rural farmer, the free and the enslaved, the rich and the poor. Salvador, the largest city in Brazil until 1808, represented a significant and constant market for manioc flour, as did the sugar planters of Salvador's hinterland—the *Recôncavo*—who purchased it for their slaves. To meet this demand, an internal market developed, linking Salvador to its hinterland. A publicly supervised market for manioc flour attempted to regulate this trade, which was "an integral and even crucial part" of Bahia's regional economy (p. 96). Thus, sugar cultivation, which did dominate Bahia's economy, did not force out food production: rather the two coexisted in a "complementary relationship" (p. 98).

Nor did sugar production mean that sugar planters monopolized land or that smaller farmers imitated the plantation model. Instead, Barickman shows that Bahian tobacco and cassava planters found slavery flexible enough to use on smaller estates, and that harvesting food, in addition to a cash crop, provided a reliable source of income. Barickman's discussion of land tenure reveals why Bahia could never become a Barbados. Sugar planters did own the best lands for sugar cultivation—those located on the shores of the Bay of All Saints—but by no means did they prevent smaller

cane farmers, tobacco planters, manioc growers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers from gaining access to land. An open agricultural frontier to the south and west meant that land was available and that a "substantial landowning class of small and middling farmers survived in the western and southern parishes" (p. 108). This class of farmers practiced alternatives to plantation agriculture and are, in Barickman's view, key to understanding the whole agricultural economy of the *Recôncavo* in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Barickman cites the tobacco farmers as examples of the successful alternatives available to the sugar plantation model in Bahia. Tobacco farms did not, in his view, replicate sugar plantations. Tobacco farms grew food crops, especially cassava, in addition to tobacco. Tobacco farmers needed slaves who could work with "dexterity, expertise, and diligence" because the work was not physically demanding but painstaking and slow (p. 180). Although the availability of lands is frequently given as the reason why Brazilian farmers were wasteful of soils, Barickman emphasizes that the tobacco farmers manured their fields and practiced crop rotation.

Barickman's findings on the composition of slave workforces similarly reveal that the plantation model of slaveholding did not hold constant throughout Bahia. In the wealthier sugar-producing districts, a few slaveowners concentrated the majority of slaves in their hands. Their large slave labor forces featured the familiar demographic patterns caused by a reliance on the trans-atlantic slave trade: an uneven male to female sex ratio and a low reproduction rate. In the tobacco and cassava growing areas, however, slave holding was less concentrated in the hands of a few, and slave labor forces were smaller. The demography of these slave work forces reflected an even male to female ratio, with Brazilian-born slaves in the majority. Barickman suggests that slave populations on these estates "may have been largely self-sustaining" (p. 159).

The sources for this excellent study are post-mortem estate inventories and manuscript censuses of towns and parishes in Bahia. Not only do they allow Barickman to focus in detail on the composition of individual estates, but they enable comparisons among the different regions of the state. The well-designed nature of this study and the quality of the data insist that the sugar plantation should not be the only model with which historians approach the study of Brazilian agriculture, not even in Bahia.

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JULIO CÉSAR PINO. *Family and Favela: The Reproduction of Poverty in Rio de Janeiro*. (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 10.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1997. Pp. x, 199. \$55.00.

Julio César Pino's new history of family, household organization, and political economy in three Rio de Janeiro favelas between 1930 and 1964 combines an unabashed Marxist perspective with a kind of social anthropology. Never desirable, residence in favelas was a survival strategy necessitated by unstable employment, low salaries, and high rents in urban areas. These miserable circumstances resulted from much of the working class being excluded from benefits of rapid industrialization and the "economic miracle" of the military dictatorship. Pino's historical approach refocuses attention from the usual "how to extinguish this urban blight" question to that of "why are people driven to the desperate measure of living in a favela?" His "family" approach rescues the *favelados* from the social sewer of marginal sociopaths and rehabilitates them as actors struggling for a reasonable life within difficult historical circumstances.

The first four chapters introduce the Brazilian family, the city of Rio de Janeiro, shantytowns, and the generation represented (in historical terms) from 1930 to 1960 in the favelas. The book chronicles the history of Rio de Janeiro from the 1930s, pointing to a pattern of "uneven development" and "incomplete proletarianization" of the working class by 1960. Analyzing favela growth in Rio from about seven percent of the population in 1948 to three times that in the 1960s, Pino argues that the favela, though constituting illegal occupation and construction, also served the social, economic, and political purposes of both residents and city authorities.

A combined case study of the "shared experience of poverty in three favelas" of Rio make up the last four chapters. Sources include census analysis; newspapers; reports of city officials, health workers, and the Catholic Church from the 1940s and 1950s; reports of urban planners, sociologists, and charitable organizations; files of the residents' associations of the 1960s; and interviews of residents by the author in 1989 and 1990.

Most startling among Pino's conclusions was the finding that the male-headed nuclear household prevailed in all three settlements from the 1940s to the late 1960s, despite substantial differences in living standards and economic activity. "Most favelados prized family life" (p. 88). Between forty and fifty-six percent of heads of households in the three favelas were either married or in consensual unions by the 1960s. Pino's assertion of the absence of the extended household is less convincing: 15.3 percent of household members in Bras de Pina (one of the favelas) were identified in 1960 as *agregados* (which included parents and grandchildren as well as other relatives).

Another revelation was the substantial difference between the employment profiles of the three favelas, from Praia do Pinto, where temporary work was the norm, to Bras de Pina, with many "self-employed," to Jacarezinho, where over half were industrial operatives. Here, Pino (as a good Marxist) struggles with the absence of worker solidarity and class consciousness. His conclusion is insightful: "The shanty, not the

factory, was the fulcrum of class consciousness for many of the poor, and the acquisition of a new home for each family took precedence over a collective struggle for better salaries" (p. 102).

Historical analysis also reveals the "metamorphosis of the favelas from shantytowns to urban communities." Although *favelados* suffered from the prejudice of academics and city officials that their homes were necessarily disordered and unsanitary, Pino argues and demonstrates that "when the favelados were permitted to chart their own course, they behaved like other homeowners, investing time, energy and money in the improvement of their houses and the welfare of their families" (p. 111).

From the 1940s to the late 1960s, public policy was gradually reformed from one favoring eradication of favelas to one of occasional partial autonomy for residents. This change followed repeated failures to destroy favelas and resettle favela populations. As Pino says, "Taking the squatter out of his habitat fails to resolve the complex of high rents, unstable employment, low salaries, poor medical facilities and inadequate education that made him turn to self-built housing in the first place" (p. 161). Of the three favelas studied, one was destroyed and the other two survived after long and difficult political struggles in the 1970s, in which residents' associations were key. Just as important, however, were the connections of the two favelas that survived to adjacent communities as permanent workers and consumers, as well as the "de-favelization" of these squats into responsible autonomous urban communities.

The greatest fault of this book is the relative absence of the *favelado's* voice as evidence of family values and motivations, issues fundamental to Pino's conclusions. Nevertheless, this modest volume makes an important contribution in the area of family and modernization history by addressing critical problematics of urban, working-class, and family history in insightful ways. It should be required reading for Latin American urban and family historians and will be an attractive text for undergraduate and graduate teaching.

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HILDA SABATO. *La política en las calles: Entre el voto y la movilización; Buenos Aires, 1862-1880*. (Colección Historia y Cultura.) Buenos Aires: Sudamericana. 1998. Pp. 290.

Since 1983, Argentina has experienced elected civilian government and relative political stability. For most of the twentieth century, however, its national life has been punctuated by military coupe, authoritarian governments of various stripes, and political turmoil. Scholars have been consistently intrigued with the problem of incomplete democratic development in what in other respects has been Latin America's most prosperous, cultured, and advanced nation.

Writing at a time of transition from military authori-

tarianism to civilian democracy, the Argentine historian Hilda Sabato attempts to locate the roots of democratic practices and the creation of civil society in Argentina. She focuses in this book on the eighteen year period, 1862-1880, when the nation was consolidated under elite direction following decades of post-independence chaos and one-man rule. This was a period, too, that saw the beginnings of the massive European immigration, economic expansion, and urban growth that would dramatically change the country over the second half of the nineteenth century. Many of these changes were most pronounced in the capital city of Buenos Aires, the locale for Sabato's study.

At first glance, these years would not seem particularly promising as the seedbed for democracy. Although elections were held at all levels on a generally regular basis, they were usually elite-dominated affairs characterized by fraud, corruption, coercion, and very low levels of participation. As Sabato admits, perhaps only two to three percent of the potentially eligible electorate took part in these contests. Politics and elections were in many ways a kind of ritualized game, in which the candidates and the voters played predictable roles. Violence and occasional revolutions also punctuated the politics of the period. Within this general picture, however, Sabato finds certain ingredients of a more mature and meaningful political culture. While turnouts were admittedly low, broader public interest in the contests was greater than simple voting figures would suggest. Drawing heavily on contemporary newspaper accounts, she makes a strong argument that many *porteños* (inhabitants of Buenos Aires) followed campaigns and elections closely and that several contests in the period were genuinely competitive and significant. Examining registry information with care, she also determines that those few who did vote represented a rather diverse cross-section of the city's social class structure. In these years, political machines began to appear to mobilize voters, introducing clientelistic practices that would continue well into the twentieth century. The electoral abuses of the period, moreover, produced the first considerations of reform that would finally come to fruition in 1912.

Although analysis of elections makes up much of the first part of the book, its real heart is a consideration of the development of numerous organizations and associations during this period and a close examination of various popular public demonstrations concerning a wide range of issues. From mid-century on, clubs, mutual aid societies, labor organizations, immigrant associations, social groups, and other such entities proliferated in Buenos Aires in what Sabato describes as an "associative fervor." Generally well-structured, these associations included much of the *porteño* public and were often marked by considerable social diversity. Contributing significantly to their growth and diffusion were an ever-increasing number of newspapers, magazines, books, and pamphlets for an ever-expanding literate readership. These groups, in turn,

increasingly took to the streets and plazas of the city, often to celebrate national holidays or to pay homage to a particular individual or, in the case of the immigrant community, to commemorate something of importance to a particular national group. A kind of "celebratory fervor" accompanied the "associative fervor."

Of particular interest to Sabato are the public demonstrations that had to do with matters of state and how these reflected relations between the governed and those who governed them. Focusing on some specific examples, she shows a certain continuity of leadership in these various movements, high levels of mobilization, a generally diverse social composition, the development of a kind of ritual of organization and presentation, a reiteration of liberal republican values, and, again, an important role for the press in both stimulating and organizing such public meetings.

Sabato concludes by observing that popular participation in local and national affairs can be measured by means other than examining elections and turnouts. Through the development of associations, a lively and extensive press, and an increased willingness to take to the streets to celebrate or protest, "The majority of *porteños* found other forms of public intervention that appeared to satisfy their expectations of political participation in a more direct and effective manner than exercising the right to vote" (p. 285). In sum, the period saw the emergence of a vital civil society and more democratic development than has generally been realized.

Overall, Sabato has written a provocative and important book. The research is well-grounded in the newspapers of the time as well as various government documents that are used in a careful, imaginative, and insightful manner. Sabato builds her argument carefully, interspersing descriptive material with powerful analytical discussions. She is careful not to overstate her conclusions, but the steady accumulation of original primary documentation and a close reading of events make a convincing case. Sabato's first book dealt with economic history and the rural areas of Argentina for roughly the same period. This effort shows that she is equally adept at untangling the intricacies of political history in an urban setting. It is a book that all who are interested in the important questions involving Argentine democracy will want to read.

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LUIS MARÍA CATERINA. *La liga patriótica Argentina: Un grupo de presión frente a las convulsiones sociales de la década del veinte*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 1995. Pp. 333.

The Argentine Patriotic League appeared in Buenos Aires in the first half of 1919, following a general strike in January that year that raised mass support and

produced violent incidents, a few attacks on ecclesiastical establishments, and some car and tram wrecking. The army quickly repressed the strike, but, alongside the army, informal paramilitary groups calling themselves "patriots" and comprising members of the upper and middle classes began roaming the streets. In physically attacking foreign immigrants, they made Catalans, who were accused of being Anarchists, and Jews, considered the followers of Leon Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, a majority of their victims. The Patriotic League represented the institutionalization of the anti-labor movement of January 1919 and played an important part in Argentine politics during the period after World War I. At its height in the early 1920s, the League's so-called brigades contained as many as 300,000 members throughout the country. The Patriotic League had close links with the military and the church and drew support from business leaders as well as from prominent figures in the conservative political parties, including the ruling Radical Party. It held well-attended annual congresses whose participants considered numerous proposals to strengthen the sense of national allegiance in Argentina, to repress left-wing movements, and to curtail the labor unions. Despite its aggressive chauvinism and xenophobia, the League could not be described as a fascist association. It elected its officials; it supported the liberal constitution of 1853; it endorsed economic liberalism. The League's support drained away, although it never became extinct, during the early 1930s when the Argentine conservatives returned to power after the military coup of 1930.

Although not the first study of the Patriotic League, Luis María Caterina's is the most extensive and complete. The League's archives have been lost, but as a substitute the author has used a wide range of newspaper sources from different parts of Argentina. Replete with footnotes, his book is unlikely to be surpassed. The work clearly describes the League's origins, correctly emphasizing the importance of the election victory of the Socialist Party in 1914. It provides good statistical data on elite and rank and file membership of the League and of its geographical spread. It analyzes the League's relations with other leading institutions such as the church, the military, and political parties. It describes the major actions, centering on strike-breaking and the persecution of Anarchists, in which the League became involved. In January 1919, the League's informal forerunner displayed a strong anti-Semitic streak, but the League itself abandoned that orientation and briefly even attracted the support of a Jewish brigade. The book is particularly useful in emphasizing the liberal, as opposed to the nationalist and anti-liberal, associations of the League, despite its violent and reactionary impulses. The support the League received from the church injected it with some of the qualities that after World War II reappeared in the Christian Democrat movements of Europe and Latin America. The League enshrined ideas and associations common in the

United States in the early 1920s. It made a cult of the national flag. It had stronger links with the Boy Scout movement than with the Blackshirts. It aimed to quell Anarchism and Bolshevism through immigration controls, strike breaking, and physical threats against "agitators."

The League found support among many members of the ruling Radical Party. On these grounds, Caterina rejects previous interpretations arguing that the League emerged in 1919 as a potential rival of the Radical government led by President Hipólito Yrigoyen. However, the author carefully documents the League's support for the campaign against Yrigoyen during his second term in the late 1920s that led to his overthrow by the military in September 1930. On this issue, Caterina's arguments are more suspect. He fails to recognize that in 1919, by virtue of its support from the military, the League emerged as a parallel source of authority, divesting the government of its monopoly over the instruments of coercion. The existence of the League also fostered the myth among Argentine conservatives that the inevitable outcome of democracy lay in communism. In their view, Yrigoyen was playing the same role in Argentina as Aleksandr Kerensky in Russia. Such ideas played an important part not only in the military revolt of 1930 but in undermining the legitimacy of democracy in Argentina for much of the twentieth century.

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MÓNICA ESTI REIN, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946–1962*. (Latin American Realities.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1998. Pp. xiv, 223. Cloth \$58.95, paper \$23.95.

Mónica Esti Rein examines the Peronization of Argentine education from 1946 to 1955 and its de-Peronization from 1955 to 1962. She discusses the policies of the "three regimes": Juan Perón, the Liberating Revolutionary Government, and Arturo Frondizi (p. 201).

The first stage of Peronizing the elementary, secondary, and university levels meant restructuring and centralization. New schools and a Workers' University were built; staff, teachers, and professors were purged in the 1940s. Under the new Ministry of Education, the National Education Council (CNE), which had independently governed the national primary schools, and the administrations of the six state universities were subsumed. Fewer university students graduated, although enrollment and retention grew after 1943. Rein's tables, which show increases in students and numbers of schools, are confusing, because it is not clear whether commercial, technical, and agricultural schools are included in the secondary schools tallies. Further, the immense growth of the private schools is not depicted (p. 38). In 1950 and 1952, fees and tuition for universities and secondary schools were abolished, making attendance easier for the poor.

The second step involved indoctrination. At first, this consisted of celebrating Peronist holidays, then displaying photographs of the two Peróns in school classrooms and offices. Indoctrination increased with the deterioration of the economy after 1949. "Civic Culture" was made compulsory in elementary and secondary schools, and it included the two five-year plans, the Peronist Constitution of 1949, and the "National Doctrine," or *justicialismo*, of Peronism that emphasized social justice, economic independence, and political sovereignty. By 1953, National Doctrine and the second five-year plan were made part of the university curriculum.

The second stage of indoctrination brought Perón into competition with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1943, the military had made religious education a compulsory subject in public schools, overthrowing the lay tradition of the public schools. Perón, who participated in the military coup of 1943, retained this alliance of church and state, which kept the church indebted to him. The National Doctrine introduced by Peronists into classes began to compete with religious education, however, and in September 1954 was made compulsory for all non-public schools. School activities of the Union of Secondary Students (UES), introduced in 1953, were viewed by the church as competing with its own youth activities. Catholic university students joined the suppressed Federation of University Students (FUA) to oppose Perón. Clerics and Catholic laity became centers of opposition to Perón's regime. By December 1954, Perón's government moved to terminate both religious education in the public schools and state funding of private school salaries. In May 1955, Congress approved taxing church property and separating church and state. Religious loyalties led military personnel, clerics, students, and civilians to unite against Perón, and eventually these groups overthrew him in 1955.

The Liberating Revolution that came to power after Perón had fled Argentina in 1955 set out to expunge the achievements of Peronism from memory. Peronist centralization was overturned, national primary schools were returned to the CNE, and university autonomy was restored. Peronist indoctrination was ended. General Eduardo Lonardi, a devout Catholic, headed the government, and all anticlerical legislation (except for the prohibition on religious education in public schools) was repealed. Although Rein speculates that this was because Lonardi did not want to lose the support of secularists, she does not give sources. One should turn to my book, *Politicians, Pupils, and Priests: Argentine Education since 1943* (1989) for a more detailed explanation of Lonardi's and General Pedro Aramburu's education policies.

Lonardi was generally deemed too conciliatory towards the Peronists, and Aramburu, a more liberal officer, replaced him as provisional president. Teachers, administrators, and professors fired after the coup of 1943 were rehired, and Peronists were dismissed. Payment of varying percentages of private school

salaries, including those of teaching priests and nuns, was also restored. However, the Peronist history curriculum remained unchanged until 1978!

Rein argues that the Roman Catholic Church regained influence because it helped overthrow Perón. Frondizi sought its support, along with that of Peronists, in order to win the election of 1958. In a campaign that antagonized secularist university students and faculty, Frondizi pushed for and won Senate recognition of degrees from private (Catholic) universities. The state lost its monopoly of higher education, although graduates of private universities had to take the state examinations to practice law or medicine. The military removed Frondizi in 1962 because of his close connection with the Peronists.

Rein's excellent linking of Argentine politics and the educational system does not explain the outcome of de-Peronization of the schools, since he was elected to a third term in 1973. She reiterates that the "focus" of this book is on "the policies and ambitions of the different regimes" (p. 204). Could it be that images, symbols, and populist policies outside the school system remained in the minds and hearts of Argentines? Rein is right, in that the nature and policies of the three regimes *were* reflected in the educational system, but they derived from the economy and the attitudes of the military, church, unions, politicians, and, ultimately, the voters.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ALISON FUTRELL. *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 338. \$39.50.

Kernels of important books are nestled inside this slim volume with only 210 pages of actual text as opposed to apparatus. Alison Futrell juxtaposes topics that are not usually seen together (architecture of amphitheatres, Nemesis cult, imperial cult, frontier armies, and human sacrifice), although coverage of so many concepts in so few pages leaves much of her argument interestingly suggested rather than demonstrated. Nonetheless, the book is extraordinarily useful in bringing together cult, combat, and archaeology to materialize ideas within a thoroughly evoked physical setting.

Futrell reconstructs the lengthy process by which gladiatorial combat in the era of the Republic became a key element in "increasing publicization and politicization of the *funus publicum* of the illustrious [socio-economically elite] dead" (p. 35). She demonstrates how comparatively late it was that gladiatorial combat was "disassociated from the death of the individual [and] held, rather, in celebration of the continued life of the Roman state" (p. 3). Her thesis about why the state of the imperial era became the great provider of gladiatorial spectacle is ambitious and debatable. She

suggests that combat in the arena was an "encapsulation, in symbolic form, of the changes taking place in the Roman world" (p. 2) and a reminder of the "potential for violence of the Roman state" (p. 10), as well as "a celebration of violence turned inward" (p. 3).

In her discussion of arena building and romanization, Futrell upends the common belief that arenas are the visible symptom of romanization and finds them rather to be a cause. She also sorts out what sorts of arenas appear in what sorts of peripheral areas for what possible reasons. This careful evocation of the material world of antiquity is all very useful, even if the reader wants to defer judgment on the conclusions Futrell herself draws. Her most lengthy and interesting discussion connects "mixed edifices" with a Roman appeal to Gallic religious and cultural sensibilities. It is, however, necessary to pay close attention to the annotation to keep an eye on the number of examples underlying each generalization about what kind of arena served what purpose in what province. (Great significance in the history of the arena is attributed to Sulla and to the Flavians on the basis of particularly minimal evidence.) Futrell's distinction between the imperial Nemesis attested in cult and the purely literary motif of Nemesis is also extremely useful. The final section on human sacrifice by various archaic states (Aztec, China, Dahomey) would have been better shortened even more and left frankly only suggestive of the strongest possible connections the author or others might want to explore at adequate length in more deeply comparative work.

This profitable discussion of arenas is framed within some embedded assumptions about the Roman world about which the Romanist may want to warn undergraduates and others. Futrell does bring out fundamental Roman religious tolerance, but otherwise the non-classicist reader will have trouble understanding either the appeal or the success of Roman imperial culture. A minimal (for an ancient imperial power or for any Western democracy) tax becomes an instance of the "nastiest type" of romanization (p. 73). It is difficult for the reviewer to think of any sense in which the generalization that "The options of the individual in Roman society grew more limited as time passed" might be true for anyone of any status or gender during the period covered by the book (p. 48). Futrell calls the empire "totalitarian" a number of times, a usage that will impede future comparative work or undergraduate understanding, grossly exaggerating as it does the control the state ever had or could ever have aspired to given premodern communications.

Roman historians will presumably wish that such a short, useful, interesting book featured less material on medieval Ireland and on the Incas and had taken mainline Roman imperial history less for granted. Futrell trusts the ancient narrative sources to the extent that she believes that Livy made use of public records and that Dio understands the titles and development of the early imperial bureaucracy. One misses

a command of the epigraphical sources on a number of administrative issues—for example, Futrell's misunderstanding of the titles and jobs of the *curatores viarum* and the *curatores operum publicorum*—although my irritation with this aspect of the book is a measure of the interest it held for me and the promise I believe it shows.

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HERWIG WOLFRAM. *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*. Translated by THOMAS DUNLAP. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; in association with the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. 1997. Pp. xx, 361. \$39.95.

The formation of the barbarian tribes that entered the territories of the Roman Empire in the fourth to the sixth centuries, and the kingdoms that they subsequently created once their migrations had come to an end, are major aspects of what has been termed "the transformation of the Roman world." The study of tribal formation is in itself complex, and the difficulties of understanding it are enhanced by the fact that our narrative sources for the process come from authors who may have had access to genuine traditions but whose interpretations were influenced heavily by Romano-Greek ethnography. At the same time, while the archaeological evidence is important, it is open to any number of interpretations. What is clear is that the barbarian peoples who entered the Roman world were not purely biological groupings but rather units formed around cultural and religious traditions, and that they were changed through their contact with the Romans, whose world they in turn transformed. In addition to this history, the historiography of the transformation has itself been significant, for it has fed much of the nationalist consciousness of Western Europe and played a particular part in the development of Nazi ideology. Herwig Wolfram juggles dazzlingly both the history and the historiography, although it may be that his careful and often ironic asides about German historical thought will prove too elusive to those not brought up within the German scholarly tradition.

Nor is Wolfram's historical reading always easy to follow, despite the fact that the book is clearly intended for students and that many of the chapter headings (for example, "The Vandals (406–534): A Unique Case?" or "Theodoric (451–526) and Clovis (466/7–511)") are ideally pitched at the undergraduate essay writer. Nevertheless, Wolfram himself warns the reader at the start of chapter one (p. 14) that "a great deal of attention and discrimination" is needed to understand what follows. He is right: what he has to say about "Kings, Heroes, and Tribal Origins" in the first chapter is not easy reading, but it is an important summation of much of Wolfram's own work on tribal origins and their representation in early medieval sources (ethnogenesis), and as such it repays concen-

tration. Not that this is the only chapter where the reader is challenged by complex argument, but then Wolfram's understanding of the barbarian impact on Roman world and Rome's impact on the barbarians is itself extremely complex. To see how much more sophisticated readings of the barbarian migrations have become in the last thirty years, one has only to compare this book with Lucien Musset's *Les invasions: Les vagues germaniques* (1965).

Wolfram is, not surprisingly, at his best when he deals with subjects that he has already made his own: ethnogenesis, the titles chosen by rulers (*intitulatio*) and, of course, the Goths, in particular the Ostrogoths. In many respects, this book is, therefore, a return visit to material that Wolfram has already written about (and indeed, the endnotes tend to send the reader to the author's previous work rather than to the original sources, which is a pity, given how much source material is available in translation for students). Outside the fields that Wolfram dominates, he inevitably relies on others, with the result that discussions of the Vandals, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Burgundians are sketchier than those of the Ostrogoths. Nevertheless, some of the sketchiest discussions will prove particularly useful for students. The short overviews of the Slavs and the Avars in the final chapter will doubtless be most people's introduction to those more shadowy peoples.

Although Thomas Dunlap has translated work by Wolfram before, it cannot be said that he or the publishers have served this book well. Frequently place names and personal names have been left in German, or translated into French, rather than into the forms normally known in English: thus Friaul for Friuli, Melanie for Melania, Bretagne for Brittany (though Wolfram himself is not quite accurate in implying that Aremorica and Brittany are coterminous). There are alarming mistakes, which are unlikely to have been Wolfram's, for example, Transmarisca-Tutrakan is placed on the Rhine (p. 63). And Latin words move in and out of italics at whim. One can only hope that the publishers will soon produce a properly edited version of this book and that a considerable number of minor blemishes will be removed.

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PAOLO SQUATRITI. *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 195. \$54.95.

How a society manages and controls water, an essential element for all human life and communities, has been extensively studied in terms of classical antiquity but remains a relatively neglected topic for the European Middle Ages. Paolo Squatriti's thoughtful and well-documented book is an attempt to fill that gap. It focuses on early medieval Italy, a cultural environment in which ancient Roman norms had reached full

development and remained important long after the "fall" of the Western Empire.

As Squatriti points out in his introduction, for Italy in the Middle Ages, as for all societies and cultures, water is unique, representing both matter and custom, culture and nature; this duality, of course, significantly shapes modes of its procurement, distribution, and usage, and certainly did so in the period and peninsula treated by this book. Squatriti organizes his study according to purposes and goals served. Chapter one focuses on water use in everyday life and domestic functions, such as cooking and drinking; here Squatriti argues that the well-documented medieval prejudice against water as a beverage was due not so much to concerns about its poor quality as to biases inherited from classical culture. Although water was essential for cooking and food preparation, it was still regarded in early medieval Italy as a drink of the lower classes and therefore described in unflattering terms.

More dramatic was the change from classical antiquity in water usage for baths and bathing, an activity of regimented leisure that served needs of both hygiene and relaxation in the world of ancient Rome. In the early medieval period, as a result of moral concerns and a change from public to episcopal patronage, bathing was transformed in Italy. Although the activity continued to be popular, it was done in smaller complexes, in greater seclusion, and for the purpose of becoming "clean" rather than relaxed or rejuvenated. Chapter two, perhaps the most interesting of the entire book, documents fully this significant change in cultural priorities.

Chapter three explores the agricultural use of water, particularly the evidence for irrigation and drainage, and the interests of landholders in developing extensive estates through control of water resources. Related to this issue is the subject of the next chapter, fishing and fish hatcheries. A final chapter on water as a power source treats mills and milling; here water provided a locus of social interaction manipulated to save labor and furnish economic gain.

Squatriti closes his study with a fascinating summary of accounts of the water cycle provided by Aethicus Ister in the eighth century, the Venerable Bede, and Isidore of Seville, all of whom sought to explain the "admirable unity" (p. 162) of water in its many manifestations from underground springs, the salt sea, and vaporous clouds. He then observes that all water (not to mention water usage) in early medieval Italy was similarly interconnected, because people were well aware of how their own use of water affected that of others. Such understanding, of course, led to increasing patrimonialization of this vital resource after 700. But in addition to determining social responses to the issue of its use and allocation, water in this period remained (and still remains) a part of nature as well as society, with important environmental dimensions resulting from human interactions with it. The final conclusion is not surprising but certainly correct: water usage in early medieval Italy shows clearly the endurance

of Roman norms and cultural patterns even after the end of classical antiquity, a patrimony that survived in the medieval society inhabiting the same peninsula and facing the same challenges in the management and use of an essential resource.

As its title indicates, the book spans a long and complicated period of European history, and it treats a subject with endless applications and forms. The result, as Squatriti clearly admits, presents a "long view" and is clearly more of a survey than an exhaustive treatment of water and society. As a classicist interested primarily in water management and distribution in the Roman world, however, I learned a tremendous amount from this thoroughly documented and informative work, and I will be consulting it frequently for its extensive bibliography and the sources cited. Squatriti knows his evidence and has exploited it with sound judgment and great skill. Medievalists and Italianists cannot overlook what he has to say, and anyone interested in hydrological studies and the cultural impact of water on human societies, whether in antiquity or afterward, will gain much from reading it.

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JENNY JOCHENS. *Old Norse Images of Women*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 326. \$39.95.

JENNY JOCHENS. *Women in Old Norse Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 266. \$39.95.

Jenny Jochens's premise in writing these two books is that there is a continuum from the ancient/pagan Germanic peoples through to the medieval/Christian Nordic society. Using a feminist perspective, she teases from her sources information to provide both a picture of women's lives in medieval Iceland as well as the images of women that had their origins in ancient Germanic literature but endured in the Norse sagas.

Twenty years in the making, this work represents the completion of a topic introduced to the author as a field of study at the University of Copenhagen. The term "Norse" is used by her to identify the continuity between Norway and Iceland in the period from the late ninth to the middle of the thirteenth century. Jochens mainly relies on three genres of prose narratives: sagas of the Icelanders, the kings' sagas, and the contemporary (thirteenth-century Christian) sagas as well as the compilation of laws. The two books were intended to be one volume, but it was the sagas that made it impossible for the author to write one book. Jochens found in the prose narratives the "images" of divine female figures and mythic-heroic women in human settings that required a division of her material into two parts.

Readers unfamiliar with medieval Icelandic history are advised by Jochens to read *Women in Old Norse Society* before turning to *Old Norse Images of Women*. It would be difficult, but not impossible, for the novice

to understand the second volume without reading the earlier one. The author, moreover, supplies appendixes in both books that are most helpful for students interested in women's history who have little or no background in medieval Nordic literature. Given the nature of the sources, Jochens needs to be congratulated on adding to the corpus of books on the history of women. Her knowledge of the Old Norse sagas and laws is extensive and the material she presents has never before appeared in the English language.

Women in Old Norse Society has six chapters, which cover marriage, reproduction, leisure, work, and the "economics of homespun." This book is more interesting from a historical perspective, as the author relies on accounts that do not require the reader to accept her proposition that there was a continuity of a German-Nordic culture for women. In chapter two on marriage, for example, she analyzes the change in women's status from pre-Christian to Christian times. The sagas of the Icelanders are about pagan times but were written down after the conversion era, while the Christian accounts were written shortly after the events described occurred. Jochens admits that she has trouble on the questions of different practices, especially when the sagas seem to be in contradiction to the laws. Yet she concludes that the negative concept of women as property in the pagan institution of marriage was replaced by a more equitable one that may have "derived from [Christian] churchman's underlying concern for humans as individuals" (p. 168).

The chapter on reproduction was also difficult to write as the sources are vague on sexual relations. In her effort to establish the changing sexual mores produced by the adoption of Christian ideals, Jochens had to construct, as she put it, a kind of "prosopography . . . of lovemaking" (p. 68). The chapter on leisure is by far the shortest, not only because the northland required long and hard labor to survive but also because the sources list only men's physical sports, such as wrestling or ball playing. According to Jochens, the only leisure activities for women were non-physical ones, such as board games and storytelling. This is surprising, since my own research has found that women enjoyed winter (not to mention summer) pastimes such as skiing, snowball fights, and ice skating during the twelfth through fifteenth centuries.

Chapter five on work finds women performing all those household tasks typically done by their continental sisters in medieval Europe. The "Economics of Homespun" chapter is the most original, because Jochens found that the cloth woven by women not only provided a product for export but was eventually used as currency on the island. Although historians have written about the economic value of homespun in medieval Iceland no one, until Jochens, has focused on the role of women in the making of cloth.

The word "image" in the title of the second book may mislead readers into thinking that the author wrote about the physical representations of Nordic women as portrayed in art. Rather, "image" is used by

Jochens to present a mental picture of female characters both divine and human as found in the Poetic and Prose Edda as well as some of the same sources as cited above. After dispatching the divine, her focus is on four types of mythic-human woman: warrior, as seen in the *valkyrie* (shieldmaiden); wise woman, like the prophetess or sorceress; avenger as Gudrun, like that of Kriemhild in *Nibelungenlied*; and "whetters" or inciters of action, such as Brunhild.

Since archaeology provides scant evidence for female goddesses in the patriarchal society of German-Nordic paganism, Jochens is forced to rely entirely on the literary information of myths to construct goddesses. Broken down into eight chapters, with three devoted to divine images and five devoted to human ones, the author follows the same format used by the compiler of the *Codex Regius*.

Given the authority exercised by Odin over the pantheon, it is not unusual that female divines were reduced to secondary status such as *fetches*, *valkyries* (female beings who rewarded warriors who fell in battle), sibyls, and land-spirits. In the chapter on the goddesses and gender in the Nordic pantheon, Jochens explains the creation and evolution of the gods based on the Poetic Edda as accepted by Snorri Sturluson around 1220. Finally the two most well-known goddesses, Frigg, wife of Odin and queen of the gods, and Freyja, goddess of love, are given their due—albeit as inferior to the male deities.

The remaining chapters are on mythical-human women in Germanic and Nordic literature who are grouped into the four different categories as given above. When possible, Jochens ties these legendary women to known historical accounts as found in Tacitus, Adam of Bremen, and Saxo Grammaticus as well as the Nordic sagas and laws. She finds that "the human heroic world heroines were assigned more impressive roles . . . than their divine sisters" (p. 207). With the conversion to Christianity, moreover, the goddesses disappear while the four images of mythic-human women remain.

The two books present a methodology and subject matter original to the study of medieval Nordic women. Jenny Jochens's publications attest to the fact that her twenty years of research were years well spent.

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JOHN W. BALDWIN. *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France Around 1200*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society). Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xxviii, 331. \$17.95.

John W. Baldwin's book is a learned and deliberate comparison of topics in five medieval discourses about "sex" or "sexuality." It is admirably interdisciplinary in its selection of materials and admirably fair-minded in trying to recognize a range of questions posed by gender theory. But the book is also a demonstration of

how difficult "theory" has made the writing of Baldwin's kind of history.

Baldwin disposes his libraries of material very clearly. After a methodological introduction, he introduces five "voices" or "traditions": (1) the "theological-canonistic tradition," as in the school of Pierre the Chanter; (2) "Galen's legacy as mediated through Salerno," epitomized by the *Prose Salernitan Questions*; (3) the "classical tradition of Ovid," as rehearsed in the *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus; (4) "the vernacular tradition of romance," here centered around Jean Renart; and (5) the *fabliaux*, for which the emblem is Jean Bodel (pp. xix-xx). The main part of the book has then the shape of a grid. The five clusters of texts are analyzed according to five large themes: participants, sexual body, sexual desire, coitus, and children. The analyses range beyond their boxes. Each of Baldwin's "voices" is treated as a textual tradition, with models before the chosen authors and imitators after them. The themes are also encouraged to subdivide and even to overlap. Indeed, Baldwin's most nuanced and so most useful pages are repeated readings of texts under a series of thematic and formal perspectives.

Baldwin wants to draw larger conclusions. He begins with the "firmest" ones, which "result from the purely verbal engagement of one discourse with another" (p. 235). For example, high theological prescriptions are generally ignored by the other four discourses. All five discourses agree in sharing some vocabularies and in asserting that "homoerotic relations" are "the most reprehensible" of sexual acts (p. 229). For Baldwin, the five discourses, though overwhelmingly male, also seem to collaborate in a dialectic of gender. On the one hand, "endemic" to them is "a pervasively assumed asymmetry which placed men on top over a broad continuum of relationships" (p. 230). On the other hand, the discourses assert in various ways the "fundamental reciprocity of sexual relations" (p. 231)—in the two-seed theory of conception, in views about marriage by mutual consent, in comedies of ravenous desire, and in tales of young love.

Baldwin then moves beyond intertextual conclusions. First, he wants to stake a claim for historical uniqueness. "The years surrounding 1200 . . . were a moment of unprecedented gender equilibrium," "a privileged moment of gender symmetry in Western thought before the deluge of Aristotelianism" (pp. 232, 234). Second, Baldwin wants to read through the texts to the "social" or "sexual behavior" surrounding them (p. 235). Baldwin concludes, for example, that "literary texts actually molded and directed social practice" (p. 237). In the end, "multiple discourses remain the best available evidence for sexual behavior in the twelfth century" (p. 238).

This conclusion is perhaps too candid—because, of course, the "best available evidence" may not sustain certain historiographical projects, including Baldwin's own. Baldwin is right to worry about the jump from theological or medical or literary texts to inferences

about "real" behavior, but there are other worries as well. For example, Baldwin's thematic comparisons across very different genres cannot be justified by reducing each genre to its "literal interpretation." Texts in different genres do not mean "literally" in the same way. Nor is it clear that these texts are finally about the same thing. Why should we assume that these five medieval traditions are constructing a single subject matter? What makes Baldwin so sure that those five "voices" are speaking the "language of sex"—if not his conviction of the urgent unity of that (modern) topic?

Baldwin takes pains to respond to previous works of gender theory, but the very shape of his project may prevent him from hearing their most disruptive challenges. Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, to take the obvious example, means to show that it is impossible to write such a history except as a rhetorical study of discontinuities in our basic speech categories. Baldwin discusses Foucault (pp. xiv-xv) and seems even to approve something of the *History of Sexuality*, but he then describes his own project as "solely and simply discourses about sexuality and their attendant consequences for the construction of gender" (p. xvii). How can we construe that "solely and simply"? Is it a tacit repudiation of Foucault? A plea for "common sense" in reading? An assertion of the old verities of historical discovery against the new monsters of theory? Or is it the misleading optimism that we can have our theory and our grand social narratives too?

MARK D. JORDAN

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BRIAN TIERNEY. *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law and Church Law 1150–1625*. (Emory University Studies in Law and Religion, number 5.) Atlanta: Scholars. 1997. Pp. xi, 380. \$24.95.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" begins not only the *Declaration of Independence* but also this superb book by Brian Tierney. The idea of natural rights was, of course, not new in the late eighteenth century, but where did the idea come from? Before John Locke, some have pointed to Hugo Grotius. Before the Dutch jurist, some have suggested Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suarez. Before the Spanish neo-scholastics of the sixteenth century, others have seen the conciliarist Jean Gerson and, before him, William of Ockham. But who would suggest commentators on Gratian's *Decretum*? Yet, in Tierney's formulation, the origin of the idea of natural rights extends to Rufinus and Ricardus, to Huguccio and Alanus, and to their "obscure glosses" (p. 344) of the twelfth century.

Almost half of the book is devoted to William of Ockham, as Tierney argues that the Franciscan master's formulation of natural rights—on *ius* as a subjective power, not an objective natural law—derives from juristic rather than philosophical doctrines. In contrast

to other scholars, especially Michel Villey, Tierney presents a perspective that medieval rights theories were not typically derived from metaphysical considerations. In particular, Ockham's theory of rights was not derived from his nominalist philosophy but rather from juridical concerns that shaped his view of a contemporary dispute concerning Franciscan poverty. Although his theory of rights was compatible with his nominalism, it was also compatible with other philosophical traditions. As Tierney nicely puts it, "any medieval author who was clever enough to be a scholastic philosopher in the first place was quite capable of associating any preferred set of metaphysical premises with any chosen political stance" (pp. 196–7). In discussing Gerson, Tierney again argues—this time against Richard Tuck—that neither late medieval nominalism nor moral theology explains his rights theory. Instead, "the context of medieval conciliarism is the truly significant one" (p. 221), and here Gerson, like Ockham before him, drew on canonistic sources.

Of particular interest is Tierney's discussion of the survival of medieval rights theories in the "new circumstances" (p. 252) of the sixteenth century. The well-known Spanish disputes concerning the American Indians provided a context in which Suarez, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and especially Vitoria "deployed an old language in a new context" (p. 262). Once again, Tierney points out that medieval jurisprudence, rather than Thomism and/or nominalism, was a viable source. Indeed, he shows the Dominican Vitoria using "verbal jugglery" (p. 259) to present his thoughts on subjective rights as derived from or consistent with those of Thomas Aquinas. Finally, Grotius had a different problem. While Vitoria needed to show dependence on medieval antecedents, the seventeenth-century Dutch humanist, living in a world that saw the writings of the late scholastics as "barbarous, clumsy, and empty of meaning" (p. 252), tried to conceal his indebtedness to Suarez and the medieval origins of his teachings. Nevertheless, "his conceptual apparatus of law and rights . . . was of medieval origin" (p. 326).

In discussing the history of natural rights thought over half a millennium, Tierney combines an erudite command of the texts with an appreciation of historical contexts—"contingent developments" (p. 217)—that made the assertion of natural rights either necessary or practicable. This discussion is more convincing in some areas (e.g. conciliarism) than in others (e.g. the "new monarchies"), but the general thrust of the argument is quite compelling. Perhaps the greatest contribution of this learned text is that, along with Harold Berman's *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (1983), it will focus attention on the central importance to Western thought of Gratian and other medieval jurists and their "obscure glosses."

MICHAEL D. GORDON
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PETER LINEHAN. *The Ladies of Zamora*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 192. \$35.00.

In the summer of 1281, the new prioress of the convent of Las Dueñas in Zamora wrote a letter of complaint to Cardinal Ordoño at Rome requesting protection from the local Dominican friars. An inquiry into alleged inappropriate relations between the friars and some of the nuns already had been made in 1279 by Bishop Suero of Zamora. At that time, he also reported that the nuns were indulging in other pursuits at odds with monastic rule, such as buying and selling property, leaving the cloister without permission, and not observing the rule of silence. After recording these events in chapter two, the nuns—or the ladies as Peter Linehan prefers to label them, although the local cloistered gentlemen invariably are referred to as friars—essentially disappear from the narrative. Linehan then gets to his book's real subject, a detailed and careful look at pope-bishop-friar-king relationships of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in the Iberian peninsula, and specifically in the area of Zamora in Castile.

This time period and region are ones with which Linehan is more than familiar, but much of this book is drawn from his new discoveries in Spanish archives. Linehan tells us in this meticulously researched work about Bishop Suero, who, after reinvigorating and improving the church in Zamora, engaged in a power struggle with the Dominicans and their increased power and influence. He records the fate of Munio of Zamora, the Master General of the Dominican Order, who was removed by Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 because the pope believed Munio was in collusion with the wayward monks. Linehan untangles the saga of Sancho IV, who used the friars as intermediaries with Pope Nicholas IV to secure his claim on the throne of Castile and to regularize his marriage to his cousin María de Molina. The book paints an amusing story of bribery and corruption at the highest levels involving a group of unpleasant people—at least the way Linehan portrays them—who, perhaps for that reason, are quite fascinating. In chapter six, the events in Zamora are placed in a larger context both historically and geographically, taking the story into the early fourteenth century and across the broader landscape of the Iberian peninsula. Linehan also suggests some fruitful areas of inquiry for scholars, notably his observation that we still do not understand why Dominican expansion in Spain only became significant between 1250 and 1275 yet had already peaked in France and England.

This book seems to have more than one objective and one voice. The principal objective is to tell a fascinating story about plots and schemes in medieval Spain. Linehan's qualifications in this field are without question and, as always, he convincingly illuminates the conflicts and tensions of the era. A secondary goal, lurking in chapter two, is to demolish in a knowing way

the work of a few earlier scholars. The writing has some quirks, too. Some passages and phrases have a folksy tone, for example, "nuns on the run" (p. 56) and "mid-thirteenth-century mid-life crisis" (p. 4). These disjunctions are important and unfortunate because they break the fluidity of Linehan's narrative, trivialize the significance of some of his research, and detract from the reader's engagement with this material.

More information about places in which the book's events unfold would have been illuminating; sufficient research into the urban and architectural history of Spain has been published on which to draw. And his editors do Linehan a disservice by not producing a map of the Iberian peninsula that encompasses all the locales he mentions. This is particularly troublesome with respect to Linehan's final chapter, where he provides the broader historical sweep. The map provided, a section of central Spain (Map 1) could be on the moon for all its indication of context. Finally, the book, a quite traditional study, concerned with dates and power struggles between bishops, popes, and kings, is scarcely an investigation of women in medieval Zamora, as one might expect from the title. Indeed, the book's title is a tease, for the ladies play only an insignificant part in this history.

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JAMES MASSCHAELE, *Peasants, Merchants, and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xii, 275. \$45.00.

Historians have long been aware of the growing dependence on the market in the years before the outbreak of the Black Death, but it is often discussed in terms of landlessness and poverty, which forced people to purchase food and other goods that they did not have enough resources to supply themselves. In this book, James Masschaele focuses on the other side of the equation: the peasant producers whose surpluses of grain, wool, and livestock flowed into the towns, where they were either processed into goods such as bread, ale, and cloth or channeled into national and even international currents of trade. Using evidence from lay subsidy rolls and accounts of royal purveyance, he comes to the conclusion "that peasants would have supplied the market with more than three times the amount of produce supplied by gentry producers" (p. 51). Behind this statement lies the assumption that what were ordinarily assessed in a lay subsidy were chattels surplus to the minimum consumption needs of the household and that what individuals turned over to royal purveyors were stocks whose loss would not put their well-being in jeopardy. Masschaele does not consider the evidence of J. R. Maddicott (*The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341* [1995]) that in some places the agents of royal purveyors arbitrarily took what they wanted and peasant producers, rather than part with surplus, were

forced to give up their seed-corn or the oxen needed for plowing.

In the remainder of the book, the author discusses the rise of markets and their integration into national and international trading systems. Towns obviously played a pivotal role in this process of integration, but only a few towns functioned as central nodes of regional exchange. Using six indexes of urbanization and the assessed wealth of communities in 1334, Masschaele drew up a list of fifty-one towns that he regarded as economically distinct from other settlements and having sufficient capital resources to influence commercial development within their region (p. 82). Merchants from these regional centers gained access to local production at smaller market centers. To help determine the location of the country's leading market sites, Masschaele looked at the returns from the special tax, the Ninth of 1341. The resulting information, however, presents problems, as Masschaele himself is well aware, since counties such as Kent and Essex, known from other evidence to be highly commercialized and urbanized, appear in each case to have only two centers with a permanent resident population of merchants.

The book ends with a case study of Huntingdonshire, in which the core markets and the smaller, local, markets are clearly distinguished. Each central core market had around it a group of smaller markets, meeting on different days of the week, so that merchants could travel from one to the next. With an excellent transportation infrastructure, goods could be sent to other core markets within or outside the county or, in the case of wool, could be sent overseas. In this way, local markets were integrated into a regional, national, and international network. Huntingdonshire, however, was by no means unique, and Masschaele believes that similar network and transportation systems could be found elsewhere.

The picture that Masschaele draws is essentially a static one, a template of how the system might work at a particular point in time. In focusing on the mechanisms and infrastructure that facilitated trade, he had no room to look at exogenous factors such as shifts in demand, inflation, and the impact of war, all of which in one way or another affected production and the flow of goods to market. Thus, when discussing the ample peasant resources of grain and livestock, Masschaele does not consider how readily these resources might be depleted after a series of bad harvests or serious outbreaks of cattle and sheep disease. Nonetheless, his insistence that not all markets performed the same function is a crucial one. Future historians will almost certainly debate the significance of some of his indexes, and there is clearly room for other case studies, but Masschaele is to be congratulated for tackling a difficult topic that has been neglected for too long. This is an important book that no future writer on trade and markets should ignore.

MAVIS MATE
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MICHAEL BROWN. *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455*. East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press. 1998. Pp. vi, 358. Cloth £30.00, paper £16.99.

The political history of late medieval Scotland is largely family history. Competition and conflicts by members of the aristocracy, as the great Scottish lords fought friends and foes alike, were continued for generations by their descendants. In this society, personal relationships, kinship, and hereditary rights were important. Among the great kindreds of medieval Scotland, few were as powerful as the family of Douglas. Michael Brown's book is a detailed study of this famous kindred covering almost two centuries. The story begins with their rise to prominence in the early fourteenth century, during the reign of King Robert I ("the Bruce"), and ends with the destruction of the "Black Douglasses" in the fifteenth century. The family fortunes were founded by James, Lord of Douglas, the "good Sir James" of literature, whose support for, and friendship with, King Robert brought him prestige and wealth. The estates he was given in the border lands between Scotland and England were to become the basis for his family's fortunes, as they fought English and Scottish foes alike in their empire building. There was literary and artistic immortality as well, for James carried his king's heart in a box round his neck on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, only to die following it in a battle against the Moors. The incident was used to enhance the status of the Douglasses and the heart became part of their coat of arms.

By the late fourteenth century, the Douglas family had separated into two branches known as "the Black," the descendants of a son of "good Sir James" named Archibald "the Grim," and "the Red," the descendants of James's brother Archibald "the Tyneman." While the Douglasses can easily be dismissed as mere ruffians who used fear and force to promote their interests, as illustrated by castles such as Threave (in Galloway) and Tantallon (in Lothian), Brown presents a more complex picture. During the unfortunate years when Scots kings were held captive by the English, the Douglasses were among the leaders of the Scots and one of the main bulwarks against the English. They acquired reputations as the foremost soldiers in the kingdom and were famous throughout Europe; during the Hundred Years' War, they fought with distinction for the French.

This study of the Black Douglasses shows how the turbulent border regions were administered. Protection and peace were provided by the Douglas lords not just through their prowess in battle but also by means of marriage ties and alliances with the other great families, including the royal family. Douglas success often came at the expense of weaker neighbors and sometimes of the royal dignity itself; the great Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was described by Pope Martin V as his eldest son in the kingdom. There is little surprise that the fall of the Black Douglasses came

not at the hands of their English enemies but via the Scots kings themselves, who feared the independent policies of their "overmighty" subjects. When William, Earl of Douglas, was murdered by King James II at Stirling Castle in February 1452, this was seen by many contemporaries less as a crime and more as rough justice administered to a rebel.

Brown's book provides a broad survey of this family. Their political intrigues, ecclesiastical interests, and local importance are investigated in detail. The study is not limited to Scotland, or even to Britain, but follows the Douglasses to the continent with an illuminating account of their service in France. The narrative benefits from the use of primary sources that include materials still in manuscript as well as published works, together with an impressive array of scholarly commentary. Literature is called into service to show how the Douglasses wanted to be remembered, and for this the allegorical poem called the *Buke of the Howlett*, written by Richard Holland for the family of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, is particularly informative. Useful genealogies and maps help to illustrate the text. Brown has made an important contribution to the family, regional, and national history of late medieval Scotland.

BENJAMIN HUDSON

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MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 289. \$59.95.

This is an interesting and important book that examines the *longue durée* of social regulation from the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh uses an exhaustive survey of the surviving records of 267 public courts in 255 communities, along with a miscellany of other material, to examine the types of regulatory mechanisms (especially in smaller settlements), the chronology of control, changing attitudes to regulation, and the factors influencing the incidence of misbehavior on the ground. She is thus able to shed new light on the wider context of the Puritan moral reform movement in the period before the English Civil War.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, social regulation was mostly handled by local manorial and borough courts; but in the sixteenth century, initiative shifted more to church courts and quarter sessions. At the same time, there were regional variations: if local courts in southern England were active in social regulation earlier than those in the north, the latter were concerned with the problem right up to 1600. From the 1530s, parliamentary and royal interventions had a growing effect.

For her analysis of the history of regulation, McIntosh groups offenses into three broad categories: disharmony (scolding, eavesdropping), disorder (sexual

misconduct, alehouse drunkenness), and poverty (vagrancy, subtenants). Whereas only an eighth of courts with records about 1400 reported social offences, there was a steady increase of cases from the late fifteenth century, which reached a climax in Elizabeth's reign when well over half of all the courts were involved in action. Disharmony and disorder cases tended to peak in the early sixteenth century and then drop back. In contrast, poverty offences advanced relentlessly from 1460 to the end of the period. This makes plain that social disorder cases cannot be lumped together and treated in the same way. McIntosh also shows how local factors were crucial in promoting regulation in the earlier period, but, as the sixteenth century progressed, growing anxiety over public order and government intervention were the dominant factors in shaping the social reform agenda.

Inevitably there are methodological problems with this kind of work. Many of the local court records relate to market towns and, though there is some attention to the urban dimension, not all the complexities of using this material are teased out—not least the fact that many market towns embraced large rural hinterlands. Another difficulty is that evidence for intermediate courts like quarter sessions is patchy or missing for most of the period. Certainly it is difficult to quantify their participation in social regulation, though the assumption must be, as McIntosh argues, that cases were moving to them from lesser courts. There is also the usual problem of how far an increased incidence of offences reflects greater social disorder or accentuated official action.

McIntosh is aware of most of these problems and tries hard to address them. Overall, she presents a strong, convincing case that while social regulation had a long pedigree in late medieval England, there was a qualitative difference in the late Tudor era, as a new preoccupation with poverty-related offenses was forged by rising demographic and economic pressures and inflamed in some communities by the zealous energy of committed Puritans. Yet aggressive regulation had its costs, often triggering divisions and faction-fighting in communities. Thus the growth of effective parish poor relief in the Stuart period had the dual advantage of diminishing paranoia over vagrancy and encouraging greater harmony at the local level.

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GUNNAR DAHL. *Trade, Trust and Networks: Commercial Culture in Late Medieval Italy*. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 1998. Pp. 355. 272 Kr.

This book surveys Italian commercial culture from about 1300 to 1500. Gunnar Dahl has read widely in the published sources—850 letters, eleven diaries, eleven merchants' handbooks, and contracts in various collections—and he brings to this work a practical expertise in business. His experience is evident in his sense of how important correspondence is to mer-

chants, and how it reveals their reliance on informal networks. Letters from afar inform as well as try to control agents, and Dahl clearly enjoys reading and analyzing letters. Unfortunately, the book reads like an inadequately revised thesis, with all the strengths and weaknesses of that genre.

The best parts of this book result from the ways in which Dahl applies his knowledge of business to the sources. He has a good grasp of how important informal networks are to actual trading. Having been a business agent himself, Dahl understands how medieval merchants frequently had to rely on out of date information and instructions from a home office. They had to depend mainly on their own intuition and experience to make money overseas. His analysis of Francesco Pegolotti's famous manual for merchants contains fresh views, especially on Pegolotti's love of detail and his bias as a professional exporter. Stress, the bane of modern working life, also existed in medieval trade, and Dahl is alert to signs of tension and burnout in the commercial correspondence he has read. Insurance, that great invention of Italian merchants, does not receive enough scrutiny. But Dahl notes that no one ever went bankrupt from insurance premiums, whereas some were undone because they had no insurance. From the merchants' handbooks Dahl finds a developing sense of business ethics along with a frank desire to become rich. Most merchants seem to have aimed to make enough money to secure the family's future and then to retire from the rigors of a traveler's business life. Dahl has little to say about the role of women as investors in commerce, but he does try to use two collections of letters by Alessandra Strozzi and Lucrezia Tornabuoni to illustrate the perspectives of women on commercial culture. Dahl cites the perceptive comment by the merchant of Prato, Francesco Datini, who observed that "the profit lies in the pen." Dahl might have written more on how merchants were trained, but he has in numerous contexts demonstrated the value of literacy and good record keeping.

The problems in this book are many. Without an index, the book's value is diminished. Dahl writes in a good English style, but his proofreaders did not serve him well and there are persistent errors throughout the book in the use of possessives. He mined the Italian sources in print, but he seems unable to handle the ones in Latin. This omission causes serious difficulties in doing medieval history, especially in the Italian sources. Dahl's study consistently undervalues the importance of municipal law codes in shaping business practices, but this appears to result from the fact that they have not been translated for him. Dahl almost never criticizes a secondary authority, and he does not know which ones are the most reliable on any given subject. Many astonishing omissions in his reading in the secondary literature detract from his analysis of key issues like merchant mentality after the plague of 1348, agency, and trust. Dahl seems genuinely baffled when his authorities disagree, and he is regrettably

reluctant to express his own opinions. Above all, Dahl has trouble with change in history. Although the period covered by this book is brief (in medieval terms), it is still long enough to discuss topics like how the plague affected business practices. So Dahl tends to see stability in a period where other scholars have amply demonstrated fundamental economic and business changes. If he had looked before 1300, this result would be more clear, but the paucity of sources in Italian seems to have denied this important perspective on his work.

Dahl's book contains many good ideas and will benefit students looking for connections between modern and medieval Italian business practices. Other readers will find signs of hasty composition and a thesis that is not yet a book, but they will regret that these faults obscure the valuable parts of this study.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

WAYNE TE BRAKE. *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500–1700*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 221.

Building on the well-known studies of popular political action in early modern Europe by George Rudé, Charles Tilly, Natalie Zemon Davis, and others, Wayne te Brake, already known for an excellent monograph on “the revolutionary world of an eighteenth-century Dutch city,” has written a lucid and balanced general survey of what he calls the “social history of politics” in the age of the Reformation, the “Second Reformation” a generation later, the Thirty Years’ War, and the “crisis” of the mid-seventeenth century. The survey takes in England, France, Spain, Portugal, the German-speaking lands (including Switzerland), and parts of Italy, although it virtually omits Poland, Muscovy, and Scandinavia (a pity, given the participation of the peasants in the Swedish Riksdag). The bibliography concentrates on recent work in English and also includes material in French, German, and above all Dutch, but does not refer to the important body of work available in Italian and Spanish (not to mention Catalan and Portuguese).

The core of the book is a narrative of events from the 1520s, in which Charles V faced rebellion on two fronts, the Spanish and the German, through the civil wars of France and the Netherlands, to what R. B. Merriman (who is acutely criticized by te Brake) called the “six contemporaneous revolutions” of the 1640s. The narrative is concise, fast-moving, and enlivened by shrewd comments. Religion occupies a great deal of the account, perhaps too much, since, as the author warns us, “the confluence of the histories of dissent and insurrection was neither automatic nor complete” (p. 69). The actions of elites also take up many pages, leaving the author all too little space in which to reflect more generally on the chronology, geography, and

sociology of popular political participation. This is a pity, because te Brake's reflections, nourished by his reading in sociology and political science, make a welcome change from the staple fare offered in textbooks of early modern European history. Inspired by the work and the counsel of Tilly, he speaks the language of political “mobilisation,” of “coalitions” (large and small, transitory and more permanent), and even of “modularity,” a term borrowed from Sidney Tarrow to make the point that the same elements in the repertoire of popular action could be employed in different settings and for different ends.

The book would have made a still more powerful impression had the author gone further in this direction. He refers in passing to the work of James Scott but does not give us an analysis of everyday resistance parallel to that of formal rebellions. The author might also, perhaps, have drawn with profit on the suggestion of Albert Hirschman that “exit” is a possible option, as well as “loyalty” (or at least obedience) and “voice” (in the sense of protest, including rebellion). The founding of independent Cossack settlements was perhaps the most spectacularly successful example of collective action by ordinary people that may be found in Europe in the whole period under consideration. The parallel between the Cossack *sichs* and the *quilombos* founded by fugitive slaves in the New World adds a political dimension to Immanuel Wallerstein's arguments about the relation between the rise of slavery, serfdom, and capitalism in the early modern world.

Another serious omission from this otherwise illuminating study is any serious discussion of the role of the press in stimulating popular political participation. Yet many of the conflicts that te Brake discusses were fought not only with conventional weapons but also with the “paper bullets of the press,” as a seventeenth-century English journalist once put it. The authorities often expressed alarm at the proliferation of gazettes, which they thought encouraged “the people” to criticize their governments in barber's shops and elsewhere. Te Brake quotes the Venetian ambassador to Paris, Battista Nani, on measures taken by the French government in 1647 to prevent the gazettes from printing news about the revolt of Masaniello. However, he misses the opportunity to discuss the role of the press in the development of a popular “public sphere” in the 1520s, the 1560s, and the 1640s, long before the “structural” and “bourgeois” public sphere analyzed by Jürgen Habermas. In short, what was a bold idea for a comparative essay has become rather more conventional in the course of its execution. All the same, anyone who wishes to take the subject further will need to take very seriously the arguments of this judicious and perceptive study.

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GEOFFREY CROSSICK, editor. *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900*. (Historical Urban Studies.) Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1997. Pp. xiii, 263. \$76.95.

This book represents a significant contribution to our knowledge of European artisans in a variety of urban environments. Its contributors explore the myths and representations of the artisan that still inform the literature of production and modernization. Eleven well-researched essays cover 400 years and are woven together in an excellent opening chapter by editor Geoffrey Crossick. In addition to four innovative articles on French artisans, the collection includes essays ranging from Swedish to Hungarian cases. The collection grapples with the elusive category of “artisans” and their relationships—initially quite central to the making of the city—to issues of occupation, changes in urban politics and institutions, and modes of production. The essays take on their subjects in good times and bad and demonstrate the resiliency of certain trades and artisanal structures even as they were drawn into wider capitalist networks.

Crossick sets the stage for the volume in complex and nuanced terms, making the key point that the guild system and artisanal production (not always analogous) formed a bridge between private and public worlds. This recognition of the guild as an economic institution with both private and public faces is one of the most significant contributions of the book. The theme played out in different ways, times, and settings. Christopher Friedrichs, for example, emphasizes group and craft solidarity as a primary feature of urban politics in seventeenth-century towns and cities in Germany. He notes that “the political role of artisans in the German city is often difficult to gauge because most of the time relations between the specific guilds and the municipal authorities were non-confrontational” (p. 49). This key point reveals that much of what we know of artisans in the urban world derives from police and juridical records, which stress conflict, not cooperation. Much remains to be learned about how the guild system transmitted values of solidarity and “brotherhood” to resist or work with industrialization, for as Crossick says, the guild system “could serve as well as inhibit capitalist production” (p. 22).

The biggest challenge this volume poses is precisely what is an artisan. The contributors look for answers in sociocultural as much as in economic realms: thus sociability, status, shared practices, gender relations, and masculinity rather than identification related to occupational categories seem primary. The essays that most successfully propose this view are James Farr’s on French artisans and Lars Edgren’s on the Swedish case. Farr, in particular, applies the methodologies of cultural history in an effort to “denaturalize” any assumed economic essentialism. Both authors, however, still return to some extent to a focus on work and modes of production. Obviously some combination of economic and cultural analysis will always inform our understanding of early modern and, especially, nine-

teenth-century artisans, although these essays provide ample proof enough that simple economic explanations, particularly of industrialization driving out artisanal labor, are not viable. Many of the other essays, however, return to some of the stereotypes of the artisan that Crossick effectively subverts in his introduction.

Perhaps the most concrete example of the “cultural” approach in this volume is its attention to issues of gender and masculinity (the masters’ serious patriarchal version of this category and journeymen’s “boisterous” carousing and virility). Elizabeth Musgrave convincingly demonstrates in her article on eighteenth-century Nantes that women in the crafts had fewer options and representations than their male counterparts. As central as women were to the artisanal workshop, their contributions were often considered “dishonorable” and as “undercutting” male labor. Women were increasingly restricted by guild regulations that left them with more poorly paid work, often defined as unskilled whether it was or not. Nonetheless, Musgrave’s essay, as well as those of Farr, Crossick, and others, stress that women were essential to guild production even if they were limited to peripheral roles.

The strengths of this volume are many. Michael Berlin’s essay on English artisans confirms that despite the marked decline of the corporate system there, artisanal values and practices remained vital to sociopolitical action into the nineteenth century. Comparisons to the wider European context also emerge in the essays by Josef Ehmer on Vienna, Natacha Coquery on the connections between court society and artisanal culture in the building of eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtels*, and Josette Pontet on artisanal production in Bordeaux after the abolition in of the guilds in 1791. One wishes for more on the nineteenth century beyond the essays by Vera Bácskai on Hungary during the eve of industrialization, Florence Bourillon on the impact of urban renewal on artisanal practices in the Haussmann era, and Pim Kooij on the role of artisans in the Dutch provincial labor market.

The issues raised in this volume interrogate the ability of artisans—real and imagined—to negotiate private and public spheres. These essays, thus, greatly enhance our understanding of European political culture from the early modern era to the nineteenth century, when the term “artisan” could be idealized and given meaning by both the left and the right in their struggles over what it meant to be a “citizen” of the nation-state.

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RICHARD I. COHEN, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 358. \$50.00.

This is a splendid book. It is the first effort to integrate art into the study of two major issues in the history of Jews in modern Europe: the status of Jews and Judaism within the larger society and the nature of Jewish responses to the new conditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It does not pretend, however, to be a comprehensive history either of the representation of Jews in modern Western art or of Jewish artistic creativity. Rather, by exploring a selected number of themes, Richard I. Cohen aims to "offer an alternative entrée into the social landscape of European Jewish society" (p. 9). His clear narrative demonstrates how visual resources enhance our understanding of the changing image of Jews and the patterns of Jewish acculturation in the modern period. Ranging from the seventeenth century to the years before World War I, Cohen devotes the bulk of this lavishly illustrated book to the variety of ways Jews used art and artifacts to shape their identities vis-à-vis the traditional Jewish world most had left and the European societies in which they were increasingly integrated.

Cohen frames the book, however, with two studies that symbolize the trajectory of Jewish experience in Europe. The substantial opening chapter depicts the evolution of a new and more positive attitude toward Jews and Judaism in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries as gentile artists, particularly in Holland but not only there, approached Jewish ritual life relatively free of the religious polemic that had characterized prior Christian views of Jews and Judaism. Cohen points, too, to the openness of Jews, in such countries as Holland, Italy, and Germany, to the Christian gaze, a sign of the less fraught encounter of Jews and Christians in the period. He concludes the book with a compelling analysis of several lesser known *fin-de-siècle* East European Jewish artists, whose perspective is dominated by trauma and loss of hope. Their works present the Jews of their time as the vulnerable victims of pogroms and poverty, dispossessed within the gentile world and forced to wander from their countries of birth.

At the center of the book, however, Cohen demonstrates how the Jewish involvement with art broadly conceived reflects on the construction of Jewish identities in the post-emancipation societies of Western and Central Europe. Ceremonial art and the building of new synagogues document the adoption by Jews of the aesthetic tastes of their surroundings and the ways they chose to present themselves to the larger society. Cohen's contrast of the changing functions of ceremonial objects, whether for individual or collective use, as Jewish religious observance declined, illuminates the self-understanding of assimilated Jews. He pays appropriate attention to the roles of bourgeois Jewish patronage in the production and collection of Jewish art and ritual objects. His chapter on the development of exhibitions of Jewish art in the second half of the nineteenth century and the subsequent establishment of Jewish museums in a number of Western and

Central European cities is a brilliant examination of what the assembling of such collections reveals about the self-image and self-display of European Jewish elites. Concerned with popular as well as elite culture, Cohen presents and analyzes little-known material: rabbinic portraits that became a staple of village and some urban Jewish homes in the nineteenth century, thanks in part to the development of techniques of mechanical reproduction. In tracing the evolution of the rabbinic portrait in Orthodox circles in particular, he succeeds in countering the conventional wisdom that traditional Jews always recoiled from representing the human figure.

Prominent in Cohen's presentation of the shaping of bourgeois Jewish identity in nineteenth-century Europe is the issue of nostalgia. Cohen adroitly analyzes the nostalgic representations of traditional Jewish family and ritual life that emerged in genre paintings, the first works with Jewish themes produced by Jewish artists at mid-century, and integrates them with the "ghetto tales" popular at the time. Focusing on the warmth and intimacy of a romanticized Jewish family and traditional religious observance, both artists and writers enabled the Jewish bourgeoisie of Western and Central Europe to appropriate aspects of a disappearing traditional society, which they had abandoned with relief, and to repair the ruptures in their own identities by providing a link, however tenuous, with the past.

Readers might have expected more detailed analysis of the artwork presented in the text, but Cohen's purpose lies in offering a new terrain for analysis. This book, rich in insight, will spur further study of the visual in the interaction of Jews with modern European culture as well as in the Jewish historical experience.

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DIANE WATT. *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1997. Pp. 198.

In this book, Diane Watt offers a reading of the lives and works of four very different Englishwomen who shared one important similarity: "believing that they were called to utter a divine message and witness to the world, they all saw themselves as secretaries of God" (p. 163). As Watt explains, "to be God's secretary was to be one who communed intimately with God, and whose duty it was to communicate to others her revelations and the story of her pious and sometimes miraculous life, largely, although not entirely, through the spoken word" (p. 1).

Following a brief introduction, Watt devotes a chapter each to Margery Kempe (d. ca. 1439), Elizabeth Barton (d. 1534), Anne Askew (d. 1546), and Lady Eleanor Davies (d. 1652). Before moving on to examine what this book does—and does well—it is best to clarify what it does *not* do, or at least to point out where it promises something other, or something

more, than it delivers. First, Watt identifies the “secretaries of God” she discusses here as “prophets,” and that is the source of some of the misapprehension. To her credit, Watt defines the way she uses the term: “*Prophet* will be used both in its earlier senses of ‘one who speaks on behalf of God’ and ‘one who speaks for God,’ and in its more popular sense of ‘one who predicts the future’” (p. 3). But those coming to this book familiar with religious prophecy literature (see M. Teresa Tavormina’s entry in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia* [1998], for example) should take note of Watt’s working definition; while Barton and Davies are widely read and understood as political and religious “prophets,” that term is less clearly associated with Kempe and Askew. Second, Watt indicates that her book covers some five centuries: “This book takes the form of a series of studies of women in England who lived between the early twelfth and the second half of the seventeenth centuries” (p. 2). The book actually focuses on the late fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century, from Kempe to Davies.

These quibbles aside, what Watt does offer is a fascinating study of four controversial women: their religious views, their works, their conflicts with authority, and their persecutions.

Perhaps the least satisfactory of the chapters is that on Margery Kempe, whose spiritual autobiography has now become so much a part of the literary canon that it is anthologized in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Of the thirty-five pages in the chapter, some six are devoted to prophecy in the Middle Ages and ten more to medieval women prophets (pages 29–31 discuss twelfth-century Christina of Markyate, which may be the reason Watt claims her study encompasses five centuries); this leaves relatively little room to add anything of significance to the relatively large secondary literature on Kempe.

Watt’s chapter on Barton, the so-called “Holy Maid of Kent,” by contrast, is especially full and revealing. Watt narrates Barton’s career as a political and religious prophet, which extended from the mid-1520s until her execution in 1534. Equally strong is the chapter on Anne Askew, the Protestant martyr, who was also active during the reign of Henry VIII and who was executed in 1546. Next to Kempe, Askew is probably the most well-known of the four women Watt discusses, and, like Kempe, fits uneasily under the heading of “prophet.” Relatively little of this chapter is about Askew herself, however; it focuses primarily on John Bale and John Foxe as Askew’s editors and publishers.

Watt’s final subject, the Civil War prophet Davies, published some seventy pamphlets of religious and political prophecy between 1625 and 1652 (p. 121). Davies may be the least known of the four women Watt discusses, and she provides a focused and detailed study of Davies’s life and work.

Watt’s epilogue suggests a number of ways of reading these women together: as women who spoke publicly about religion; as women who were rigorously

examined about their religious beliefs; as women who, “filled with the spirit of God,” outmaneuvered their “persecutors” (p. 127); and as women whose voices were heard through or silenced by male transcribers, censors, editors, publishers, and critics.

Finally, it is worth noting that this is a carefully produced book—well-made, beautifully printed, generously illustrated—and, with its notes at the foot of the page, a pleasure to read.

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DAVID HOWARTH. *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485–1649*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997. Pp. xv, 323. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Although David Howarth’s book claims to be “a study of the use of art in Renaissance Britain” (p. 4), it fails to live up to the implied conceptual and historiographical promise of that statement. Put positively, the book provides the reader with a comprehensive catalogue of different types of, and references to, the fine and plastic arts in the Tudor and early Stuart period. Accordingly, Howarth leads us through chapters on palace architecture, church architecture, Tudor then Stuart royal portraits, funerary monuments, patronage, collecting, and literary engagements with visual culture. The attentive reader will learn a great deal about art in England in the century and a half that Howarth describes and may also develop some local acquaintance with the major critics who have written on some of the artists and issues involved.

As a sustained argument about “Art and Politics in the English Renaissance,” however, that is, about the relations between institutions of power and art as an ideologically loaded medium of expression, the book is a complete failure. Its failure is highlighted by a number of express or implied claims. For example, Howarth cites the great tradition of Jacob Burckhardt, Aby Warburg, and E. H. Gombrich; the more recent reappraisal of art-historical method typified by the work of Michael Baxandall and Jonathan Brown; and the new historiography of the Stuart period symbolized by figures like John Adamson, John Morrill, Conrad Russell, and Kevin Sharpe. All this, Howarth rightly remarks, would involve a “reappraisal [that] requires a new ordering of priorities and new emphasis” (p. 7).

First, Howarth does not seem to recognize that the shape of his thesis would differ depending on which of these major historiographies he most invokes. Because each serves a different methodological and intellectual purpose, they cannot simply blend to preside as a single means of authorizing Howarth’s procedure. Second, as an art historian, Howarth seems incapable of combining sustained formal readings of works of art with persuasive sociological explanations in the manner of Brown’s work on Velasquez. Whereas Brown shows in intricate detail how Velasquez’s subjects as well as his technical handling of them were governed

by his anxiety to penetrate the mysterium of Spanish court culture. Howarth's main argument is most typically that the monarchy and figures associated with it had an ongoing interest in art, building, tombs, and literature.

Third, Howarth's genuflection to the post-Whig or anti-Whig historians finds no clear echo in his thesis. The main thrust of the historiography that emerged in the 1970s was that the allegorical teleology that pitted parliamentary libertarianism against Stuart tyranny distorts both the position of Parliament between 1603 and 1649 and the degree to which Stuart motives were, in any simple sense, tyrannical. The problem is that Howarth has no thesis that matches this revision of an established model, since his main argument tends to be that art was important to "regal advertisement" (p. 34), as he puts it at one point. If anything, indeed, Howarth could subtly be reinforcing a version of the Whig thesis in that, for example, he never seriously questions the association between the early Stuarts and a love of display—by now a truism in most disciplines.

Finally, Howarth's probative methods are hopeful rather than persuasive. Too often, he juxtaposes various facts the reader should consider, hoping thereby to create the illusion of some causal or truly analogical relation between them, yet he often pulls the rug from under the reader by admitting that he is just guessing. Thus the verb "suggest" at times achieves an almost incantatory status. Further (and I think a related critical habit), Howarth favors a kind of psychologizing of historical actors' attitudes toward art and life which comes across as impressionistic and sentimental. Thus, "Loss of control pleased James, whereas it made his son shudder" (p. 45); or Henrietta Maria had a "real enthusiasm for contemporary art" (p. 72). Ultimately what we learn, or at least learn to rehearse, in this book is that there was art and that there were politics between 1485 and 1649, that there was much of both, and that they were related.

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BRENDAN BRADSHAW and PETER ROBERTS, editors. *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. PP. xii, 354. \$69.95.

This collection of eleven essays joins a growing number of such collections that during the past decade have adopted a holistic approach to the history of the British Isles (or, more fashionably, the Atlantic archipelago). Nearly all of these books, this one included, have found their (belated) inspiration from essays written by J. G. A. Pocock in the 1970s.

This volume, however, will immediately strike its readers as arrestingly different from previous efforts for three reasons. First, editors Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts rather immodestly claim that their work

will now complete the outlines of British studies for the early modern period. Second, the contributors were actually asked to indicate their own ethnic identity in an effort to dispel any hint of "anglocentrism." Third, following on this preoccupation with ethnicity and with closure is the book's determined and indeed angry Irish nationalist agenda: specifically, the proposition that British consciousness and Irish identity don't mix and never have.

Bradshaw's essay on "identity formation in Ireland" is twenty pages longer than the next largest and virtually double the size of his coeditor's contribution. Marc Caball's essay largely overlaps Bradshaw's and is fully integrated with it. Together they comprise the heart of the book. Unlike his coeditor, Bradshaw also helped shape two additional essays from younger contributors and his influence is palpable in yet a third one.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Bradshaw and Caball primarily target other Irish scholars deemed insufficiently nationalist, outstandingly Nicholas Canny and Michelle O Riordan, both of whom question whether modern Ireland (culture or nation) finds direct origins in this period. Canny has suggested that Tridentine Catholicism effectively penetrated Ireland only in the nineteenth century and that the Reformation truly met defeat only at that juncture. O Riordan has portrayed the late medieval Gaelic mental world as resolutely traditional, highly apolitical, and gradually disintegrating before the pressures of the Renaissance and Reformation. Both these scholars imply that Irish identity and Irish Catholic nationalism (presumably like all nationalisms) emerge as largely nineteenth-century phenomena.

Bradshaw and Caball fiercely reject these claims. They insist that Gaelic Ireland was politically (if not institutionally) sophisticated, that cultural identity and resistance to England became highly articulate from an early date, and, above all, that by the 1590s at the latest there existed a coherent sense of "insular territorial sovereignty" embracing both the Gaelic and Old English communities. They further insist that the quality of Irish Catholicism is simply irrelevant: whether or not it was survivalist or Counter-Reformed, the real issue is "ideology" rather than faith, confessional alignment rather than doctrinal comprehension. People in Ireland knew that they were Catholics and not Protestants, even if they might not know much else about the faith. If in fact the Henrician Reformation had soft landed, if in the 1540s continental missionaries were turned away and Catholicism in Ireland seemed a lost cause, these aberrations disguise a much different underlying reality. Unlike Wales, where the local gentry willingly served as agents of the Reformation, Ireland was a more archaic Celtic world dominated by great magnates who found themselves threatened rather than empowered by growing royal authority. The Welsh successfully reworked local traditions into an "ideology" that visualized the Reformation as an act of liberation, and the Reformation actually ensured

the recovery of the Welsh language as a vehicle for high culture. By contrast, Gaelic clericalism and Gaelic vernacular revival became an engine of resistance whose values, Bradshaw and Caball insist, came to embrace the island's entire population.

As it happened, an evangelical Gaelic literature appeared well before its Counter-Reformed vernacular competitor, though, for unexplained reasons, its impact proved limited. Still other features of the period also remain unexplained. English tracts on Ireland all but invariably imagined the government's project as liberating rather than conquering, and we might well wonder why it was not perceived that way. Instead, Bradshaw and Caball frequently refer to "the faith and fatherland theme," but the "theme" goes largely unexplicated and seemingly little evidenced in the material they cite. They even more often speak of patriots and patriotism, but it is not made at all clear that any of the Irish populations actually used such terms. By the 1580s the word "patriot" had entered political vocabularies in both England and Scotland, but the neologism was created to articulate humanist-inspired programs of reform and the creation of a civic culture altogether incompatible with the clericalism celebrated by Bradshaw and Caball. Similarly, Bradshaw and Caball speak of Irish claims for insular "sovereignty," but it is hard to imagine how any such term could carry modern, post-Hobbesian meanings for the various peoples of traditional Ireland. Ethnic chauvinism—however strident, however racist—and political sovereignty are quite different matters. The priest Geoffrey Keating (1570?-1644?) is visibly their hero, but his writing on behalf of the common cause of Gael and Old English in the early 1640s surely spoke more to aspiration than reality. Bradshaw and Caball neglect to notice that he was writing at the moment of the Kilkenny Confederation when a shared agenda was desperately sought, and even then we learn that Keating still declined to see social parity, much less commonality. The experience of the 1640s showed just how fragile this coalition actually was. These essays present a strangely decontextualized world where modern meanings elide onto earlier structures easily—and unpersuasively.

To some extent, Welsh and Scottish history enter this volume simply as a foil to illustrate Irish exceptionalism. Yet Scotland proves a most ambiguous foil: although Bradshaw's hand rests heavily on Jane Dawson's discussion of the Scottish Highlands, the Scottish experience (and even Dawson's description of it) sit uncomfortably with nationalist claims. The Highlands and Isles comprised a Celtic borderland quite different from Wales, a region populated with huge magnates and yet one that proved receptive to Calvinism and became revitalized as a result. "Irish insular sovereignty" would have amazed the redshanks and gallowglasses (as well as their employers) in the sixteenth century who powerfully integrated the various Gaelic communities straddling the North Channel. It would have puzzled the marquis of Antrim and the seven-

teenth-century MacDonalds who sought to restore the Gaelic principality known as the Lordship of the Isles and create a huge channel state. It would have astounded Gaels like the earls of Argyll and the Campbells who as much as anyone created the modern idea of Britain. Even Dawson concedes that, despite deepening differences in art, orthography, piping, and dialect, as well as jurisdictional separation, some sort of pan-Gaelic consciousness persisted throughout the period. Of course the period eventually witnessed a schism between the Gaelic communities. At its base lay different attitudes toward law, as Allan Macinnes has shown. But Dawson does not discuss this circumstance, and only through the most severe decontextualizing and distortion will it serve the purposes of Irish nationalism.

Willy Maley anachronistically decries "English Protestant nationalism," but he is surely right to suggest that John Milton, however "anglocentric," is nevertheless a more complex thinker than any simple opposition model of imperialist oppressor-colonized victim will allow. His insistence on complexity, on varieties of Irishness and Englishness, is particularly welcome—and implicitly problematic for the volume's Irish thesis. Maley almost suggests that Edmund Spenser's view of the multiple origins of the Irish population is broadly correct. Andrew Hadfield's discussion of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590–1596) similarly urges complexity: Spenser, he claims, wanted Elizabeth to adopt a genuinely British perspective rather than the narrowly English attitudes present in the works of an earlier writer like John Lyly. Maley and Hadfield have taken a small step toward the revaluation of Spenser proposed by Debora Shuger and away from the familiar lachrymose vilification of him.

Alan Ford's analysis of James Ussher and Irish Protestantism presents an intelligent discussion of apocalyptic expectations reshaped through differing institutional contexts. Assertions of Welsh identity in the seventeenth century, Philip Jenkins observes, overwhelmingly served unionist rather than separatist purposes. Even if the Welsh people might be expected to play some special role in the overthrow of the papal Antichrist, this—like so many Welsh causes and issues—was still imagined within the framework of a wider Britain. Jim Smyth maintains that the Protestant Anglo-Irish community actively worked for government by consent and economic prosperity, but was little exercised by any concern with identity. Only in the later eighteenth century did these people come to see themselves as the Irish nation, raising at that point the specter of radical republican separatism. Keith Brown considers wide ranging materials that informed lowland Scottish identities, but his overall argument is hard to discern.

A number of these latter essays have significant merit and offer considerable insight. But they all manifestly share one common purpose for this volume: that of highlighting Irish uniqueness. It is precisely at this juncture that the volume fails. The quest for

proto-Eire, however urgent, however determined, will turn out to be as futile as it is desperate—an undertaking telling us far more about the present day than about the past. It is surely no accident that of those contributors who variously indicated an ethnicity—some of the older participants wisely declined to do so—not one claimed to be a Briton.

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CAROLINE LITZENBERGER. *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540–1580*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 218. \$54.95.

Caroline Litzenberger's study of the Gloucestershire laity during forty years of the English Reformation seeks to temper and move beyond the continuing debate over the pace of reform. Pointing to historians' use since the sixteenth century of polarized views of Catholics and Protestants, she chooses instead to emphasize the "kaleidoscopic nature" of lay religion (p. 117). This she does in a meticulous study that centers on a quantitatively sophisticated sampling of Gloucestershire wills from the period.

Although Litzenberger emphasizes the variety of beliefs revealed in wills, she is nevertheless unable to avoid the conclusion that Protestantism was accepted very slowly. The conservative policies of the early 1540s seem generally to have been welcomed, and under Edward VI people apparently cautiously chose outward parish conformity and ambiguity in their wills. During Mary's reign, however, parishes sought to conform as fully as possible in spite of the financial costs, and "individuals rather than continuing to express mere nominal acceptance of official religion, returned to full and heartfelt expressions of traditional faith in their will preambles" (p. 161). The return of official Protestantism under Elizabeth brought a response similar to that under Edward: "lukewarm acceptance characterized by minimal conformity and ambiguous testamentary statements" (p. 161). Not until the mid-1570s did parts of the diocese begin to accept Protestantism. "Eventually, as in the rest of England, the Reformation would transform Gloucestershire into a predominantly Protestant county and diocese, even at the level of the laity, but in 1580, at least in that western shire, the process of change had only just begun" (p. 167).

In spite of these conclusions, Litzenberger determinedly avoids the debate on the pace of reform, addressing it briefly in her plea to move beyond it (p. 3) and then obliquely. "Protestantism which so many historians have seen as firmly in place by the end of Edward's reign had not yet been accepted in Gloucestershire by more than a small proportion of the populace" (p. 103). She cites A. G. Dickens ("The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520–

1558," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 [1987], p. 189) and G. R. Elton (*Reform and Reformation—England 1509–1518* [1977], p. 371). Still she does not stand with those such as Christopher Haigh, who emphasize the slow pace of Protestantism for religious reasons. Instead, she asserts that people held to traditional religion because it was "only natural that people would at first resist the new" (pp. 162–63). "Some resisted for deeply held theological reasons, but more resisted because they preferred the familiar over the new" (p. 82). Litzenberger points to the continued trend toward great variety in preamble formulas under Mary because people wanted to express their personal faith more completely, desiring a more complete and complex description of salvation theology than deemed necessary before the introduction of Protestantism. This suggests to me that people did have or develop theological reasons for holding on to faith rather than just holding to the familiar. It also suggests that Protestantism had a beneficial effect as people thought through their beliefs when challenged.

One of the strengths of the book is the examination of interplay between the top and the bottom of society. The conclusions about the laity's response are set firmly in the context of official implementation or lack thereof by diocesan officials and the gentry's impact. The quantitative use of wills also adds weight to Litzenberger's conclusions. My only quibble is the desire for a clear discussion of the theological issues involved in the language of will preambles to clarify the method of assigning them to the categories of Catholic, Protestant, and "ambiguous." The book is also enhanced by the author's voice. She asks how policy will "play in the pews" (p. 2), notes that laity "ducked for cover" (p. 161) and "kept their heads down" (p. 60), and calls use of the communion cup a "litmus test" in some parishes (p. 136). This is user-friendly language. The book is also made more user friendly by the collection of charts in an appendix. They provide a ready summary for many of the quantitative conclusions embedded in the richer and broader material of the text.

Litzenberger has made a substantial contribution to the history of the English Reformation by demonstrating the status of lay belief in Gloucestershire through the second decade of Elizabeth's reign. Her book is also valuable as a model of what can be done in a local study and how polarized debate can be moderated. It invites other scholars to follow suit.

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PETER E. MCCULLOUGH. *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 237. \$64.95.

The sermon as an art form has rarely attracted the sustained attention of literary or historical specialists.

In the case of early modern England, only the preaching of John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes have been exhaustively analyzed, and in the former instance there has often been the unspoken assumption that such study is justified mainly because the dean of St. Paul's was a great poet. And yet, as Peter E. McCullough points out in his meticulous investigation of court preaching, the Jacobean court sermons were a far more consistent cultural influence than drama or even the masques that have recently been seen as the quintessential expression of Stuart ideology. The present volume is an exciting contribution to redressing this current imbalance in the study of court culture. Its focus is perhaps more overtly historical than might be expected of a literary specialist, but McCullough treads the boundaries of his two disciplines with considerable skill, deploying formal techniques of criticism to analyze particular sermons while never losing sight of his principal theme, the political and ideological significance of preaching before the monarch and her or his household.

The analysis begins with a compelling chapter on the architectural setting of the sermon, the physical arrangements of the Chapel Royal and the semi-public Whitehall preaching ground. Here McCullough follows the example of those, like Stephen Orgel, who have studied the masque and shows how the dynamic relationship between preacher and sovereign was enhanced by the use of elevations and sight lines. The importance of a knowledge of specific location is demonstrated by the careful analysis of one well-known Elizabethan incident, when the queen interrupted the unfortunate Alexander Nowell in the midst of his denunciation of images, saying "leave that . . . the matter is now threadbare." This would no doubt have devastated the poor cleric in any circumstances, but the attack came at the preaching ground, rather than in the Chapel Royal. It was thus a very public statement that the queen would not permit the godly free rein on contentious issues.

The body of McCullough's text considers court preaching chronologically and by royal household: Elizabeth, then James, with a concluding chapter on Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and Prince Charles as heir apparent. In the case of the two sovereigns, we are essentially left with the traditional picture of a ritualist, who heard sermons as a matter of duty, being succeeded by a godly Protestant with a vigorous enthusiasm for the cut and thrust of doctrinal controversy. Yet at every turn we are given valuable insight into the specific and contrasting concerns of the monarchs. Elizabeth is shown "tuning" the pulpit, especially in the difficult early days of the religious settlement, while her clerics are revealed as developing their own form of tuning: managing the courtly discourse of compliment in order on occasions to criticize. Richard Fletcher, one of the queen's favorites, managed these arts particularly well when he justified the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, while Elizabeth was still boiling with Tudor fury at the behavior of her counsellors. For

the next reign, James's fascination for sermons is comprehensively demonstrated. Even more revealing, however, is McCullough's demonstration that it was preaching, not the liturgy of the established church, that James loved. When he reached the closet in the Chapel Royal, the cycle of the office was promptly broken and the sermon began: he left at its end. Small wonder that Andrewes, that passionate defender of prayer and devotion, sometimes used his privileged position as James's favorite preacher to warn against infatuation with sermons. The greatest revelation of this text is, however, reserved for the short postlude, in which McCullough shows that recent arguments about ideological continuities between the "godly" household of Prince Henry and that of the young Prince Charles can be demonstrated through the choice of chaplains and of preaching patterns. Only after the Madrid adventure of 1623-1624 does he believe that Matthew Wren's growing influence on the heir to the throne began to turn him away from the churchmanship of his brother's Calvinist divines.

There is a valuable bibliographical aid to the text in a diskette listing all known court sermons of the period. McCullough has produced a volume that is a pleasure to read, a refreshing change after the labored prose of so much theorized literary writing. He also offers a very important contribution to current debates about early modern politics and religion.

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ALEXANDRA HALASZ. *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, number 17.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 240. \$59.95.

In this book, Alexandra Halasz ponders the problem of authorial control in a fluid and evolving literary market. She then relates this discussion to Jürgen Habermas's fashionable but contested conception of the "public sphere." This is a short book on a slippery subject but one accomplished with considerable aplomb.

Late Elizabethan England saw a fast expansion of the popular press, as new commercial opportunities opened for printers, publishers, and authors. Studies of the Stationers' registers, collation of extant titles, and ingenious work with inventories have given historians essential bibliographic control of this output, but many mysteries remain. Efforts to address the audience for printed products and to gauge their social circulation have so far proved unsatisfactory. How religion and politics responded to the popular press is also a subject of continuing research. The approach adopted here considers some reflections of the press on itself.

Pamphlets in particular were both properties and commodities, items for sale as well as vehicles for argument or the display of wit. Their authorship,

ownership, and marketing were all subject to dispute. Halasz draws attention to the slipperiness of the pamphlet form and the ambivalence of the discursive environment it entered. The form itself was relatively new, as was the marketplace for print. Early modern pamphleteers often addressed their readers, and each other, in a self-referential recirculating discourse. Their work could inform or amuse, irritate or arouse, challenge or educate. It could also make money and make or break reputations.

Studies of Robert Greene's *Greenes Groatsworth of Wit* and Henry Chettle's *Kind-Hartes Dream* (both published in 1592) reveal authorial self-consciousness in an emerging literary market, in which the literary market itself became a topic for comment and satire. Analysis of the pamphlet exchange between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe later in the 1590s exposes the strain between exclusive and promiscuous forms of knowledge: one associated with the academy, the other with the street. While one author sought to display his learned expertise, his rival exploited the new conditions of the vulgar popular press. The works of Thomas Deloney advanced the claims of the artisan class to both literary and social attention. So, too, did the prolific pamphleteering of John Taylor, whose work explicitly invoked a marketplace economy of reading and writing. These central chapters are closely argued and reward the reader with arresting observations about the strivings of literary producers and the commodification of text.

As a literary scholar who espouses the label "cultural historian," Halasz is more concerned with discursive fields and intertextual ironies than with social content or context. She also takes pains to engage with the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and, above all, Habermas. The points are repeatedly made that the development of the marketplace in print opens up the possibility of general access to public discourse and that relations of power, prestige, property, and personality are interwoven by the circulation of discourse. Some of this is over-wrought and distracts attention from the Elizabethan and Jacobean past. Fortunately, Halasz does not try to conform Renaissance England to Habermas's model but concentrates for the most part on the precocious peculiarities of the early modern period that call that model into question. This book will appeal most to literary "new historicists" and "cultural materialists" but can be read with profit by traditional historians.

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PEREZ ZAGORIN. *Francis Bacon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 286. \$29.95.

This is a well-researched, high-level introduction to Francis Bacon's thought. It appears to cover every important aspect of his intellectual life, is informed by most of the best scholarship, and engages critically with it. According to Perez Zagorin, there were two

Bacons, cynical politician and idealistic natural philosopher, leaving him divided in his commitments and values. The first chapter treats Bacon's political career and shows him forever dependent on the patronage of more powerful men, ultimately an impeached failure, and permanently scarred by the experience. He became a careerist and adopted a social outlook that emphasized the skills required for survival and self-advancement at court rather than the cultivation of Christian virtue. Bacon's writings on manners and morals acknowledge the importance of virtue, but to Zagorin this is more window-dressing than substance: "A wisdom of expediency and opportunism seemed to occupy a larger place in his doctrine than did morality" (p. 139).

But this view will not win universal acceptance. Bacon's key ethical doctrine is what he called "the architecture of fortune," a set of guidelines for achieving worldly success. But, as Bacon made clear, this architecture is "an inferior work: for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being" and so fortune must also be considered "an organ of virtue or merit," a long way from Zagorin's "wisdom of expediency and opportunism." Much of Bacon's social thought, left unexplored by Zagorin, is devoted to this theme and would have to be considered before a final assessment of the relative importance of virtue and fortune in his thought could be made. In this respect Zagorin dismisses far too lightly Julian Martin's valuable work (*Francis Bacon, the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* [1992]), which sees Bacon drawing on the sixteenth-century commonwealth tradition (p. 234). For what it's worth, his seventeenth-century followers, like Sir Edward Hyde and John Wilkins, had no doubt that he was virtue's champion. Zagorin himself offers evidence that tells against his case: Bacon claims that he seeks high office (fortune) to gain needed state support for his noble scientific project (virtue). In other words, his careerism itself puts fortune in virtue's service.

For me, the great strength of Zagorin's book lies in the two chapters devoted to Bacon's natural philosophy. Zagorin starts with a consideration of method and explains both Bacon's originality and his limitations. First, there is a sparkling treatment of "the idols of the mind." The shortcomings of the mind, "an enchanted glass," must be exposed and corrected, and Bacon shows why and how. Zagorin next explains that Bacon's empiricism is not the primitive kind attributed to him by his twentieth-century detractors. He knew that knowledge would not come from mere fact-gathering, no matter how systematic. Induction was but a necessary first step toward adducing the causes of natural phenomena and searching for physical laws: "Bacon may have been among the earliest, if not the first, of Western philosophers to give the concept of a law of nature the meaning it came to acquire in the natural sciences" (p. 95). Zagorin is equally good at explaining the abstruse points of Bacon's theory of matter. There are two kinds of bodies, gross and pneumatic, and the

latter account for so-called spiritual operations in nature. This was Bacon's way of undercutting superstitious occultism: if a physical explanation for an occult phenomenon, like witchcraft, cannot be found, then it should be disbelieved. Finally, there is Bacon's new idea of science. He disparages the Aristotelian and Scholastic ideal of a purely contemplative science in favor of an operative kind that gets results by relieving human misery and necessity. The ultimate test of scientific truth for Bacon is utility: "For in nature practical results are not only the means to improve well-being but the guarantee of truth." None of this is new, but Zagorin has performed the valuable service of synthesizing a great deal of difficult, specialized scholarship in clear and vigorous prose. We need books like this, especially in the history of science, where there is always a danger of the field losing touch with the general reader. I look forward to recommending the book to students.

Less successful is Zagorin's treatment of Bacon's understanding of the relations between science and religion. In one mood he has him "maintaining a strict separation" between the two and goes on to say that "his mind was overwhelmingly secular" (p. 51). But in another mood he claims that Bacon saw his science "as a religious activity, a form of service to God" (p. 224). So which is it to be—science and religion "kept separate and never mingled" (p. 48) or science itself "as a religious activity"? Bacon's answer is clear. The right kind of science is profoundly religious, and that means Bacon's kind, motivated by Christian charity, releasing human beings from the ravages of the Fall and empowering them to go on to build a new order that would be "peaceful, happy, prosperous and secure." Other kinds of science, whether Scholastic or occult (especially Paracelsian), driven by vanity and greed, are irreligious and must be purged and reformed or ruled out of court. As Anthony Low has shown, Bacon subscribed to that most pregnant doctrine of the Reformation, the idea of the Fortunate Fall, according to which human beings could work their way back, with great effort, to something like prelapsarian bliss. He was also a social visionary and irenicist, like many of his contemporaries all over Europe (Giordano Bruno, Marin Mersenne, René Descartes, J. A. Comenius, and Hugo Grotius come readily to mind), all of whom looked to some combination of religion and science to provide the foundations for a new moral and spiritual order. Some attention to these themes would have helped to clarify Zagorin's murky treatment of Bacon's science and religion.

In his conclusion, Zagorin has important things to say about the paradoxical nature of Bacon's thought: "He expected science to be prolific in creating new inventions for human benefit" (p. 225), but did not foresee that this process and the questioning attitude of science would have a destabilizing effect on a traditional, hierarchical society. Zagorin could have deepened the paradox. Bacon acknowledged that sci-

ence might be debased "to purposes of wickedness, luxury, and the like," but he glibly dismissed this possibility by invoking the doctrine of the Fortunate Fall: "Only let the human race recover that right over nature which belongs to it by divine bequest, and let power be given it; the exercise thereof will be governed by sound reason and true religion," and, one might add, will never rock the boat. To Bacon, science, *his* science, was always the solution, never the problem. How modern, antimodern, and thoroughly unsecular, all rolled into one!

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JULIE ROBIN SOLOMON, *Objectivity in the Making: Francis Bacon and the Politics of Inquiry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Pp. xix, 321. \$49.95.

This is a difficult but thought-provoking book on objectivity, as in "scientific objectivity." Julie Robin Solomon calls the idea "a central tenet of modern Western thought" (p. xi), and with some reason. But hers is not a paean to scientific rationalism or even an investigation of its truth. It is a study of the genesis of a mistake, and a profound mistake as to the direction of human life, not merely method or science as such. Solomon thinks that the idea of objectivity has been disproved (she cites philosophers of science such as Thomas Kuhn and sociologists such as Karl Mannheim). Her question is why anyone "would have constructed the idea of scientific objectivity in the first place" (p. xi). For an answer she reconsiders the seminal outlook of Francis Bacon: the herald, she thinks, of "a discourse of modern natural philosophic disinterestedness" (p. 14). But hers is a far cry from the recent flurry of Baconian studies by historians of ideas and by Straussians. This is not a comprehensive account of Bacon's theories or even a classification of the relevant writings. Instead, Solomon treats Baconian method as ideology. She interprets Bacon's "scientific notions" through the "filter of his complex legal and political allegiances" (p. xvi), and she interprets objectivity as a creed of psychological-political control, a creed of "self-distancing."

The prologue and first chapter explain her approach as a variation on the "New Historicism": discourse is traced to practice with others, and social practice, to historical process. Solomon attempts a certain "materialist intellectual history" (p. 13). This corrects a historical "dialectic" of classes, à la Marx and others, by adding a "dialogic" account of texts à la Mikhail Bakhtin and Martin Heidegger (p. xvi); it also corrects the Frankfurt School's model of domination by elites, allowing for a more consensual management of rising classes (pp. 16–23). At bottom Solomon's eclectic complications mix a Heideggerian process of rationalizing with a semi-Marxist political-economic process. The result, nevertheless, seems simplistic. Baconian objectivity is interpreted as a creed that channels a

rising bourgeoisie into the service of Bacon's master, the king.

The remaining chapters develop the case. Unlike ancient and medieval accounts of being, Solomon suggests, modern epistemologies see the subject as a free ego and put reality into an external object. She traces this to an amplification of "the role of the will" and this individualism, in turn, to a "recognition of technological innovations" (p. 33). Bacon's critique of natural human inclination and idiosyncrasy, his doctrine of the idols, is a response: an effort "to gain royal support" by controlling especially "the magician-natural philosopher" (p. 50). Baconian epistemology is then an "ambivalent" effort that reflects mercantilism's "private interests" but also strives to coopt them (pp. 152–60). By alienating "private desire from knowing" (p. 101), Bacon turns it in a disinterested direction; he distracts a rising class from consulting its own desires. Epistemology as "cognitive social control" (p. 62) fabricates a "consensual form of self-distancing" (p. 104) without need for "centralized surveillance" (p. 111). A similarly indirect control follows when Bacon "endows nature with sovereign authority" (p. 162). Monarchy is aggrandized, the book's final chapters strain to show, through symbols transferred from the law of real (= royal) property and the royal seal on coinage. Baconian method focuses on "prerogative instances" and necessary laws. Since this displaces rule to an external object (p. 161), it amounts to "realizing what's royal." "Light, form, and intelligence" are put "within matter" (p. 217). Since this hides hierarchy and seals off man from the light within, it amounts to "royalizing the real." Or perhaps the other way around.

What is one to make of a book extensively argued but straining credulity? The author is on to something important: the human significance, including the sinister possibilities, of epistemological limits and methodical discipline. Also, she scatters sharp if glancing observations on topics from the symbolism of the *New Atlantis* (1627) to the Jacobean law of real property. This is, in short, a serious book of its genre whose author is conscientious, learned, and ingenious in constructing explanations. But does Solomon's theorizing lead to real explanations or to distorting constructions? She occasionally mentions Bacon's "irreducible personal interest in natural philosophy" (p. 2) and his "genuine belief" in "natural knowledge to ameliorate the human condition" (p. 62). But Bacon's famous concerns for real knowledge and useful knowledge disappear from her thematic accounts. Bacon's own theories are contradicted by Solomon's theory, itself self-contradictory and contrary to her theory-burdened practice, that "all knowledge is socially constructed" (p. 16). In fact, her big theories may distort the very core of her inquiry. Is Bacon's method "objective" in her senses? Baconian method is not free of the observer's interests if its defining end is practical ("utility"), as Bacon asserts frequently and in a definitive passage (*New Organon* [1620] II, aphorism 4). It is

not oriented simply to a character stamped on nature if it seeks knowledge of a kind that can master nature, that is, laws or formulas relating "the secret motions" of things to the effects they can produce. Could one decide whether Solomon's controlling theory opens up its subject, or instead dominates it as an object, except by first clarifying Bacon's theories as he himself intended them?

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RICHARD L. GREAVES, *Dublin's Merchant-Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643–1707*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 337. \$55.00.

Few people, other than experts on Irish Quakerism, will have heard of Anthony Sharp. He was a wealthy Dublin woolen merchant who joined the Society of Friends early in life and who, as Richard L. Greaves presents him, was instrumental in leading Irish Quakers from being a "sectarian fringe" to achieving "social respectability." In this effort, he claims, Sharp may have done more "through his commercial links to England and his investment in New Jersey, for Friends in general than did [George] Fox" (p. 104).

Fox would probably not have considered conferring social respectability on Quakers to be a worthwhile accomplishment, and perhaps Sharp would not have, either. Nevertheless Greaves, who has established himself as a leading student of post-Restoration Dissent as well as of Irish Quakerism, rightly directs our attention to that generation of Quakers who followed the heroic figures of the earliest movement. This generation is comprised chiefly of men who joined the Friends in the 1660s and 1670s rather than in the 1650s. Studying them as a group is illuminating, and this book is a valuable contribution to that effort. Its greatest figure is doubtless William Penn, but here Greaves stakes the claim that Sharp was a figure of comparable weight.

Like almost all early Irish Friends, Sharp was an Englishman; he arrived in Dublin, already a Quaker, at age twenty-six (in 1669). His public career is documented in unusual abundance, and Greaves treats it exhaustively. For the brief period inaugurated by the accession of James II, Sharp was free of civil disabilities and served as an alderman in Dublin, but he had to devote much of his energy to relieving the sufferings Quakers endured during the war between supporters of James and William III. He also served a term as master of the weavers' guild. Inevitably, though, most of the evidence about him comes from his long period as a weighty—perhaps the weightiest—Irish Friend, and Greaves quotes extensively from the voluminous accounts that the Quakers kept of their care of the poor, disciplining of the wayward, and efforts to mitigate their sufferings.

Because Sharp was pious, rich, had political contacts, and, above all, seems to have been indefatigable,

he was close to or at the center of almost everything that went on in the world of Dublin Quakerism, and Greaves leaves very little, if anything, out of this account. But since he was also a considerable figure in the merchant community and even at times in politics, there is a good deal here about these as well.

Sharp the public Friend thus emerges clearly; the private man remains somewhat elusive. He wrote no spiritual autobiography or account of his conversion, and that by his brother-in-law is conventional. His writings intended for publication were mostly controversial; although Greaves says that his letters to his children exhibit the tender "affective relations" that Lawrence Stone has attributed to the period 1660–1800 (p. 17), he also cites letters scolding a prodigal son and berating one of his maids for "light Carriage" (pp. 26–28), which show a censorious streak that seems to have been especially marked among Irish Friends.

Because of the relative paucity of personal documents, Greaves is often driven to speculations that Sharp "must have" felt or done this or that. All these seem plausible, but their frequency means that the biography, particularly in its later chapters, disappears into an institutional history of Quakerism in Dublin. It must be said, too, that the trees-to-forest ratio in this work is unusually high. Greaves has energetically searched many archives, and he is reluctant to let a single factual nugget go unreported. Thus we are told that it is uncertain how many dinners Sharp was the host of while master of the weavers' guild and at which tavern some of them were held (p. 90), just as Greaves finds it necessary to inform us when and to what new address Dublin Friends moved some of their records (p. 140). To the student of Irish Quakerism, even such minutiae may possibly be of value; others might be well advised to look first at the well-executed introductions and conclusions of chapters before they dive into what at times resembles a data dump.

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MARY J. DOBSON. *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 29.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xix. 647. \$64.95.

For almost two decades, Mary J. Dobson has published a steady stream of articles in specialized venues about the morbidity and mortality experiences of England during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The culmination of this work is the volume under review. It is a remarkable book that deserves an audience much broader than that of strictly historical demographers. Dobson's theme is what one might call the microgeography of disease and mortality, the local gradients of environment that resulted in wide variations in morbidity and death over very small distances.

At some risk of oversimplification, it is fair to say that most empirical work in English historical demog-

raphy has concentrated upon two levels of analysis—the national or large regional, or the individual community—and that most prevailing models of English population history and its interactions with its economic and social environment have been built on the same bases. This is partly due to the nature of pertinent sources and methodology, dictating either collection of aggregate data of summary nature over many communities chosen for their surviving documentation or the exhaustively time and labor-intensive methods of single-parish reconstitution (as epitomized by the two paradigmatic studies, E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871* [2d ed., 1989] and E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580–1837* [1997]).

By contrast, Dobson concentrates on one distinctive area of early modern England: the three counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex in southeastern England, roughly between the years 1600 and 1800. At the core of her study is a database of Herculean proportions, containing typological information about each of the three counties' approximately 1185 parishes and data for baptisms and burials from Anglican and Non-conformist parish registers in multilevel sampling, including 900,000 events from time-series analysis of 112 core parishes. It is, on the one hand, the level of analysis and the conceptually innovative avenues that it opens up and, on the other hand, Dobson's capable marrying of geography and medical history with historical demography that are the most original and compelling features of the book.

Early modern England possessed a well-established tradition of topographical writing, and one aspect of this was medical topography. Seventeenth-century writers were keenly aware that the healthiness or unhealthiness of particular communities depended on "airs, waters and places." Indeed, the term "mal'aria," imported into English medical language from Italy in the eighteenth century, was a quite literal expression of this realization: as Dobson puts it, Stuart and Hanoverian England contained "an archaeology of miasmas, an itinerary of excrement, a hierarchy of fetid emanations, a mass of oozing muckheaps" (p. 10). What contemporaries of course did not know, and could not until the end of the nineteenth century, was exactly what caused some places to be more lethal than others.

Dobson employs a number of simple aggregative demographic measures—burial/baptism ratios, crude death rates, seasonality of mortality, year-on-year variability in mortality, and (toward the end of the period) age at death—to show clearly that the low-lying marshlands of estuarial and coastal southeastern England were incomparably more deadly than the higher chalklands of the same counties' interiors. This was a demographic divide that dwarfed the rural/urban differentials that most current literature cites as fundamental. Inhabitants of the Essex marshlands in the 1670s had crude death rates more than triple those of

upland parishes barely a dozen miles away, their infants and children were especially vulnerable, and they were more prone to sharp peaks in epidemic disease. The most important cause of this "mal'aria" (which contemporaries clearly applied to a range of diseases) was plasmodial malaria. The mortality differential between malarial and non-malarial places shrank but did not disappear in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the resulting improvement in life expectancy and its contribution to demographic growth provide local exceptions to what has come to be regarded as the common national-level paradigm of demographic change in which fertility was the pacesetter. There are other parts of England for which (as Dobson notes) this could apply also.

The demographic work in the book is methodical, eloquently presented, and in its cumulative weight overwhelmingly convincing. It is all the more distinctive that Dobson throughout weaves the techniques of the demographer with the insights of the new medical history. She uses doctors' journals, evidence of folk medical cures and understanding, and the observations of contemporary writers on weather and agriculture so effectively as virtually to create a new genre of cultural population history. The book is (by the terms of conventional historical demography) lavishly illustrated with contemporary prints and other images, and it is distinctive also in Dobson's creative use of diagrammatic explanation.

L. R. Poos

Catholic University of America

E. A. WRIGLEY, *et al.* *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 32.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 657. \$85.00.

This is not a book for the faint of heart. Its subject matter may be central to our understanding of English history over the half millennium that is just ending; it may establish a solid foundation for an aspect of that history that previously had been treated with little better than speculation; and together with its companion volume (E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* [1989]) it may bring into view more unpublished archival material than any other pair of books published in the last half century. But its concern to establish its findings as both representative and reliable causes methodology to swamp content, in highly technical detail, for much of the book's 650 pages. Indeed, the statement of purpose and the description of the nature of the evidence that open the book are followed by chapters entitled "Representativeness" and "Reliability." Yet it soon becomes apparent that, without such meticulousness, the new field of historical demography would not have been able to establish itself as the most solid, effective, and long-lasting of

the many innovative methodologies that have sought to transform history in recent decades.

More detailed reviews will have to address the endless issues of weighting, averaging, measuring, and extrapolating that preoccupy the authors and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure that they represent. Suffice it to say that they are exhaustive when explaining the decisions they have made, when hedging against doubts, when responding to alternative interpretations, and when admitting how tentative a specific suggestion might be. Thus, although it seems more than plausible that the Marriage Duty Act of 1695, which imposed a poll tax on bachelors, led to the noticeable lowering of the mean age at which men got married in the years that followed, they qualify the connection with the phrase "it is possible"; they characterize one plausible corroboration as "a hint"; and they sternly warn that "it would be premature" to reach a conclusion until more data permit the link to "be adequately tested" (p. 139). At another point, they freely acknowledge that the sections to come "may appear somewhat dry and technical" (p. 358), and they make a point of noting those areas where the refinements made possible by family reconstitution (the focus of this volume) have overturned or revised the more blunt analyses based on aggregate statistics in their earlier study.

Yet their achievement cannot be measured merely in terms of its methodological exactitude, for the Cambridge Group has made discoveries of the first importance. It is now clear, for example, that the English had some of the highest rates of "prenuptially conceived" children (to use the demographers' charming terminology). In the early nineteenth century, thirty-eight percent of births were in this category, and it may be that, including illegitimacy, half of all births began out of wedlock. Since the figures were much lower in the late seventeenth century, the change—connected to a drop of three years in the average age at marriage, a halving of the percentage of women who never married (from twenty percent to less than ten percent) during the half-century before 1700, and a shrinkage in the interval between conceptions—reflects a dramatic increase in fertility and thus in England's population. The authors argue firmly that it was the rise in fertility, not a drop in mortality, that caused the population to grow between three and five times as much in England as in its continental neighbors.

Yet there were also bad times. In the 1680s and late 1720s there were net population losses, and death rates rose during most of the seventeenth century. Yet different groups fared differently. Adult mortality improved after 1680, although the high point of deaths in childbirth came between 1675 and 1700, and infant mortality, which had remained low until the 1670s, shot up thereafter. For infants, mortality was almost two-thirds higher in the period 1700–1749 than it had been between 1580 and 1674. Why this was so the authors cannot say, though for some phenomena they do offer cautious explanations. It was probably be-

cause of the long nights and low temperatures at the end of winter that this was the season that saw the most deaths. Interestingly, though, it was late summer that was particularly dangerous to a child being weaned, especially in its second year, because its loss of immunities (more severe than in the first year) came at a time when infections were common.

Revelations like these, made possible by England's fortune in having the longest available series of "detailed and internally consistent demographic information," have implications for many areas of social and economic history, although the authors are reluctant to stray too far into such questions. Yet it has become impossible to tell the stories of urbanization or industrialization, to name but two of the transformations of England in the period this book covers, if they are not rooted in the findings of the Cambridge Group. Their researches are by no means over, but the two massive overview volumes they have produced are already monuments of late twentieth-century English scholarship and an essential reference for all who work in the subjects or the period they have so masterfully surveyed.

THEODORE K. RABB
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GLYNDWR WILLIAMS. *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 300. \$37.50.

Maritime history is an old genre in English historiography, as scholars have explored every aspect of English seafaring. As a genre, it is well developed, and innovations are rare. Because it does innovate, Glyndwr Williams's new book on the English in the Pacific is especially welcome.

The story of English fascination with the Pacific is well chronicled. The South Sea was a mysterious, tempting, and deadly place to the many English adventurers who contemplated voyages there. The mystery came from the fact that the Pacific yielded its secrets slowly, and international competition meant that each nation, especially the Spanish, guarded what they knew with great care. The English had to gather hard-earned knowledge from their own infrequent voyages, what they could glean from Dutch and French sources, and the occasional bonanza, such as the seizure of Spanish sailing guides by English buccaneers. The fact was that there were puzzles enough associated with the Pacific, such as the nature of the supposed southern continent "terra australis incognita," the northern passage across the arctic, and the nature of the Australian continent. The temptation that drove the mariners from northern Europe into the South Sea came from the tales of fabulous riches attached to the Spanish movement of precious metals toward Panama and the endless fascination with that most famous of ships, the Manilla galleon. These temptations kept the South Seas alive in the English imagination and led men to tempt their fate by making a voyage where most who made the

journey died in sailing across the vast distances and tremendous seas of the Pacific.

In describing these voyages, Williams does a remarkable job of pulling together the disparate sources and making sense of difficult texts. Most of the voyages prior to Captain James Cook's were either badly recorded or recorded in ways that are at best elusive. Sir Francis Drake's famous voyage is among many examples. His journal was turned over to the queen and has never reappeared. The other journals of the voyage are problematic. There is also the issue of disagreement between obscure manuscript sources and rather more accessible printed texts. Williams is at his best in comparing these texts, and no one has read them as carefully and made as sensible judgements about what we can learn from them.

Since the Pacific loomed large in the English imagination, it was also a site for what were clearly fictive narratives or fiction built on fact as in, most notably, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). But there were many other works that fired the imagination of readers. Williams integrates these literary works on as ambitious a scale. Given that fiction could tempt the imagination every bit as much as fact, the integration of literary evidence here is most welcome and innovative. That the imagination is important can be seen in that most famous of all scandals in the eighteenth century, the South Sea Bubble. It was the combination of real knowledge (slight) and fictive accounts (numerous) that led enough people to believe that the riches of the Pacific were real and not a chimera. Williams ends his narrative just prior to the era of Cook, when the state would decisively enter into exploration. One can only hope that he decides to chronicle this era also.

ROBERT C. RITCHIE
Huntington Library

DEBORAH A. SYMONDS. *Weep Not for Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 289. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Deborah A. Symonds's book explores the lives of rural village women through records of prosecutions for infanticide under the Act Anent Child Murder, in effect from 1690 until 1809. This act required that a woman suspected of infanticide be convicted if she had concealed her pregnancy, failed to ask for help during labor, and could not produce a living infant. There did not have to be any evidence of violence or even a dead body, as would have been required in any other type of murder case. Symonds does not discuss the misogyny of a statute that singled out sexually transgressing women with such unjust rigor. She does, however, make good use of the trial records to recreate vividly the women's daily toil, endurance, and desperation as they faced the solitary ordeal of concealing pregnancy, going through childbirth unassisted, and trying to survive afterward.

Symonds's other major source is folk ballads, which,

she argues, provide "our only direct, first-person accounts" of the thoughts and feelings of these rural women (pp. 13–14). In contrast to the furtive, driven suspects of the trials, infanticides in folk ballads are presented as resolute protagonists who have made an attempt to take charge of their situations. Symonds's key text is the very popular ballad "Mary Hamilton." Mary Hamilton, maid of honor to Mary, Queen of Scots, bore an illegitimate child, murdered it, and was hanged for her crime. Yet in the ballad she rides proudly to her execution, dressed in white, and calls for a bottle of the best wine to drink to her well-wishers; she recognizes that she must die for killing her "own sweet babe" but expresses no contrition.

Over the years, lawyers and jurors became increasingly reluctant to convict or condemn women to death under the statute. Symonds attributes this change to a sentimentalized view of women, which could not admit the possibility that a mother could kill her child. At least as important, however, was a general increase in humane feeling, which made juries unwilling to invoke the death penalty when there were mitigating circumstances. In 1783, Dr. William Hunter argued against the Child Murder Act on the basis of a natural maternal passion in every female creature, but he also extenuated the crime by pointing out that a woman who had just gone through childbirth alone could not be held fully responsible for her actions.

Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818) expresses the softened view of infanticide. It was inspired by the actual trial of Isobell Walker in 1738. A dead, full-term, male infant was found strangled with a blue and white kerchief. The local village women had long suspected Walker of being pregnant, and when they forcibly examined her and found her breasts full of milk, she admitted that she had recently delivered but claimed her child was a premature stillborn girl. However, a midwife examined her and testified that she had borne a full-term child. Other witnesses swore they had seen her wearing the kerchief used to strangle the baby. The jury found Isobell guilty, and she was sentenced to hang; but she was pardoned by King George II and banished instead.

Like Isobell, Scott's Effie Deans is condemned to hang because she concealed her pregnancy and cannot produce a living child, and she is saved by a royal pardon. But unlike Isobell, Effie is innocent. She would never have thought of killing her child and insists that no "mother would, or could, murder her ain bairn" (p. 202). Symonds interprets this as a revelation of debility on Effie's part and sentimentality on Scott's. She prefers the boldly resolute Mary Hamilton to tender, passive Effie; and she argues that men like Hunter and Scott disparage women by supposing them incapable of infanticide "and therefore not dangerous" (p. 229). Symonds does not consider that Scott needed to intensify Jeanie's moral dilemma by making Effie a sweet and loving character who, like many actual women, yielded to sexual temptation but recoiled from infanticide. Although she concedes that the softening

and ultimate repeal of the Child Murder Act spared the lives of women who were sometimes innocent and usually distraught, she finds value in the act's assumption that women are capable of taking the heroically decisive action of infanticide.

Symonds sometimes draws too broad conclusions from her evidence: her entire interpretation of infanticide in Scottish ballads is based on one example, "Mary Hamilton." Her discussion of the new bourgeois ideal for Scottish women (embodied in Jeanie Deans) is not integrated with her announced subject. Nevertheless, this book effectively recreates the harsh lives of poor women and the effects of a brutally rigorous law.

KATHARINE M. ROGERS
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ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD. *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1733 to 1773*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 305. \$45.00.

When I first met Robert E. Schofield at a meeting of the Midwest Junto of the History of Science in the late 1950s, he was working on a biography of Joseph Priestley. In the ensuing years, Schofield produced two outstanding books on important aspects of British scientific thought and practice, *The Lunar Society of Birmingham: A Social History of Science and Industry in Eighteenth Century England* (1963) and *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason* (1970), and edited a volume of Priestley's correspondence—but the biography remained unfinished, partly because of the demands of other studies but partly also because of the enormous range of Priestley's interests and writings. Now, however, in productive retirement from academic duties, Schofield has brought forth the first of two volumes and is hard at work on the second.

The title of the present work is susceptible of two interpretations. On the one hand, it suggests Priestley's emancipation from the strict Calvinism of his upbringing, leading him on through successive stages of Arminianism, Arianism, and Unitarianism, described by Priestley as "rational Christianity." On the other hand, it prepares the reader for a carefully drawn picture of the Dissenting academies in Enlightenment England against the backdrop of political, social, and economic developments in the Midlands and of intellectual influences from the writings of Francis Bacon, John Locke, Isaac Newton, and the Cambridge Platonists.

To the modern reader, the most striking aspect of Schofield's narrative is the pervasive influence of religious institutions and religious thought and feeling in every domain of English life. Any Christian who was not an Anglican was a Dissenter or a Roman Catholic and hence was barred from admission to Cambridge or Oxford University and from holding any office under the crown. Dissenting congregations, of which there

were many, felt the weight of official displeasure despite the Act of Toleration of 1689, and the Dissenting academies, formed to provide education for the children of Dissenters, were hard pressed to maintain themselves financially. Schofield's account of these academies—their curricula, textbooks, modes of organization, intellectual outlook, religious orientation, and struggles for existence—is masterful. He traces Priestley's intellectual development in this environment, first as a student and then as a teacher and textbook writer of acknowledged fluency and clarity on such varied topics as English grammar, universal grammar, logic, rhetoric, language theory, oratory and criticism, biography, liberal education, politics, universal history, and the histories of electricity and optics, all the while pouring out a flood of books and pamphlets on theological and philosophical issues, which he considered to be supremely important.

With consummate skill, Schofield guides the reader through this maze of subjects, indicating the sources of Priestley's ideas, comparing his work with that of the English writers on whom he drew, offering judicious appraisals of Priestley's original contributions to these various fields of study, and noticing his occasional shortcomings as well. Historians of science will be especially interested in chapters six, ten, and eleven, in which Schofield describes and evaluates Priestley's research, experiments, and publications on electricity and pneumatic chemistry that won him election to the Royal Society and the award of its Copley Medal. Priestley's strength as a scientist, Schofield concludes, lay in his ingenuity and powers of observation as an experimenter, his weakness in his lack of interest in mathematical reasoning and quantitative methods. Priestley himself considered his preaching and writing on religious topics his most important contribution to human progress, but history remembers him chiefly as the discoverer of oxygen, or "dephlogisticated air," and, secondarily, for his support of the American colonies in their dispute with their mother country.

Schofield's book is not bedtime reading, but it is a work of sound and thorough scholarship narrated in an easy, engaging style that reflects its author's lifelong immersion in eighteenth-century English prose. The epilogue gives the reader a foretaste of the contents of the projected second volume dealing with Priestley's last two decades in England and his final years in America. A select bibliography shows the range of Priestley's writings and correspondence, of the works he studied and commented on, and of the secondary works Schofield consulted in writing this excellent book.

JOHN C. GREENE,
EMERITUS
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D. BRUCE HINDMARSH, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce*. (Oxford Theological Monographs.)

New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii. 366. \$88.00.

John Newton (1725–1807) has a capable biographer in D. Bruce Hindmarsh. Although Newton is well known through countless homiletical works as the writer of "Amazing Grace" and as a famous convert from the despicable African slave trade, most of the other aspects of his life are unfamiliar to modern readers. Through the use of extensive archival resources and eighteenth-century printed sources, one can follow Newton from a troubled childhood (probably due to the death of his mother), to a career at sea, most of which was spent on slave ships working the "middle passage" between Africa and America. His independent, arrogant, and insubordinate attitude forced him to enter the service of a trader who, with his African wife, severely mistreated Newton. By this time, he had left the religion of his youth and become a free thinker who lived a "profane and godless life." Rescued in 1747 from this miserable existence, he went through an even more traumatic experience when the ship he was steering was caught in a storm and almost sank. This was a moment of revelation for him, and he turned to God. Even though he was converted, however, he continued to work in the slave trade until 1755.

Leaving his position at sea, Newton became tide surveyor at Liverpool (1755–1764), which involved checking import cargoes and watching for smugglers. The new position gave him a great deal of leisure, which he spent in religious studies and activities. Contact with George Whitefield led him to accept Calvinism. He also learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. As he grew in his spiritual life, Newton became interested in the Christian ministry and was offered several opportunities to serve Dissenter churches. None of these satisfied him, however, and after several attempts he was appointed through the influence of Lord Dartmouth to the curacy of Olney in Buckinghamshire. Ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln, he served the parish from 1764 to 1780. Hindmarsh explains in a very thoughtful way the combination of personal, social, and political circumstances that enabled Newton to be ordained in the Church of England despite his lack of formal academic preparation. One of the more important influences was the prestige Newton had gained from the story of his conversion, *Authentic Narrative* (1783).

Newton's ministry at Olney was very effective, and he exercised an influence even beyond his parish by travelling a circuit through the countryside between several major towns in the area (see map on p. 208). He preached several sermons and held numerous cottage prayer meetings each week. Extra money, given to him by a rich merchant, supplemented his rather meager salary and enabled Newton to give generously to the poor in his parish. Dissenters as well as Anglicans were included in his ministry, and he had cordial relations with Baptists, Methodists, and other independent churches in Olney. He also cooperated

with the poet William Cowper in composing the *Olney Hymns* (1779), the best known of which are "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds," "Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken," and "Amazing Grace."

In 1780, Newton accepted the appointment as Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth in the heart of the city of London. This influential urban parish gave him a major pulpit where he could spend his last years as the acknowledged patriarch of the evangelical movement. Newton exercised a mediating influence on the varied groups that came to hear him preach. He did not emphasize the differences in his congregation but rather kept the focus on a personal relationship with Christ. His moderating influence gave unity to the divergent trends of evangelicalism. Newton believed that infants were saved whether or not they had been baptized, that those who held non-Calvinist views should not be pressured into predestinarian belief, that Dissenters should receive Anglican communion if they wished to do so, and that Roman Catholics should not be persecuted. Despite these attitudes, one of his last works, the *Apologia* (1789), was a vigorous defense of the ecclesiology of the Church of England. As Hindmarsh explains, Newton was a bridge between the evangelicalism of John Wesley and the evangelicalism of William Wilberforce. It was through Newton's influence that the earlier currents of the movement, both Anglican and Dissenter, were passed on to Charles Simeon, Hannah More, and Wilberforce.

This book is a very helpful examination of little known aspects of Newton's life and times. Based on solid scholarly research and using the latest currents of interpretation of diaries and conversion narratives, the chapters on Newton's faith, theology, hymnody, spiritual life, and ministry help the reader to understand the history of eighteenth-century England as well as the growth of an important aspect of Anglican and Protestant religious experience. The fourth chapter on Newton's theology is worth the price of the book. I believe that no one has ever explained the growth of English Calvinism more clearly than has Hindmarsh. He even includes a chart (p. 124) that masterfully analyzes this sometimes confusing aspect of Christian thought. Anyone interested in recent Western European religion and intellectual development should read this volume.

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BENEDIKT STUCHTEY. *W. E. H. Lecky (1838–1903): Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irishchen Gelehrten.* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 41.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 385.

By the last years of his life, William Edward Hartpole Lecky (1838–1903) had become one of the best-known and most prominent members of Britain's "intellectual aristocracy." He was the single most eminent historian of eighteenth-century England and Ireland, a distin-

guished "man of letters" and "public moralist," the recipient of numerous honorary degrees and of an offer (which he declined) of the Regius Chair in Modern History at Oxford, and, from 1895 to 1902, the prestigious MP for his cherished alma mater, Trinity College, Dublin. In the aftermath of the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, however, Lecky was increasingly forgotten as the champion of a complex of lost causes: the permanent union of Ireland with Great Britain, the Anglo-Irish Protestant landlords (of which the Dublin-born Lecky had himself served as minor example), and the "amateur" historian whose works dealt with grand themes. Although his *magnum opus*, the eight-volume *History of England in the Eighteenth-Century* (1878–1890), incorporated English and Irish social and cultural as well as political, diplomatic, and economic history, those volumes grew dusty on library shelves, and Lecky figured only in passing in the historiographical appraisals of Victorian luminaries by more recent scholars such as Stefan Collini, T. W. Heyck, J. W. Burrow, and Rosemary Jann. A generation ago, L. P. Curtis, Jr., observed that "[a]ny 'final' assessment of Lecky as a historian must await a full-length study of the man and his times" (p. 25).

Benedikt Stuchtey, a young scholar writing in German, has now provided just such a study in the book under review. His masterfully comprehensive and well-organized volume includes a detailed bibliography of all of Lecky's printed and unpublished writings; those include—in Dublin's Trinity College Library—eighty-three notebooks, forty-four diary volumes, and three thousand letters in Lecky's "barely decipherable handwriting" (p. 9). Stuchtey's book is the first also to provide a genuine "reception history" of Lecky's major works, which included *The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (1861, 1871, 1903); *The History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (1865); *The History of European Morals from Augustine to Charlemagne* (1869); and *Democracy and Liberty* (1896).

The final third of the book focuses on the manner in which the historian of Henry Grattan and Edmund Burke and late eighteenth-century Ireland found himself deeply engaged with the late Victorian Irish Home Rule movement. The champion of nonpartisan history who prided himself on his ability to see both sides of every question became caught up as participant in the most divisive of political controversies. Although Lecky had defended the Irish people against the condescending strictures of James Anthony Froude's *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (3 vols., 1872–1874), the Irish nationalism that Lecky championed resembled that of Grattan and Burke in transcending both sect and class. Those Home Rule movement leaders of the 1870s and 1880s who initially cited Lecky's writings on the autonomous Ireland of the late eighteenth century as a historical precedent for their own plans soon learned that Lecky, although he remained a professing Liberal, failed to see the analogy. For the cosmopolitan Lecky, a disciple of the eigh-

teenth-century Enlightenment with a Dutch wife. Home Rule meant a return to clerical obscurantism rather than to the civilized aristocratic paternalism embodied in the type of Irish national feeling with which he could empathize. Analogously for Lecky, for whom the history of civilization had constituted gradual (if at times interrupted) progress, the coming of universal manhood suffrage threatened to undermine the very political, economic, and religious liberties that the proponents of Victorian liberalism had at last achieved.

Stuchey has provided a detailed, well-informed, and judicious assessment of the life and the writings of a highly enterprising and articulate Anglo-Irish historian and Victorian intellectual who very much merits such reappraisal. Relatively few specialists in the history of ideas in Britain or in modern British or Irish history generally read German easily, however. If the book is to attract the much broader audience that it truly deserves, it ought also to be published in English translation.

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RICHARD D. ALTICK. *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851*. (Studies in Victorian Life and Literature.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 776.

Punch was the great comic journal of Victorian England, at its peak a wondrous mixture of visual and verbal wit. Born in 1841, at a time when English middle-class life was beginning to extend its influence to every portion of the globe, it remained a quintessential segment of English life until its demise as a weekly in 1992. Queen Victoria read *Punch* enthusiastically every week, as did Thomas Carlyle, Emily Brontë, and even Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in distant Massachusetts. And, of course, *Punch's* ordinary readers, seated comfortably in railway cars, drawing rooms, and coffeehouses on both sides of the Atlantic, were legion. That was the strength of this extraordinary journal whose hook-nosed, hump-backed protagonist, whether visually delineated or made familiar by repeated use of the name, became such a popular commentator on social and political foibles.

Many books have been published about *Punch* and its famous contributors, including M. H. Spielmann's authoritative *The History of "Punch"* (1895) and Arthur Adrian's solid biography *Mark Lemon: First Editor of "Punch"* (1966). Yet Richard D. Altick's study is in some ways the best. In Altick's words, it is the "first attempt to contextualize any periodical, serious or light, in so great circumstantial detail" (p. xx). This is a formidable claim, but I know of no evidence to refute it. Altick is an outstanding literary critic and social historian, and in this book's 776 pages he is completely on top of his material. He traces the history of the

paper during its first vibrant decade, not in stultifying chronological detail but in a series of brilliant thematic essays that range widely across the political and social landscape of early Victorian England. Virtually every incident and character appearing in *Punch* during this decade is illuminated by deep factual analysis. On the political side, these range from Robert Peel ("Sir Rhubarb Pill") to Benjamin Disraeli (the author of "Codlingsby"); on the social side from horse racing ("Punch's Handbook for Intending Emigrants to the Derby"), to opera ("The Political Laughing Chorus, to be sung at all cabinet councils presided over by Lord John Russell"), to overcrowding on London's buses ("Gentlemen Are Requested to Keep Their Wet Umbrellas Between Their Own Legs"). The result is an unparalleled delineation of a key period of English history, at a decisive moment of industrial and urban transformation.

At least two major themes emerge from the journalistic crosscurrents that buffeted *Punch* in the 1840s. One was the sheer luck of the operation. Dozens of comic journals littered the landscape of early nineteenth-century England, and innumerable others were to try their hand with varying degrees of success. Yet *Punch* survived them all. Stumbling fortuitously upon a balanced formula of caricature and wit, it attracted a stable of superb writers and artists that surpassed those of nearly every other journal. Charles Dickens never wrote a word for *Punch*, but he was virtually alone in this regard. So many others of real quality did, including its two leading contributors of the first decade, Douglas Jerrold and William Makepeace Thackeray.

Altick's other major theme is the rapid transition from radical journalism to light social commentary, which mirrored a wider shift in the nation away from political consciousness. At its beginnings, *Punch*, under the influence of Jerrold ("that savage little Robespierre"), espoused a consistent policy of support for the underdog. It flayed the aristocracy and the church, condemned the Corn Laws, and offered a serious analysis of Chartism and the "Condition of England" question. Then, as influence shifted away from the unstructured world of bohemia towards the commercial ethos of Fleet Street, its radicalism became attenuated. Like many of its middle-class readers, *Punch* focused on foibles rather than abuses, and with this shift its popularity grew. It continued to soar until well into the twentieth century.

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RICHARD WILLIAMS. *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria*. Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate. 1997. Pp. 276. \$68.95.

Spin doctor: someone who controls the press and manipulates the flow of information so that the powers

that be are represented in the way that they wish. Many in Britain regard spin doctors as the latest vulgar import from America, but in 1998 even Buckingham Palace broke down and hired one. This attests to a general belief that the news media have grown in size and power and that the press now has a crucial impact on the survival both of political individuals and of institutions. Hence, the high levels of anxiety at the palace and elsewhere at the flow of negative news on the monarchy following the separation of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Richard Williams's new book might have alleviated some of that anxiety. Indeed, familiarity with his work would have improved some of the newspaper reporting of the 1980s and 1990s on the monarchy by providing historical context that was often lacking. Williams has examined public discussion of the monarchy, especially in newspapers but also in Parliament and pamphlets, over the seven decades of Queen Victoria's reign. He shows that our previous picture of a monarch who was unpopular at the beginning of her reign and virtually deified by the end is in error. We are right to see the monarchy as gaining in popularity over the course of Victoria's reign and to see the nineteenth century "as a turning point" in its history. There were, however, always "two basic strands of discussion of the monarchy, one reverential, the other critical" (p. 4). Critics may have always been in a minority, but they were always there. Even at the end of the century, heretofore regarded as halcyon days for the monarchy, Keir Hardie boldly mounted a socialist critique of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee by explaining "the statesmen are there because Empire means trade, and trade means profit, and profit means power over the common people" (p. 178).

The usefulness of knowing that there was always criticism of the monarchy, even when Queen Victoria was popular (and always loyalist defenses of the monarchy, even when the queen was detested) is to show that the monarchy has prospered because of open discussion. Williams's book suggests how misleading some of Walter Bagehot's ideas were about the necessity of secrecy and the monarchy's inability to withstand debate. A free people can decide to have a monarchy or not. They can decide to change the succession or not. All the breathless talk about the impending end of the British crown in recent years seems a little silly when viewed in the context of voluminous newspaper debate, both royalist and republican, of a hundred years ago.

This book is a revised doctoral thesis supervised by David Cannadine, and its other great strength is to revise Cannadine. To argue, as Cannadine, Eric Hobsbawm, and Tom Nairn have done, that the monarchy became an "object of adulation only to counter class tensions in the last quarter of the century" is to ignore the even greater class tensions and more powerful critiques of the throne that took place in the Chartist period. Cannadine and others also underrated the degree to which there was deep veneration of the crown throughout the reign, not just at the end (p.

191). Thus, Williams has brought some important critical scrutiny to the Marxist cliché that the monarchy is an invented tradition of the late nineteenth century meant by the bourgeoisie to mystify the Victorian working classes.

Although he points out the flaws in this social control view of the monarchy, Williams remains sympathetic to republican and socialist critics of the crown. He dismisses loyalty to the throne as sentimentality, flunkeyism, and gush. He ignores the ways in which the monarchy appeals to *homo ludens*, to a sense of playfulness, to an enjoyment of color, dressing up, and acting out. He has missed, too (though his evidence hints at), how the cultural genius that produced Elizabethan pageantry and William Shakespeare's plays on kingship is related to, and is indeed fused with, the political sensibility that produced Puritan asceticism and Tom Paine's cold condemnations of royal frivolity. Still, these twin impulses—to attack the crown and to praise it—are extremely well documented in Williams's book on the Victorian press. Williams offers both encouragement to would-be critics of the monarchy and a calming historical perspective to those who would be king.

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GRETCHEN R. GALBRAITH. *Reading Lives: Reconstructing Childhood, Books, and Schools in Britain, 1870–1920*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. 184. \$39.95.

Gretchen R. Galbraith's book provides the reader with three groups of essays about literacy and children between 1870 and 1920. In the first group, the author examines the writings of successful middle and working-class adults about the role of reading in their childhood; in the second, she examines the intentions of popular writers of children's books, their influence, and the influence of publishers on the development of children's literature; and in the third, she considers the controversies faced by the School Board of London (concerning overcrowding in the schools, payment by results, and the demand for more technical education) and the way that those controversies affected how reading was taught.

The book should fascinate avid readers among historians, because it generalizes questions that each reader has, surely, at some time, raised about him or herself. How did I come by my love of reading? Did I enjoy reading at home more than at school? Who influenced my choice of books to read? Who wrote and published the books I read? What messages about life did my favorite books impart to me? What did I learn from them about gender roles, race, and social class? Questions like these prompted Galbraith to examine the way children's reading was constructed in the fifty years from 1870 to 1920.

Reflected in each section is Galbraith's wide knowledge of social history, including recent books on the history of education, and gender studies. Unfortu-

nately, however, she does not link the sections into a coherent whole. I wonder why her editor at St. Martin's Press did not insist on a greater cohesiveness, given the author's claim about the book's importance: "By studying the social and political importance afforded children's reading a century ago," she writes, "perhaps we can think more clearly about the meaning of child literacy at a time when both Britain and the United States are again reworking the state's role in children's lives and the content and structure of public education" (p. 5). Although Galbraith has written an interesting book, she has not written one with a consistent focus on "the meaning of child literacy" and "the state's role in children's lives and the content and structure of public education."

Nonetheless, the book is filled with interesting material for those who bring to it their own treasure chest of information about British society between 1870 and 1920. Highlighted in it is the class distinction between childhood for middle-class children, which was perceived as a time of security and innocence where imagination was encouraged through fairy stories, and childhood for working-class children, which was perceived as a time for imparting morality and skills for adult life. Galbraith also has an intriguing chapter examining the lives and writings of Andrew Lang and Edith Nesbit, two near contemporaries whose writings for children became their best-known works. As Galbraith points out, it was easier for Lang, a man and an anthropologist, to straddle the realms of children's and adults' literature than it was for Nesbit, whose novels for adults never achieved renown. The development of a separate genre of literature for children depended on several factors: as well as parents and other adults who were prepared to buy books for children and publishers willing to cultivate the children's market, there had to be authors prepared to write for children. Galbraith shows that, unlike didactic writers of an earlier period (many of whom were clergymen), adults writing for children between 1870 and 1920 sought to recapture the expansive possibilities of childhood, especially its enchantment. Children's stories attracted authors who wanted to experiment more than they could do in writing for adults during a period when realism was the norm. Although authors often wrote children's stories that appealed to adults as well as children, they had to be circumspect about doing so, as Oscar Wilde learned to his chagrin: a second book of fairy tales that he trumpeted as written not necessarily for children but as "an expression of aestheticism" was roundly attacked by the critics (p. 50). Galbraith's last section, on disputes among the middle class, as Britain's role changed, over the kind of literacy working-class children needed, is provocative and well described.

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S. J. D. GREEN. *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organization and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870–*

1920. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 426. \$69.95.

S. J. D. Green offers a social history of religion in three West Yorkshire industrial textile towns—Halifax, Keighley, and Denholme—all of which underwent significant social and economic transformation in the period 1870–1920. He anatomizes the nature of these changes as prelude to examining the responses to them of local churches and the impact of both external change and institutional reply on popular religious belief and practice. In doing so, Green enters the lists in the great secularization debate. This is an ambitious and difficult undertaking, but one in which the author very largely (and refreshingly) succeeds.

He begins with a very useful (and for this study's purposes) necessary overview of the debate. But although its tone remains neutral and diplomatic, the introduction is written critically and hints that Green, despite minor caveats along the way, cleaves to an orthodox understanding and appreciation of the theory of secularization. His findings amplify this perception.

Green chose his towns for their typicality: they were large, middling, and small, respectively, and underwent industrialization in a less traumatic fashion than their more cosmopolitan and better-known counterparts, Bradford and Leeds. Still, before 1850, the introduction of powerlooms in worsted manufacturing led directly to unemployment, while the concentration of production associated with the factory system introduced the classic "dynamic towards the substitution of unskilled for skilled, female for male, juvenile for adult, labour" (p. 49), with an accompanying general fall in wages. After 1880, the economy as a whole needed to diversify in order to remain competitive with foreign production. But diversification led to the fragmentation of industry and the casualization of labor, which placed additional downward pressure on living standards and contributed to the rise of class conflict. A spatial reorganization of urban sites accompanied and paralleled such diversification. Towns became more suburban and fragmented as industries relocated away from their traditional centers, while the urban poor became socially segregated. Although Green declines to use the term, the structural determinants of "anomie" clearly became manifest and demonstrate, contra Callum Brown, that industrialism and urban metamorphosis indeed had something to do with secularization.

Within this context, all congregations embarked on ambitious church-building programs, although their motives for doing so were diverse. But regardless of motive, most became heavily indebted as a result, and the struggle to relieve their indebtedness facilitated the secularization of church life and ultimately its institutional decline. Indeed, the great paradox emerging from this study is that the impetus for growth after 1870 became part of a pattern of decline as the

churches overextended themselves, never to recruit enough followers.

Green characterizes the "political economy" of the church (how the churches supported themselves) as based on the Christian doctrine of "voluntary beneficence," which assumed three forms: individual contributions, collections from the congregation, and "receipts" from a wider community of supporters. Over time, it seems, too many churches grew increasingly dependent on receipts, which took the form of the church bazaar or other money-raising campaigns. The political economy of churches, in other words, tended to shift from the committed individual to the more nebulous and less reliable forces of the marketplace, which seems to have both caused and reflected their decline.

Among all churches, worship became more devotional and less experiential after 1870, with the consequence that it became irretrievably formalized. This shift symbolized the diminished quality of modern religious life: among Methodists, for example, the disappearance of love feasts and the abandonment of class meetings; among Anglicans, the dilution of Sunday to a mere day of rest, rather than the Lords' Day, and a more instrumental view of traditional rites of passage. Green argues insightfully, and contra revisionism, that more formalized worship made worship increasingly an empty gesture, contributing directly to popular indifference. The stress of modern, secularized life also contributed to the dilution of religious belief: religion became "a vague, impracticable something . . . concerned with a certain part of one's life . . . but quite unrelated to the everyday tasks of life." The result "was a true crisis because the modern churches seemingly could no longer reach [the people]. Still more: they no longer wanted to be reached by the churches" (p. 375). A more orthodox conclusion could hardly be drawn.

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D. A. Low. *Britain and Indian Nationalism: The Imprint of Ambiguity, 1929-1942*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 358. \$74.95.

Over a half-century has elapsed since the Union Jack came down for the last time over Delhi's Red Fort. With the perspective that time brings, and with masses of archival material supporting a large monographic superstructure, it has become possible to move toward some degree of synthesis about the end of the Raj. The major determinants have, of course, always been clear: the shift in British mood and the decline of British power after 1918, the conversion of the Labour Party to Indian independence in the late 1930s, the traumatic events of 1942, and the pressure on a steadily weakening Britain of American hostility to empire. That said, however, there remains abundant room for careful study of the process as it played out. This D. A.

Low has done in this fine study, the culmination of a professional lifetime's involvement with the history of Britain's once massive global role. In an introduction that draws on a comparative perspective often lacking in studies of the last days of the Raj, Low points out that the way in which the British left India was by no means the only possible exit strategy for a Western power in Asia. The United States had no sooner occupied and "pacified" the Philippines than it began the process of divesting itself of the responsibilities of direct rule (indirect influence was another matter). Mass nationalism and confrontation were unnecessary. The Dutch and the French obdurately insisted that their presence was permanent, even after World War II left them much weakened and their nationalist opponents strengthened, armed, and radicalized. The late Sir Laurens Van Der Post's *The Admiral's Baby* (1996) illuminates the nearly unbelievable obtuseness of the Dutch, which ultimately led to a humiliating withdrawal in 1949. For the French, an even more bitter end awaited at Dien Bien Phu. The British, however, were more ambivalent in their approach and produced an appropriately ambiguous final act: a decorous exit for themselves while the Raj dissolved, amid torrents of blood, into two hostile powers. It is this ambiguity, present in British policy since the birth of modern Indian nationalism, that Low explores sensitively. Each chapter is a case study of an episode, ranging from the 1929 Congress Party decision to make "purna swaraj"—complete independence—its goal to the antecedents of the 1942 Cripps Declaration, in which the British government accepted it. The complex interplay of British policy—maintain authority while being conciliatory—and Indian reaction, as well as wider imperial trends are woven through each of these studies, whose culminating point is the moment in 1942 when the British realized the only possible resolution to the ambiguity was to accept the inevitability of independence. Fifty-six years before, William Ewart Gladstone's Secretary of State for India, Lord Kimberley, had unwittingly prophesied this denouement: "I have no faith in a repressive policy . . . the English democracy will never allow such a policy to be firmly and continuously pursued . . . to stand still and simply resist is not in our power" (p. 35).

The only element missing in this fine study is any consideration of the transformation of the Raj's Praetorian Guard, the Indian Army. The decision to "Indianize" its officer corps was a crucial moment, the massive expansion in the number of Indian officers after 1940 even more so. By 1942, Indian Army General Headquarters understood that both sepoys and (Indian) officers expected independence. The resolution of the ambiguity in British policy owed something to the realization that should coercion again become necessary, there was nothing left to coerce with.

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SUSAN A. BREWER. *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 269. \$39.95.

The major belligerents in World War II used propaganda to encourage their populations to fight and endure, to build and sustain front-line morale, and to shape the policies of allies and enemies. Examining these efforts inevitably leads scholars to explore public attitudes: what they were, how they were perceived, and how officials employed the arcane arts of friendly persuasion to change them. The subject has produced a sizeable (and growing) literature. Susan A. Brewer's book is a welcome complement to Nicholas John Cull's excellent study, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II* (1995). Cull delineates British efforts to encourage American aid and intervention in the years immediately preceding American involvement in the war, while Brewer, after briefly going over the same ground, explores at greater length the British campaign in the United States after Pearl Harbor.

From the beginning of the war, British agents attempted, through overt and unacknowledged means, to counter American isolationist sentiment and develop public support for increased aid and intervention. The Japanese attack and Adolf Hitler's subsequent declaration of war on the United States solved Great Britain's most pressing concerns but left London anxious about American attitudes toward the peace settlement and relations between the two countries after the war. Throughout World War II, a large, skilled, and well-connected British propaganda contingent worked assiduously and creatively, as Brewer admirably illustrates, to ensure public acceptance of continued economic aid and a tolerant attitude toward the United Kingdom's imperial and Commonwealth arrangements. The would-be opinion makers faced skepticism and resistance rooted in America's founding mythology and an image of the British people that focused on its upper class. For many Americans, Great Britain was home to an anachronistic social system and the seat of a crumbling empire run by a clique of effete, addle-brained snobs. Anti-British feelings, which may have reached their height in 1939, had intensified in recent years, fed first by the belief that Britain was responsible for what many Americans believed was Woodrow Wilson's unwise intervention in World War I and, more recently, by the conviction that the Tory leadership had cravenly appeased Benito Mussolini and Hitler.

Confronted with public hostility and wariness of propaganda, the British adopted a "no propaganda" propaganda policy. There would be little of the hyperbole, overt emotionalism, or appeals based on the Anglo-Saxon civilizing mission that had characterized the much-criticized British campaign in the United States during World War I. Instead, the propagandists would concentrate on supplying the "truth" (although not necessarily the whole truth) to, and cultivating

friendly relations with, the generally sympathetic members of the American news and political establishments. They, in turn, would bear the principal burden of encouraging the general public and members of Congress to support policies favorable to Great Britain.

The task became more difficult after Pearl Harbor as differences over international affairs eclipsed the earlier sense that England, in resisting Hitler, was fighting America's battle. Disagreements arose over the appropriate response to the Indian independence movement and, despite the positive response to Winston Churchill's speeches and the popularity of propaganda-laden wartime movies, the image of the reactionary Colonel Blimp returned to haunt the budding "special relationship." The American public remained dismissive of British imperial pretensions, skeptical that its ally was doing enough in the common war effort, and insistent that Britain fulfill its obligations under Lend Lease. Swallowing their pride in the face of insulting American attitudes, British representatives doggedly presented their country as capable of sharing responsibility with the United States for policing the peace, and as the worthy recipient of continued aid. Despite public indifference to their appeals, Brewer notes that the propagandists "achieved qualified success" (p. 234), particularly noteworthy in Congress's approval of the generous Lend Lease settlement the British sought. One wishes that this surprising development had been more thoroughly explained.

The extent to which public attitudes, much less public policy, can accurately be ascribed to propaganda remains an open, perhaps unanswerable question. The British clearly put a great deal of effort into cultivating elite opinion in the United States, and no doubt this had some effect. On the other hand, as Brewer's account suggests, the result may have had less to do with their exertions than with the intervention of compelling realities—earlier the menace of Axis aggression, later the emergence of the Soviet threat.

Brewer's discussion fills an important gap in our knowledge of World War II propaganda. Her book not only contributes to an assessment of the value and limits of propaganda but also provides us with another interesting glimpse of wartime America and Americans through English eyes.

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IAN R. G. SPENCER. *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xv, 207. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$22.95.

The documentary base for this book by Ian R. G. Spencer consists principally of the papers of the British cabinet and related committees, with limited forays into those of the Ministry of Labour, the Colonial Office, and the Commonwealth Office. Not surprisingly, the author concludes that the cabinet was pri-

marily responsible for restricting migration from the former colonies, covertly and overtly, in the post-1945 period. This repudiates the common interpretation that in limiting migration the British state was responding to popular racism embodied in the August 1958 "white riots," attacks on black people in Nottingham and Notting Hill, London. Instead, there is abundant evidence that from at least the 1940s a succession of Labour and Conservative cabinets reacted to black migration with alarm and pursued restriction, tempered only by concern for British credibility within the newly autonomous Commonwealth.

The argument is hardly new, but Spencer's work contains the most detailed and sustained investigation of cabinet deliberations. Close reading suggests that the cabinet was hardly univocal, instead paralyzed by internal dissent reflecting the contradiction between overt race discrimination and preserving harmony within the Commonwealth and the sterling area. The author asserts that adroit intervention in the 1950s might have prevented the massive influx that has rendered contemporary Britain—he argues—a newly multiracial society. With many contemporaries, most memorably Paul Foot, Spencer argues that ministerial bungling in the period between August 1958 and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 spurred rather than curbed migration (see Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics* [1965]). Official figures show that migration slackened in the late 1950s in response to diminishing job prospects but was stimulated anew in the early 1960s by publicity about imminent restriction.

The work offers intriguing evidence that the cabinet was especially alarmed by Asian migration on grounds of religious, linguistic, and cultural differences, less marked in migrants from the Caribbean. In refreshing contrast to apocalyptic visions of a "Black underclass" borrowed from the United States, Spencer demonstrates that post-1945 black migrants were on average more educated and skilled than the indigenous population. He emphasizes their substantial contributions and achievements in education, economic mobility, and public life since the 1960s. Yet migrants' words or perspectives never appear in this volume. Employers, unions, even newspapers enter the narrative only when they entered the cabinet's purview. This version of events remains the view from Whitehall, of "the official mind" (pp. 43, 109).

Focusing so narrowly on cabinet deliberations has left numerous relevant issues unexplored. Selectivity is unavoidable in any work, but here it begs the question of causality. We may share Spencer's indignation over cabinet "prejudice," but we are left with no sense of its sources. The author eschews historical analysis of race and racism on the grounds that "races do not exist" (p. xv) and that "motivations and attitudes . . . remained much the same throughout the century" (p. 49). He argues instead for "the overriding importance of numbers" (p. 88): the cabinet believed only small numbers of colonized migrants could be "assimilated" and that

"concentrations" must be dispersed before they could "claim recognition" (pp. 430–44, 59, 72–73). With shifts in the meaning of "belonging to the United Kingdom" (p. 107), and hierarchization between Caribbean and Asian migrants, such subjective judgments cry out for analysis.

It is valuable to have set out the narrative of administrative and bureaucratic debate on these issues. Yet scholars asking how this evidence changes our account of British history or the history of migration and race might have found the work more useful had it engaged such questions explicitly. Mining a narrow range of a vast literature, the author seems unaware of or hostile to many of the broader arguments and analytical agendas within which the problems he raises have lately been situated—much more sensitively and more creatively handled, for example, in Kathleen Paul's *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (1997). A more challenging interpretation might have contextualized British policy formation within the twentieth-century tendency, throughout the developed world, to regulate, restrict, surveille, and control migrant workers.

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PENNY BONSALE. *The Irish RMs: The Resident Magistrates in the British Administration of Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1997. Pp. 224. \$45.00.

Operating between 1836 and 1922 (and after the partition of Ireland), the resident magistracy was part of Ireland's local judicial system, although the RMs were civil servants. At full strength, there were seventy-two RMs. Appointments were made in Dublin Castle by the chief secretary for Ireland. RMs presided at their district's petty sessions court, augmenting the local justices of the peace, county court judges, and supreme court justices on assize. They also reported to the Castle on their district's status in times of unrest, augmenting intelligence from the constabulary. During political crises, RMs exercised exceptional powers presiding in special crimes courts.

An enduring image of the magistrates developed during the 1880s as Irish nationalists complained that the RMs were oppressive members of a collaborator class of judges and bureaucrats employed by an alien government. They pointed out (correctly) that most RMs were former soldiers and police officers without legal training, a charge that supplemented their larger grievances that too often the country was under a virtual state of martial law and that the civil rights of the people were violated. The popular stories portraying the fictional Major Yeats, RM, written between 1898 and 1915 by Edith Somerville and Martin Ross, provided another powerful image: a RM befuddled by the antics of the stage-Irish characters he encounters in the course of a typical yarn. Penny Bonsall turns both of these images upside down in this concise and

finely crafted book. The author employs several methodological approaches—narrative history, literary criticism, collective biography, and case studies of four RMs—to revise the popular perceptions of Irish RMs.

Bonsall believes that it is misleading to assess the magistracy only on their performance in crises, noting that the rural population was generally law-abiding and that many RMs never sat in a special court or had to put down a riot. Although the position was not lucrative, it offered security, status, and a pension. Official records help her to reconstruct the application procedures, careers paths, and the additional training magistrates completed to advance their position. Bonsall describes the magistrates' administrative and judicial responsibilities, from arranging transportation from one town to the next, to hearing evidence, to completing reports according to the Castle's exacting specifications. Bonsall also describes their outside interests, domestic life, and the network of family connections that linked the country's administrative and judicial systems. As these aspects of the book unfold, Bonsall makes another, more important contribution to the growing literature on the Irish administration. She documents the significant transformation that occurred in the composition and character of the magistracy. Before 1890, the magistracy was composed largely of men with military and police experience and of individuals with landed interests, frequently landlords or landlords' sons. Few RMs had legal qualifications. Protestants had a stranglehold on the institution. Some, like Major Yeats, were Englishmen. Typically, only one or two new appointments were made annually. By 1912, however, the institution had a rather different look. The former constabulary members were held at what became a customary one-third of the total complement, and the number of ex-military men was dramatically reduced. The largest single group was individuals with legal qualifications and/or administrative experience. The study of law attracted hundreds of middle-class Catholics who were eager for government service, and the change in the number of new magistrates with legal training was reflected in the increasing number of Catholic appointments—over one-third of the total by 1909. This trend worried those Protestants and Unionists who equated Catholicism with home rule. Bonsall observes that religion and politics were always background influences in Irish public life but indicates that to RMs, they were private concerns. They were expected, as civil servants and part of the judiciary, to be aloof from political and religious considerations during times of strife and, on the whole, they tried to attain the ideal as impartial administrators of justice (p. 95). In short, the magistracy was becoming more representative of the population while it also became a professional body of public servants. The true test of the RM's dedication to their profession came during the War of Independence in 1918–1921, when they refused to shrink from their responsibilities on the bench in the face of revolutionaries who considered them to be legitimate targets within

the hated "foreign garrison." Not the least of the tragedy of this troubled period, Bonsall concludes, was that the conflict was so often between Irish people, divided by political allegiance but united in love of their country (p. 174).

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MYLES DUNGAN. *They Shall Grow Not Old: Irish Soldiers and the Great War*. Dublin: Four Courts Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1997. Pp. 218. \$30.00.

Irish interest in the role of Irish soldiers in World War I has increased greatly in recent years. For over seventy years, Nationalist Ireland shunned those who fought in British or Allied armies in this century's conflicts. Favor was instead heaped upon those who fought in the Irish national revolution of 1916–1923. Only Unionist Ireland sought to remember its service in the British forces as a mark of Unionist loyalty to the crown. Now, Nationalist Ireland is re-exploring its role in the Great War through writers such as Myles Dungan. As he says in his introduction, the book focuses on soldiers from the present-day Republic of Ireland who fought in the 1914–1918 war. The book is Dungan's second on this theme, and it will help bring back to popular memory a period of Irish history to which many Irish men and women would previously have paid little attention—either through ignorance or because of their wariness to approach what was considered to be a taboo subject.

The book starts on a very cautious note. Dungan writes that the text is "not a work of academic history" and is merely designed "to keep before the public eye a neglected area of historical research." Dungan is giving unnecessary hostages to fortune with this remark, and he is definitely playing down the importance of the book's contents. He has no need to do so; both as a secondary and a primary source the work is fascinating. It tells, in thematic form, the story of ordinary Irish men who lived and died in an ugly and obscene conflict. The book answers questions any reader or researcher might ask: why did Irish men join up in the first place, how did they cope with life in the trenches, how did they cope physically and psychologically with the closeness of death and the carnage of trench warfare? One vivid section examines how ordinary soldiers felt as they were about to go over the top and illustrates their feelings through a judicious use of quotes. The difficult and emotional question of the fate those who were "shot at dawn" is treated with due concern, and Dungan brings their fate up to the present day by examining the attempts to rehabilitate those who were not executed but who clearly exhibited post-traumatic stress syndrome.

The use of primary material from memoirs, letters, and interviews captures vividly the experience of the Irish in the war and their reaction to events in Ireland such as the 1916 Rising. The reader is struck by the

quality of the prose in the letters of young men living in the trenches and by how death and destruction became normal and the extraordinary became routine. There is ample primary material in this book to use it as a teaching source. The descriptions of life and death at the front line are evocative and vivid enough to enliven even the most jaded and uninterested reader; Dungan, through his sources, brings the sheer horror of the trenches alive.

In recent years, the notion of a "new" military history, focusing on the social and economic history of warfare, has taken hold. In Ireland, it was exemplified by the publication of *A Military History of Ireland*, edited by Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (1995). The work presently under review fits into this genre. It conveys the emotional, physical, and sociological impact of trench warfare on human beings as Irish soldiers recount their thoughts about the all-encompassing war in which they and their friends lived, fought, and died. The Irish soldiers who fought in the Great War have grown old and have nearly all passed into history themselves. Dungan mentions again and again throughout the text the death of many of his interviewees, but a work such as this will enable their memory to live on.

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JEAN NAGLE. *La civilisation du coeur: Histoire du sentiment politique en France, du XII^e au XIX^e siècle.* Paris: Fayard. 1998. Pp. 413. 170.00 fr.

This book appears at a time when the tide of scholarship on the history of the body and corporeal metaphors shows no sign of receding. Having published widely on French social and political history, Jean Nagle now offers a highly original, richly documented study of the heart as a French political and cultural construct from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. Alternating between ethnographic and historical approaches to the subject, the book features a curious counterpoint of synchronic and diachronic analyses that may irritate some readers by its occasional abruptness, detours, and repetition. But the interesting terrain Nagle covers makes this voyage well worth the trip.

The heart, Nagle shows, positively overflowed with political and social significance in the later medieval and early modern periods. It was represented not only as the seat of love but also as the origin of prowess, thought, devotion, courage, and generosity. As such, it functioned as a critical social marker, delimiting the true noble "of great heart" from the mere *roturier*, who before the fifteenth century was commonly said to lack a heart altogether. To manifest their unique religious, dynastic, and political status, the Capetian and Valois kings promoted a veritable cult of the royal heart, erecting elaborate monuments on the sites where the hearts of their predecessors, and sometimes of their

queens, were interred. Beginning in the fifteenth century, Nagle argues, a shift occurred in political representations of the heart. While the royal heart became celebrated as the source of energy of the gradually emerging royal state, it was now conceded that at least some of the less privileged, too, had a heart as a result of their participation in war. "They are men like us, and not beasts," remarked Blaise, seigneur de Monluc in the sixteenth century; "if we are gentlemen, they are soldiers; they have arms in their hands, which puts a heart in the belly of those who carry them" (p. 166). Unfortunately, Nagle does not reconcile such flattering images of the people with others that were far less complimentary, but he does show how royal discourse increasingly fixated on the affective ties that supposedly bound subjects to their sovereign. In addition to the harder images of the king as a conqueror, absolutist ideology featured the softer notion of an elective association of hearts between king and people. This notion gave rise to the trope that mutual love between sovereign and subject distinguished the French from all other nations, indeed that the French nation was constituted by a reunion of hearts. Even if he leaves unexplored many of its implications and paradoxes for the reign of Louis *le bien-aimé*, Nagle correctly identifies this trope as underpinning for the myth of the utilitarian king, which held such sway in the Enlightenment. And he makes a good case for seeing in the ideology of the French revolutionaries a repudiation of the royal heart, which by 1789 came to appear at best inaccessible and at worst corrupt by its very nature.

If there is a serious deficiency in this book, it lies in Nagle's neglect of scientific considerations. Given the broad range of his evidence, it might well have been expected that the author would examine the controversies regarding the physiological role of the heart that preoccupied Aristotelians and Galenists into the modern era. In the seventeenth century, the work of William Harvey and René Descartes in particular and the development of iatromechanics generally prompted a reexamination of ancient notions regarding the heart as a source of heat, which gradually gave way to the idea that the heart was essentially a pump and that animal heat derived from chemical or physical processes occurring in the blood vessels. One might reasonably ask how these new ideas intersected with political, religious, and sociological representations of the heart. Or was there such a disjunction between scientific notions and political ideology by the early modern period that no such cross-fertilization occurred? Despite the author's silence on these issues, it cannot be denied that Nagle has written a brilliant and insightful *tour de force*, which shows what imagination coupled with erudition can achieve.

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ABBY E. ZANGER. *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist*

Power. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 244. \$45.00.

This clever but perplexing study by a literary critic of Louis XIV's 1660 marriage to the Spanish infanta Maria Teresa invites us to ask questions about why cultural historians and literary new historicists find it so enduringly difficult to communicate. Abby E. Zanger's book consists of five essays about "nuptial fictions", by which she means, roughly, the different narratives through which the royal match was represented to the French public. Each chapter focuses on a different representational "technology": almanacs, memoirs and correspondence, official printed accounts, plays and festivities, and the prologue to a novel. The argument framing the chapters is a challenge to classic readings of the political culture of absolutism by Ernst Kantorowicz and Ralph Giesey that, says Zanger, posit a logic of "substitution and singularity" (p. 155). To the idea of a single, absolute ruler whose divine body outlasts his mortal incarnations, Zanger responds with a classic deconstructionist strategy. Focusing on marriage rather than funeral makes it clear that the autonomy and stability conveyed by, say, Hyacinthe Rigaud's iconic portrayal of the Sun King, is pure illusion: the king's power was always contingent upon, and therefore threatened and undermined by, dependency on others (like the infanta) and on the need for the very "technologies" buttressing his rule.

The subject of this royal wedding is great fodder for cultural history, and Zanger is right to suggest that the event has been unduly neglected, possibly because it precedes Louis's personal seizure of power. But Zanger approaches the material much differently than would a cultural historian. Although her bibliography shows an impressive abundance of both primary and secondary sources, she typically focuses on a very small corpus—a few pictures, a small number of pages—and then hones in on two or three details. In the first chapter, which concerns almanac images from the late 1650s, the object of her scrutiny is the king's leg; while the leg does indeed jut out suggestively from Louis's clothing in some of these images, it is made here to bear a rather large interpretive load. According to Zanger's reading of a series of images, the king's leg marks the always-threatened boundary between uncontrolled passions (the violence and sexuality of others, and by implication of the king himself), and the "framed," "contained," or "policed" official representations of his power. The leg is, I am sorry to report, repeatedly characterized as lim(b)inal.

Although Zanger's explications are smart and provocative, they are more heavily informed by twentieth-century theory than by seventeenth-century culture. The second chapter, for instance, contains a ten-page gloss on a detail from a pamphlet describing the wedding: the infanta, draped by the French in fur-lined ceremonial robes in the summer heat of the Pyrenees, was observed to sweat heavily. The noting of such a

detail is interesting (it would have been unseemly two centuries later) and might send a cultural historian scurrying off in search of evidence about medical, religious, and social understandings of perspiration in the seventeenth century. Zanger, however, reaches for Freud, Foucault, assorted cultural anthropologists, and French feminists. "It is tempting at this point," she writes, "to argue that the sweat of the infanta is a sign of her resistance to the French program." Zanger succumbs to temptation: "The description of the queen's sweating might thus be seen as suggesting the new queen's body engaged in an habitus of the abject: her bodily fluids corrupted the rules or boundaries of the French symbolic system from within, more precisely from the dampened space between the Spanish body and the French fashion system" (p. 58). By the end of the chapter, when it turns out that breaking out in a sweat was an instance of the body exerting force on society, although that energy was nonetheless channeled to serve the regime through the "labor" of reproduction, this reader was perspiring as heavily as the poor infanta.

To be fair, Zanger does quite often bring seventeenth-century sources to bear on her interpretations. In the above context, for instance, she discusses a 1610 treatise that mentions the erotic connotations of perspiration. But the major assumptions behind her approach to the material mostly reflect twentieth-century concerns. It is a given, for Zanger, that power always frames or contains an anxiety that is sexual in nature and that the infanta was a major source of such sexual anxiety (in chapter four she is conflated with both Medea and Medusa). Zanger's sources, however, do not appear to articulate any such fears explicitly.

The problem for a historian is figuring out how to respond to an interdisciplinary challenge such as this. Trained to piece together cultural systems, what do we do with an approach in which every gesture is itself and yet also its opposite, and every tool for shoring up power undermines it at the same time? Is it possible to bring together Zanger's deconstruction of "nuptial fictions" with the historical literature on the limits and weaknesses of seventeenth-century absolutism? Could one include in an undergraduate lecture about rebellious peasants and recalcitrant nobles a discussion of the king's leg and his sweaty bride?

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L. M. CULLEN. *The Brandy Trade under the Ancien Régime: Regional Specialisation in the Charente*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 284. \$69.95.

This book is the unanticipated result of what began as research into Irish merchants who lived and operated in Old Regime France. Several of the most prominent among them settled in the Charente region in cities like Cognac, Jarnac, and Angoulême. L. M. Cullen's visits to public and private archives in that region

gradually developed into an interest in the production and trade of brandy.

Distilled spirits intended for transport and sale were little known anywhere in Europe prior to 1600. Cullen demonstrates that the distillation of brandy from grapes—as opposed to spirits produced from grains or sugar—was largely a hit-or-miss empirical process through the seventeenth century. Distillers pursued their experimentation with hydrometers and other tools of the trade, while merchants developed wider trading networks with customers in the Baltic, England, and Ireland.

Much of the first half of this work will prove heavy going for some readers. Cullen authoritatively describes in minute detail the improvements in distilling methods and the varying qualities of the finished product. This book therefore is now the best source for anyone who needs to know the difference between brandy *coupée à la serpentine*, champagne brandy, Fins Bois brandy, spirit “one-third,” spirit “three-fifths,” and so on. The glossary of terms that comes at the start of the volume further underscores its utility as a reference work.

By the early eighteenth century, the production and sale of different qualities of brandy had become a highly sophisticated operation in the Charente region. Cullen notes that consumers abroad and within France had developed discriminating palates for particular colors, tastes, and levels of alcoholic content. The drive to determine the exact quality of each batch of brandy was also encouraged by the fiscal needs of the state. The French government and customs officials in other countries wanted accurate determinations in these matters so that higher taxes could be imposed on the better grades.

By the early 1700s, the brandy trade was launched on a growth curve that would continue, with a few temporary downturns, through the century. By mid-century, the Irish and northern European markets were declining, partly a result of competition from grain-based spirits (especially gin) and from Spanish brandies. But the English market remained relatively steady, and the Paris market increased rapidly.

Cullen's research is impressive, his writing is clear, and his conclusions appear sound. I wish, however, that Cullen had added a few pages to this modest-sized volume in order to relate the findings regarding brandy to other aspects of Old Regime life. For example, Cullen sees the last decades of the seventeenth century and first decades of the eighteenth as a take-off point for brandy production and export. He could make this finding more important by noting how it supports other recent authors who have argued that the economy of France at the end of the reign of Louis XIV was more dynamic than was thought by earlier generations of scholars. Cullen traces the growth of this viticultural industry through the eighteenth century, and yet he says nothing about how this dovetails with what other authors have said about the French economy as a whole or about wine trade in that period. Cullen notes

that the merchant houses that dominated the brandy trade tended to be Huguenot families or foreigners. The latter included, most famously, Jean Martell from the Channel Islands and Richard Hennessy from Ireland. Yet this book does not attempt to relate their stories to what other historians have said about Protestants or foreigners in eighteenth-century France. Finally, Cullen persuasively delineates the growing prosperity and complexity of all areas of brandy production and trade. However, without some comparisons to other areas of commerce (for example, Steven L. Kaplan's several books on the grain trade and breadmaking), one cannot have a good grasp of just how well developed the brandy trade was.

Admittedly, to raise these questions is to risk asking Cullen to write a book that he did not intend to write. Economic historians of the Old Regime can be grateful for what he has produced: a finely crafted monograph on an important topic.

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FREDERIC LAWRENCE HOLMES. *Antoine Lavoisier—The Next Crucial Year, or The Sources of His Quantitative Method in Chemistry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 184. \$35.00.

In this short, lively, and illuminating interpretation of Antoine Lavoisier's experimental work in 1773, Frederic Lawrence Holmes engages specific issues in Lavoisier studies as well as broader issues on writing the history of science.

The title of the book rightly suggests a starting point in Henry Guerlac's well-known book, *Lavoisier—The Crucial Year: The Background and Origins of His First Experiments on Combustion in 1772* (1961). In an analysis that remains part of the mainstream of studies of the “Chemical Revolution,” Guerlac traced the origins of Lavoisier's interest in chemical combustion to the year 1772, noting the importance of Lavoisier's experiments on phosphorus and sulfur for his later theory of oxidation and his reconstruction of the system of chemistry.

Using Lavoisier's laboratory notebooks and other sources, Holmes takes up Lavoisier's experimental path from October 1772 to January 1774, bringing the reader to grips with Lavoisier's work and, insofar as possible, his intentions and speculations. What results is a finely honed and finely structured account of the ups and downs of what Holmes calls the “investigative pathway” of the scientist. Especially striking (and consistent with other historical accounts) is Holmes's depiction of the great ambitions of the youthful Lavoisier as he aimed to advance both chemical science and his own reputation within the forums of the Paris Academy of Sciences and the broader scientific community.

Yet, as Lavoisier embarked upon a course in October 1772 to demonstrate that the chemical processes of calcination and reduction require not a principle of

"phlogiston" but the absorption and release of an identifiable elastic fluid (gas), he met one obstacle after another. His laboratory equipment leaked or collapsed, the products of his chemical operations were not what he expected, the results of his calculations turned out to be inconsistent with his assumptions, and he found himself ill-prepared for Academy meetings, so that he exaggerated in public the character and certainty of what he had been able to demonstrate to himself in private. As a consequence, Lavoisier's bold hopes that his research would bring about a revolution became transformed by late 1773 into the more humble claim that his recent studies of elastic fluids contributed importantly to the ongoing revolution in chemistry begun by Stephen Hales, Joseph Black, and their successors.

Even as Lavoisier was failing to prove correct his particular theory of combustion during the course of 1773, however, he was inventing a quantitative style of chemical experimentation that was to become known as the "balance-sheet" method of studying chemical reactions. While other chemists had loosely employed the assumption of the conservation of matter, Lavoisier came to apply it precisely in calculating the weights of chemical substances, including the elastic fluids. In doing so, he developed a repertoire of apparatus and related procedures that were far superior to those with which he began.

Holmes's account demonstrates how Lavoisier's scientific creativity and originality were rooted in ingenious and inventive responses to the obstacles, accidents, and setbacks that he faced in the early days of his chemical investigations. This brief and engaging study makes superb use of surviving laboratory notebooks in order to follow the scientist's "investigative pathway," a methodology that Holmes has applied elsewhere in larger and more detailed studies of Claude Bernard, Hans Krebs, and Lavoisier. As Holmes argues in his conclusion, the laboratory notebook provides a record of the private science that is fundamental and complementary to the public science found in the published article or the public forum. This is a book that should be read by historians, scientists, and students for insights both into scientific practice and the historian's craft.

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JACALYN DUFFIN. *To See with a Better Eye: A Life of R. T. H. Laennec*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. Pp. xvii, 453. \$49.50.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the medicine practiced in Paris played a nodal role in the larger transition from traditional to modern medicine. The emergence of the hospital as the central locus of the diagnosis and care of patients, as well as for the training of future practitioners; the origins of pathological anatomy as an essential tool of diagnosis and the explanation of disease; the unification of medicine

and surgery; the birth of an "empirical" method for the evaluation of therapy; the emergence of an experimental physiology rooted in the reform of surgery but eventually challenging the supremacy of bedside experience: all have been attached historically to developments that occurred in Paris during this intense epoch in French history. Paris medicine also provided the model for change in other European countries, Great Britain, and the United States.

Following the appearance of Erwin Ackerknecht's compact yet vivid overview of *Medicine at the Paris Hospital: 1794-1848* (1967), the subject of Paris medicine has been a favorite topic for historians of medicine. Michel Foucault's *Naissance de la clinique* [Birth of the Clinic] (1963) portrayed the emergence of clinical medicine in Paris as a prototypical example of what Foucault afterward defined as an "epistemic rupture." Since then, historians have both challenged and extended the interpretations of Ackerknecht and Foucault, exploring various aspects of science and medicine in nineteenth-century France that have had major impact on the emergence of the "scientific" medicine of the later nineteenth and twentieth-century world.

No single individual played a more central role in what made Paris the leading center for these developments than R. T. H. Laennec (known to his family as Théophile), the inventor of the stethoscope and one of the leading proponents of the methods of pathological anatomy for which Paris became renowned. As George Weisz has shown, the historical image of Laennec changed dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century. At first acknowledged somewhat grudgingly, in part because his royalist sympathies were unpopular in the generation after his death in 1826, Laennec grew to a figure of mythical dimensions later in the century. To some historians then and now, his stethoscope and its more refined descendants have come to symbolize the break between an older medicine based on the individuality of the patient, with treatment based on close attention to subjective symptoms, and a modern medicine based on the physical examination, technology, and an objective knowledge of disease not directly accessible to the patient.

Jacalyn Duffin's book is a highly successful effort to rescue from these legendary overlays the historical life and personality of Laennec that can be retrieved from the rich archival resources—including personal correspondence, manuscripts, and hospital records—that trace his family life, his medical practice, and his innovations. Duffin has aimed to reintroduce the biographical dimension into a historiography that has recently focused more on the social aspects of Paris medicine than on the individuals who played prominent parts in its development.

In these pages, Laennec gradually comes alive as a complex personality, formed by the convoluted circumstances of his Breton family background. Ambitious and talented, only fitfully supported by an eccentric father, Laennec made his way in Paris through the

force of his determination and his natural skills. His conversion from apprentice surgeon in Napoleon's armies to supporter of the Restoration monarchy, though not fully explained, becomes reasonable in terms of the views of the associates he admired who rejected the materialism of postrevolutionary France.

The surviving sources are inadequate to give a full account of Laennec's "discovery" of mediate auscultation, using the rolled piece of paper, and later the wooden cylinder, that were the ancestors of the modern stethoscope; but Duffin gives a penetrating discussion of the uses Laennec made of his instrument to explore the pathology of the chest and the physiology and pathology of the heart. Duffin is able to bring modern knowledge of the function of the heart resourcefully to bear to defend Laennec from presentist dismissals of his exploration of the heart sounds on the grounds that he "misinterpreted" the sounds of the motions of the valves as muscular contractions. Given the knowledge of the time and contemporary interest in the heart, she shows, Laennec's investigations of the heart were impressive, even though soon corrected by others who adopted his method.

Duffin shows persuasively that, despite his deserved reputation as a leading advocate of pathological anatomy, Laennec did not think that all disease could be explained in terms of anatomical lesions. At heart, he was a functionalist who believed the causes of disease were physiological rather than anatomical, and that sometimes the origins of disease were psychological. There were, as he put it, "vital lesions" as well as physical ones.

Space does not permit an adequate commentary on this important book. Although some subjects are treated briefly enough to suggest that the author might have been pressed to keep the manuscript within the narrow bounds prescribed by modern publishing imperatives, there is ample development of the central themes. There are occasional wooden passages and abrupt shifts of topic, but at its best the prose is eloquent, and the discussions of some topics, such as the rivalry between Laennec and the popular iconoclastic F. J. V. Broussais, are brilliant. In its traditional as in its pathfinding characteristics, this is an outstanding contribution, not only to our understanding of the Paris school but to the broader historiography of the emergence of modern medicine.

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FRANCES MALINO, *A Jew in the French Revolution: The Life of Zalkind Hourwitz*. (Jewish Society and Culture.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. xix, 281.

As readily acknowledged by Frances Malino, this book is not just a biography; rather, "[Zalkind] Hourwitz is our guide" (p. 5). The striking, stimulating, sometimes irritating personality of this controversial Jewish activist is an excuse to engage once again in researching the complicated Jewish question during and after the

French Revolution. Very little could, however, be added to the biographical details offered by Michel Berr (1828). Zalkind Hourwitz lived in Paris, most of the time in rather strained conditions. For three years, however, he held the position of secretary-interpreter at the Bibliothèque Royale (1789–1792). He never married and no portrait of him has reached us. In the numerous papers he published in periodicals of the time, he was singled out for his sarcastic, provocative, and careless style.

For a "Polish Jew"—as he steadily called himself—who could only read Hebrew when he left his native Lithuania to have composed several erudite works on language(s) was quite an achievement. This aspect is not central to Malino's study, although she nevertheless remarks that the creation of a universal language (Polygraphie) was indeed a topic in tune with the tendency toward universalism after the revolution—a topic developed some eighty years later by another Polish Jew, Ludwig Zamenhof. Hourwitz's system was presented at the Institut de France, where a number of the Idéologues showed polite interest (pp. 161–67).

More central in Malino's study, as has been the case with most previous authors who have written on Hourwitz, is his *Apologie des Juifs* (1789). This polemical work made him widely known and was directly related to the Jewish question. No doubt, the Catholic Abbé Grégoire (with whom, together with the Protestant C. A. Thiéry, lawyer to the parlement of Nancy, Hourwitz shared the prize offered by the Metz Academy of Arts and Sciences) is the only authority known today as a defender of the Jews' "regeneration." This was, however, not the state of the art in 1789. Malino indeed stresses that Stanislas Clermont-Tonnerre once said that the only one among the three candidates who spoke like a philosophe was Hourwitz (p. 200). Malino has little to say on how the *Apologie* was received by the Jewish establishment (but see pp. 57–59). Hourwitz's bitter criticism of the rabbis' "despotism" and of the conservative syndics could hardly have made him popular among the Jews. Paradoxically, the Polish Jew Hourwitz felt closer to the polished and cultured "Portuguese" Jews, although one of their leaders, S. Lopes-Dubec, severely criticized him for demeaning the Jews (pp. 59, 72). No explanation is offered to the fact that Hourwitz was able to live unharmed through the Terror, although he had been very close to A.-J. Gorsas, J.-B. Brissot, Anacharsis Cloots, and to his Jewish neighbor Jacob Pereyra, all of whom perished on the scaffold (pp. 137–39).

Among his repeated efforts to secure an academic position, Hourwitz applied for the Chair of Hebrew Language and Literature at the Collège de France in 1799. Only in 1864, however, could such a position be awarded to a Jewish scholar, none other than the famous orientalist Salomon Munk, who succeeded Ernest Renan. Hourwitz even stood for being sent to Egypt in order to search for Hebrew antiquities and to establish a French school for the Jews in Cairo (pp. 153–55).

As Malino states in her conclusion, Hourwitz “joined utopian visionaries and idealistic educators” (p. 201). I agree with her when she remarks that “he had none of the intellectual rigor of a philosopher” but am less convinced that he lacked “the spiritual sensitivities of a theologian” (p. 206). To be sure, when theology meddles with politics, “sensitivities” often disintegrate. Be this as it may, Hourwitz stands out as an intelligent, creative, though provocative and unpredictable observer of the French Revolution and its aftermath.

Malino’s book is a splendid piece of work, well-researched and richly annotated. For some unknown reason, she does not mention a study she devoted to Hourwitz in 1981 (translated into French in *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 13 [special issue]: 79–89). It should perhaps also be mentioned that the well-documented master’s thesis of Anna-Ruth Löwenbrück was later summarized as “Zalkind Hourwitz—Ein jüdischer Aufklärer zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution,” in *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte: Sozialgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1991): 77–101.

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DOMINIQUE GODINEAU. *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*. Translated by KATHERINE STREIP. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 26.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998. Pp. xxii, 415.

This book, a translation of the French *Citoyenne tricoteuses: Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (1988), draws on a wealth of hitherto untapped archival material to show the significant and integral place of ordinary women in the French Revolution. It is a feminist revision of what Dominique Godineau calls the masculine “big story” (p. xvi), which discusses women, if at all, as a sideshow. To counter this view, she traces French women’s pivotal involvement in events and their developing sense of themselves as citizens. She describes their evolving political consciousness and their activities (both measured and violent) in the streets and markets, in the forty-eight sections of Paris, in their own clubs throughout the departments, and in the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women (SRRW). The writing is repetitious and confusing in places, and the book has structural flaws, switching between chronological and thematic organization. It tends to get bogged down in details, and there are not always corresponding footnotes for every claim. But for the most part, the work is convincing and the general argument adequately supported: “Without strident heroism, women of the people were part of the Revolution from the very beginning” (p. 97).

For background, Godineau describes the everyday lives of women during the revolution—laundresses, prostitutes, fishwives, seamstresses, laborers, domestics, teachers, midwives—as well as their desire for

stable marriages and their disappointments on that score. Many had to settle for “free unions” instead, which could create problems for them and their illegitimate children when their men, not officially their husbands, failed to return from the wars. Even when their soldiers did return, relationships often soured and dissolved. Records reveal much evidence of violence and brutality against women; their precarious status frequently translated into destitution. Women were constantly preoccupied with their role as nurturers of their families, wasting inordinate amounts of time on lines for bread, eggs, meat, vegetables, and soap during the many periods of shortage and famine. The revolution acknowledged and appreciated their generative role as mothers of future republicans, but the women wanted more. When divorce was legalized between 1793 and 1795, nearly three-fourths of the 6,000 requests were from women who then, Godineau tries to demonstrate, savored their independence. For along with their anxiety and suffering, there was surely much adaptability and perseverance. Life went on. Godineau is careful not to overdramatize the hardships, asking “do happy people have no history” just because “they leave less trace in the archives?” (p. 51).

Although the presence of women in the October march to Versailles is generally accepted, it is usually portrayed as a protest over issues of subsistence, as are various lootings and forced sales. Godineau argues that although the “historiography of the Revolution has ‘preferred’ to present only the image of apolitical female rioters” (p. 117), in fact these women mobilized much more over political issues than food shortages. She goes on to show the powerful presence of women patriots in bringing down the Girondins during the insurrectional days of May 31–June 2 and their strenuous urgings for the Terror and its revolutionary tribunals, and she shows that the participation of women in the popular movement was accepted by the revolutionary authorities with indulgence and enthusiasm in that summer of 1793.

What, then, caused the dramatic turning against women and the suppression of their clubs in October 1793? Godineau’s analysis goes way beyond the usual platitudes on this subject—the linking of all women with the treacherous Charlotte Corday, for example—by examining the activities of the SRRW during this time. These fervent supporters of the revolution, who swore to repopulate France with as many baby Marats as they could make, had previously been taken very seriously, at the Cordeliers club and at the Convention itself, on the subject of national security especially and the role women might play in defending the interior from suspects. But they then became sidetracked by the project of erecting an obelisk to the martyred Marat and devoted their energies almost exclusively to that for many weeks. Only in late August did the women of the club reconcern themselves with broader matters, and Godineau argues that their absence and silence during that critical summer was

irreversibly damaging. Divisions within the club itself also undermined its ability to function effectively.

All along, women read the newspapers or listened to them being read, and washerwomen and dressmakers thus acquired a political awareness that allowed them to shape their aspirations. In spite of their official suppression, they tried again to come together and make a difference. But "after the failure of the Prairial insurrection there was no longer a mass women's movement" (p. 364).

These "knitters" were neither gentle and weak nor hot-headed and harmful, neither angels nor monsters. Godineau gives us their own vibrant voices as human beings caught in the special ambiguity of women in the revolutionary movement. Excluded from the political body, their presence was, paradoxically, needed in order to demonstrate its unity. When women gathered at the Convention in June 1793 to accept the constitution, for example, this was a public act demonstrating their citizenship. But, in fact, that citizenship would only be realized in the distant future.

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SUSAN GROGAN. *Flora Tristan: Life Stories*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. 280. \$75.00.

In the 154 years since her death at the age of forty-one, when she succumbed to typhus in Bordeaux in the arms of her admirers and friends, Flora Tristan has inspired numerous biographies. Regrettably, the publisher of Susan Grogan's new book did not see fit to include a bibliography that could have indicated each of the attempts to present Tristan's life to the public. A study of the introduction and its endnotes reveals a minimum of fourteen full-scale biographies, the most recent one published in 1994. One is prompted to ask whether Grogan's treatment has added anything significant to the considerable body of work devoted to Tristan.

Curiously, in the face of all this scholarship, Grogan has concluded that it is not possible "to grasp the 'real' Tristan. "But we can," she says, "glimpse a historical figure assuming a variety of guises, an image shifting as we change our perspective but also as she changed her own" (p. 11). Grogan has been influenced by the now commonplace wisdom that historians interpret historical figures through the lens of the present. Rejecting the possibility of writing a "real" biography, she follows the suggestion in Liz Stanley's *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (1992) and looks at Tristan's life kaleidoscopically. Thus, Grogan organizes her book thematically, eschewing chronology.

The kaleidoscopic approach as practiced by Grogan creates a serious problem for the reader who wishes to understand how Tristan's ideas developed. Her thematic approach implies that if there is any development of ideas, it is impossible to narrate their evolution. For example, in the chapter titled "Traveller,"

Grogan includes some provocative lines from Tristan's last book, *Tour de France* (unpublished until 1973): "Oh! how unfortunate is the person who is born, lives and dies in the same place and circumstances. In this respect I am privileged. —What life was ever more varied than mine! In these 40 years, I have lived through so many centuries!" (p. 59). Without much commentary on this statement, Grogan shifts her point of view and starts the next chapter, "Women Authors." Here she quotes from Tristan's first book, *The Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1837): "I have not sought to attract attention to myself personally, but indeed to all those women who find themselves in the same position, and whose number increases daily" (p. 66). The reader is left to wonder whether Tristan saw herself as representative of all women, as the second citation indicates, or as unique, as noted in the first citation. They are presented in reverse chronological order, and there is no attempt to draw these two points together to suggest a changing point of view.

Grogan's structure places limits on narrating Tristan's socioeconomic history as well as the history of ideas. In the chapter titled "Socialist," Grogan introduces important new information about Tristan's finances. Apparently Tristan's inheritance in 1835 resulted in a tidy investment portfolio. Grogan learned that Tristan left the considerable sum of 23,000 francs to each of her two children at the time of her death. Tristan's financial well-being is also important to several other aspects of her story. Knowing more about her economic standing is important to understanding her position as a woman author and as a social scientist; it also helps to explain her entree to Simon Ganneau and his circle of Alphonse-Louis Constant and Alphonse Esquiros. But Grogan does not make any of these connections.

In her epilogue, Grogan refers to a line from Paul Gauguin, Tristan's grandson, who described his grandmother's life as a mixture of "fables and truths" (p. 217). Grogan believes that it is difficult to know where truth ends and fable begins for Tristan and her previous biographers, but she thinks that it is possible to learn from both the fable and the fact. I would agree with her conclusion, but I regret that her methodology does not lead to greater understanding.

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ALAIN CORBIN. *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*. Translated by MARTIN THOM. (European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 416. \$35.00.

Ringling, pealing, chiming, tolling, knelling, carillonning, bells were an integral part of the auditory landscape of the world we have lost. They warned, alarmed, reassured, informed, lamented, rejoiced, invited to prayer, solemnized rites of passage, marked off work from

rest, noted great events, and voiced authority. Their coded messages determined duration and measured time when timepieces were scarce; divided the day and the liturgical year, *les travaux et les jours*; announced the arrival of the tax collector or the opening of the market; summoned the national guard or conscripts before the draft board and, later, children to school or voters to the polls.

Alain Corbin has shown great flair for hitherto unasked questions and stones long left unturned: odors fair or foul, the lure of the sea, ladies for hire, even the language and logic of cannibalism. Now he turns to village bells and to the role these played, mostly in the countryside of nineteenth-century France. The result is fascinating.

The book begins in the 1790s with the revolutionary campaign to silence religion in the air as on land and to desacralize a hitherto sonorous landscape. Between 1791 and 1795, some 50,000 tons of consecrated metal were removed, sold, carted off, smashed, and melted; but they were also defended in riots and bloody clashes, hidden, buried, or smuggled away. Resistance, as Corbin makes clear, reflected less religious fervor than attachment to local customs in which bells played a crucial part, not least in shielding communities from harm. Ringing bells drove off demons, turned away evil spirits, repelled tempest, thunder, lightning, hail, and frost. What, in their absence, would protect the community, let alone affirm its individuality, in a jungle of rival rural societies, all equally "obsessed by the demarcation of communal identities" (p. 73)?

The revolutionary attempt to stifle the auditory ascendancy of bells and desacralize space and time failed. Napoleon loved the sound of bells; religious bell ringing was restored in 1802, with the Concordat. It was to last a good deal longer than subsequent monarchies, and Corbin provides interesting details about the casting of bells, their blessing, christening, and godparenting, the bells of honor, peals of pride, knells of lamentation, and other varieties of sound that went into the peal soup of village communications.

Campanology, henceforth, faced not hostile governments but the competition of neighboring villages, rival local cliques, and secular local authorities like the mayor, eager to master the power of their peals. Corbin chronicles their pretensions and rivalries, the feuds capable of festering for decades, the bellnapings, confrontations, and "wars" over bells, peals, bell-ringers, control of bell towers, their keys and doors and ropes—some Clochemerlesque, many involving serious combat and even military intervention. Anathemas, exorcisms, and interdicts were brandished in contests between sacred and profane or local and supralocal interests, and many a suit, judgment, and appeal wound its slow course from village all the way to Paris.

Bells anchored localism and spoke for it; their sonorities were practically the only manmade sounds to breach the rural silence, and they enjoyed distinct personalities. Bells flew to Jerusalem to peal the

Savior's birth, lapsed into silence to rue his Passion, and boasted a special patron, St. Theodulus, his attribute a bell. When Corbin traces relations between communities and their carillons, words like *delight*, *glory*, *loyalty*, and *pride* keep cropping up, and so does *humiliation*, should access be lost or possession or control forfeited. If anyone doubts the resilience of local identities and localist perspectives in nineteenth-century France, this book should make them think again.

The panorama of sound changed; the ending century ushered in new sonorities, values, and expectations; identities found different markers. As the message of peals became less relevant, their meaning was lost. The sound of bells, once welcomed, began to be resented as pointless, offensive noise. Campanophiles had invoked their right to aural information, but their heirs asserted a right to silence. Corbin has told his diverse tale with talent and illustrated it with telling archival detail.

The translation is adequate most of the time but irritating when it ignores common usage; even more when it allows the title and running head of part two (130 pages long) to read *L'Esprit du* [instead of *de*] *clocher*.

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WILLIAM B. COHEN. *Urban Government and the Rise of the French City: Five Municipalities in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xiv, 338. \$49.95.

William B. Cohen has set out to demonstrate that nineteenth-century provincial French municipalities were no mere pawns in the hands of the bureaucrats representing the centralized state. Rather, he concludes that a strongly developed "local patriotism provided an ideological underpinning for urban government, explaining its drive, independent of the central government, to play an increasing role in the life of its citizens" (p. 19) and that French municipalities were "the principal actors responsible for transforming their cities" (p. 21).

Particularly interested in describing the development of public services and the gradual creation of a modern bureaucracy, Cohen picked five cities for his study: Lyon, France's (then) second largest city, a storied old manufacturing center; Marseille, major Mediterranean port; Bordeaux, another port, commercial center of the Bordeaux wine trade; St. Étienne, the burgeoning industrial center (ribbons and the manufacture of armaments, with mines as well as smaller manufacturing towns nearby); and Toulouse, administrative and commercial center on the edge of the Pyrenees. These choices, with Lyon standing as the most northern of the cities, gives this book a decidedly southern look. Cohen has been able to draw on the considerable body of secondary literature (though

there are a few surprising omissions) that exists for each city. The book thus has the quality of synthesis but is, first and foremost, built on solid research in the relevant departmental and municipal archives, as well as in the Archives Nationales.

The book offers students of urban history some extremely useful chapters. One of the most interesting is on the financing of French municipalities, which drew most of their income from the *octroi*, or customs barrier that ringed French cities and towns until World War II. The most original chapter may be Cohen's comparative study of municipal theaters, "the primary schools of enlightened men" (p. 130). He picks up the theme suggested by a comment by the mayor of Toulouse in the year XI that linked an active municipal theater with "public tranquillity" (p. 131). Cohen also presents a detailed discussion of education in these five cities, documenting increasing municipal allocations, the evolution of secularization and the impact of laicization, the problems of attracting good teachers, changes in methods of instruction, the percentage of children actually attending school, and the increase in the number of girls being educated. Here, again, his purpose is to show "the richness in diversity and the power of local government to shape and influence even a program as ostensibly centralized (by the 1880s) as the French educational system" (p. 126). Another chapter describes and assesses some of the gradual accomplishments of the municipalities in improving public health, plunging the reader into subheadings such as "rainwater," "human waste," "cesspits and tubs," and "unitary sewers." To some extent, these particular stops may be what used to be called "mains and drains" urban history, but, within the context of a solid and significant problematic, the result is quite worthwhile. The chapter on municipal welfare includes a fascinating section on municipal pawnshops. "Reorganizing Urban Space" assesses municipal initiatives for urban renewal in each of the cities, giving credit to the July Monarchy for laying the foundations for subsequent, though usually modest, improvements during the Second Empire and Third Republic.

The merits of this study are considerable and far outweigh the few quibbles that follow. Rouen is oddly listed among cities that grew without industrialization, which is not the case, and two pages later, the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce is quoted as proclaiming that the *chef-lieu* of the Gironde was not an industrial city like Rouen. Some points that are made almost in passing require explanation: for example, the author notes without comment that among his cities St.-Étienne alone had more births than deaths. That St.-Étienne drew much of its population from the relatively practicing Catholic Haute-Loire certainly was an explanatory factor. There are some mistakes, as well, inevitable in an ambitious comparative study. For example, basic requirements for appointment as *commissaire de police* date not from 1848 but half a century earlier. Cohen writes that no complete files exist on municipal employees, but this is not the case, particu-

larly as he notes that the police may be best defined by their status as municipal officials: virtually complete records on the *commissaires de police* in French cities and towns may be found for the first half of the century in series F⁷ in the Archives Nationales in Paris.

In an admirable desire to emphasize municipal initiatives and counter an over-emphasis on state centralization, Cohen exaggerates the degree to which French municipalities retained control over the police. During the Restoration, for example, Lyon's municipal council fought a protracted losing and well-documented battle with the ministry of interior and prefect for control of the police. In fact, at least six times during the Restoration the municipal council expressed its formal wish that it control its own police, and each time the prefect simply annulled the deliberations as if the council members had never gathered together to express their opinions. During the Restoration and July Monarchy, which were crucial periods in the professionalization of the police, the ministry of the interior and the prefects who reported to it held the reins of the police, appointing, transferring, and firing *commissaires de police*, while mayors and councils (and Lyon was hardly alone) fumed. Indeed, the archives provide many examples of *commissaires de police* being fired or transferred over the objections of mayors and municipal councils. National criteria, often shaped by political considerations, remained—at least for the first half of the century—absolutely crucial to the hiring and fate of *commissaires de police*. However, Cohen is certainly correct to insist on municipal resistance as police were taken away from the "municipal" aspects of policing and assigned to political tasks or others under the direction of prefects, leaving the tasks of policing markets, prostitutes, street cleaning, and so on to their miserably paid *agents*, who did not have the authority to write out a police summons. Yet, it is difficult to agree with him that it was only by 1855 that the prefects "gained control over the police forces of all large cities" (p. 87). The story is more complicated than that.

It may be that a more nuanced picture of policing might have been present in an earlier, longer text. There are times when one is cruising happily along in the book and comes upon an interesting subject that seems briefly developed, sometimes reduced to a short paragraph, suggesting that major cuts have been made. Moreover, there are no maps and certainly should have been. And St. Martin's Press should be embarrassed for not having allocated space for a bibliography. However, the publisher can be justly proud of having published an original, excellent, and important book from which one can learn much. Cohen deserves congratulations.

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ROBERT ELLIOT KAPLAN. *Forgotten Crisis: The Fin-de-Siècle Crisis of Democracy in France*. New York: Berg. 1995. Pp. xii, 211. \$47.50.

Robert Elliot Kaplan proposes a significant revision of the conventional portrait of French politics in the 1890s. He insists that it was dominated by the haute bourgeoisie's fear of democracy. The wealthy, who lived from their incomes, dreaded the consequences of universal male suffrage and the ramifications of democratic government. Although this privileged class had accepted a republic, they deployed all their power to retain actual control of the state. This tension between the demands of the "many," expressed in democratic elections, and the continued rule of the "few" was the central political crisis of the early Third Republic. Kaplan claims that by the end of the century it was resolved in favor of the haute bourgeoisie.

That resolution began with the intense struggle over the proposal for a progressive income tax. Kaplan demonstrates that in the mid-1890s this fiscal reform terrified the ruling elite. A progressive tax on declared income was the leading reform pledge of Radical republicans. Insightfully, Kaplan examines these educated, middle-class professionals who, using Jacobin rhetoric, challenged haut bourgeois power. Radicals spoke for provincial small-town property owners and the residents of popular neighborhoods in large cities, especially Paris. Their tax proposal was intended to reform the outmoded French fiscal system, to raise necessary revenue for future reforms, and to mitigate social and economic inequalities. Liberal and conservative representatives of the haute bourgeoisie regarded this reform as anathema, the initial step in a full-scale attack on private property and legitimate privilege.

The formation of Léon Bourgeois's homogeneous Radical government, committed to the passage of the progressive income tax, provoked the pivotal, although now forgotten, political crisis of the early Third Republic. In March 1896, the government proposed the tax reform, and a narrow majority of the Chamber of Deputies endorsed it. During the ensuing crisis the haute bourgeoisie mobilized the press, provincial Chambers of Commerce, deputies, and financiers to defeat this measure and unseat the Radical government. Most significantly, the more conservative Senate refused to pass any legislation until a government was formed in which it could have confidence. Thus, the indirectly elected Senate overturned a government that retained the confidence of the popularly elected Chamber. Kaplan views this powerful opposition to the income tax and a Radical government as a serious threat to the republic itself. Only because of Bourgeois's hasty resignation in April and the formation of precisely the government demanded by the Senate was a dangerous constitutional conflict averted.

In the late 1890s, then, the income tax proposal was dead, the Radicals out of power, and the country governed by a ministry sympathetic to the haute bourgeoisie. Kaplan argues, however, that this was only an interim solution to what the ruling class viewed as the potential dangers of democracy. He claims that this elite sought a permanent restructuring of French

politics that would ensure their continued control regardless of electoral results. Sharply dissenting from conventional accounts of this era, Kaplan insists that such a permanent solution was constructed by René Waldeck-Rousseau during his ministry of "republican defense," 1899–1902. Kaplan portrays Waldeck-Rousseau's objective as the transformation of the Third Republic into a regime in "which the wealthy few would not be overwhelmed by the many of democracy" (p. 170). This claim marks Kaplan's book as a revisionist study.

Waldeck-Rousseau, a leading moderate republican and inveterate opponent of the income tax, headed a center-left concentration ministry that included moderates, Radicals, and even an independent socialist. Contemporaries and historians have characterized this government as one of "republican defense," a victory for the Dreyfusards and a shift in political power to a broad, if amorphous, left-wing coalition. It inaugurated a period in which Radicals were preponderant in the Chamber and in governments. Kaplan presents a different picture. He regards the purported anti-Dreyfusard threat to the republic as a ploy fabricated by Waldeck-Rousseau in order to bring together his ministry and to tame the Radicals. This new government obscured the earlier sharp confrontation between the haute bourgeoisie and democratic forces. The premier skillfully divided parliamentary Radicals, alienating the nationalist Parisian Radicals who were devoted to the army, anti-Dreyfusards, and staunch supporters of the income tax as a means to increase military funding. Provincial Radicals, who accepted the need for "republican defense," abandoned the income tax reform and accepted instead "the plums of patronage" and "the cheap but effective glue of anticlericalism" (p. 153). Within this restructuring of political forces, moderate republicans, although a minority, were able to block any genuine threat to haut bourgeois interests and to eliminate tax reform from the parliamentary agenda.

Following this revision, Kaplan also proposes a new view of the Dreyfus Affair. In an appendix, which departs dramatically from the standard narrative, he claims that the army high command's condemnation of Alfred Dreyfus and its defense of that condemnation, while a miscarriage of justice, was rationally motivated: a necessary diversion to protect vital secrets of national defense, the development of rapid-fire field artillery.

The greatest difficulty with Kaplan's argument is his tenacious pursuit of a single explanation of French politics. Too often, Kaplan reduces the complexity of this period to a successful conspiracy of the haute bourgeoisie that blocked meaningful democratic reform. He admits that Waldeck-Rousseau's "parliamentary coup," making the republic safe for the wealthy, was a maneuver so well hidden that "[t]he vast majority of French, members of both the few and the many, never understood what had happened" (p. 170). Such an explanation leaves too many questions unanswered

or not even posed. Why does Kaplan insist on the profound difference between Waldeck-Rousseau's concentration ministry and Bourgeois's earlier all-Radical ministry when parliamentary coalitions supporting each one were so similar? By equating democratic reform exclusively with the income tax, Kaplan obscures how much proponents and opponents of the tax viewed it as part of a much broader agenda of change that included factory regulation, efforts to insure working-class security, and the continuing secularization of education. The dismissal of anticlericalism as an diversionary tactic, obfuscating real issues, has certainly been a standard element of many political histories. Such views underestimate the significance of this widespread political and cultural conflict rooted in passionate concerns about local control. Kaplan's designation of the Radicals as key political actors is well taken, and he astutely suggests tensions that made them far from unanimous Dreyfusards. Godefroy Cavaignac, the leading Radical anti-Dreyfusard, does merit more attention. However, his ever closer affiliation with the nationalists demonstrates more about the complex elements coalescing into the new right than it does about Radicals. Despite the importance Kaplan gives to the Radicals, he ignores the 1901 formation of the Radical Party and the 1902 election that, much more than the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, ensured their political preeminence. The Radical demand for a progressive income tax continued until its passage in 1916.

This book raises several important issues that unfortunately are not fully explored. Occasionally one has the impression that the author was in the midst of several distinct and promising research projects: haut bourgeois fears of democracy, the progressive income tax, parliamentary Radicals, General Cavaignac, the development of new artillery weapons, the Dreyfus Affair. In an effort to link them all to one overarching explanation of haut bourgeois conspiracy, Kaplan attempts too much and neglects to develop some of his own thought-provoking insights into *fin-de-siècle* politics.

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LESLIE DERFLER. *Paul Lafargue and the Flowering of French Socialism, 1882-1911*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 369. \$45.00.

Frequently derided by contemporaries and historians alike as dogmatic and superficial transmitters of an ideology they could neither understand nor even read in its original language, French Marxists of the early Third Republic were eclipsed by socialists who were doctrinally flexible and appreciative of opportunities presented by the Republic. The contrast between Jean Jaurès and Jules Guesde neatly summarizes the issues: Jaurès, the tireless idealist, believed that hearts and minds could be won over to socialism, that all of humanity was capable of creating justice; Guesde, the

relentless materialist, rejected anything but a revolutionary vision of the future and rebuffed efforts at sensible compromise. Guesde's intransigence, shared by his close comrades, it is further argued, condemned his Parti Ouvrier to the role of a noisy but increasingly smaller sect. Prisoners of ideology, they spoke for but a fragment of the working class, and not for very long. Studies of the *Guesdistes* since the 1960s, however, suggest much more ideological ferment, political flexibility, and meaningful representation of French workers. Claude Willard, in *Les Guesdistes* (1965), revealed Guesde to be more artful as a political tactician, more open to realities than his supposed intransigence would allow. Robert Stuart, in *Marxism at Work* (1992), convincingly demonstrated the appeal and relevance of the Parti Ouvrier within working-class ranks.

Leslie Derfler knows this territory very well. Author of a biography of Alexandre Millerand, onetime socialist turned renegade, then recast as a conservative, and another on Paul Lafargue's early career, he has had access to multiple sources, especially to vital correspondence, which he employs skillfully. Although he emphasizes that this is a biography, not a history of socialism, Derfler nonetheless has crafted a substantial account of French socialism from the second decade of the Third Republic to the eve of World War I. This is so because Lafargue was supremely positioned to be a key participant, if only because of his marriage to Marx's daughter and his close relationship with Engels, relationships which some thought gave validation to his views. While Guesde was the effective leader of the Parti Ouvrier, Lafargue was its co-founder in 1882 and its acknowledged chief theoretician, remaining a major figure after socialist unification in 1905 until his suicide in 1911.

Derfler allows that Lafargue's relationship with Guesde was an uneasy one, and that their views often diverged sharply. Lafargue embraced positions that hardly suggest ideological rigidity, even when couched in Marxist language. Absolutely convinced of the inevitability of proletarian revolution, Lafargue would have used unlikely instruments to advance the cause: General Boulanger, for one, could be useful to socialists, a terrifying proposition to German socialist ears; Alfred Dreyfus presented another opportunity to strike at capitalism, of which militarism was a product. With Guesde, Lafargue thought elections useful as pulpits of propaganda, was convinced municipal socialism was a sound prospect, and conceded that a socialist parliamentary group could be a force for advance of the socialist agenda. Whatever his tactical meandering, Lafargue remained sure that in it there was embedded a universal Marxist key.

Derfler demonstrates that, above all, Lafargue wanted his party to be a teacher; its weapon was the word. Propaganda and politics were to be the means of action, not incendiary violence or general strikes. A mediocre orator at best, Lafargue's strengths as theoretician and teacher derived from his wide-ranging intelligence and knowledge as much as from his tire-

less activity as a pamphleteer, contributor to innumerable journals, and speaker to small groups. Unlike most of his fellow socialists, Lafargue appreciated that politics and mass action were not the only arenas of combat. Rather he was persuaded that the underpinnings of bourgeois society, such as education and literature, which shaped attitudes and determined certain outcomes, should be objects of Marxist attack. Derfler persuasively argues that Lafargue had cultural politics always in mind; his was a "forty-year effort to destroy the existing bourgeois cultural climate" (p. 32), which led him to denounce Hugo and even Zola. Literary criticism was but part of his larger war against capitalism, an effort to unmask its literary disguises. Lafargue applied his Marxist methods in many fields, including history, religion, philosophy, not always with consistency but with sure purpose, namely to destroy values which gave continuing life to bourgeois society. In sum, Derfler shows Lafargue to have been a serious and lively mind, albeit one with "floods of insight, but insufficient evidence" (p. 186). Even his most famous tract, *The Right to be Lazy* (1883), often caricatured and to some scandalous, offered an insightful critique of the values of hard work as being fictions of the bourgeoisie. One does not have to concur with Derfler's conclusion that Lafargue "did much to familiarize the French labor force with Marxism" (p. 304) to recognize, thanks to this sympathetic but critical study, that here indeed was a formidable and original theoretician.

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SHANNY PEER. *France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair*. (SUNY Series in National Identities.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 265. \$21.95.

Toward the end of an academic dinner in the south of France, a professor specializing in the history of rural France offered the opinion that "the future will be rural, or it will not be." Her hyperbolic remark drew embarrassed chuckles. Just the same, no one in this group of French academics disputed her core contention: namely, that the very image of France is bound up in the idea of the rural; the peasant and the rural landscape must somehow figure in any acceptable vision of the future of France.

Shanny Peer's intelligent and engagingly written book chooses a particularly rich moment, the 1937 Paris World's Fair, to explore how the idea of the peasant was nationalized, how it became part of how France represented itself to itself and to the world. The 1937 Fair—the same one that featured a glaring face-off of heroically monumental representations of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany—emphasized the heterogeneity of France and the French. It featured displays of French regional cultures, including regional crafts, regional costume, and popular dance. It created the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires.

The Fair's Rural Center touted family farming, promising a happy marriage of modernity and the cultivation of the land on a modest scale. Above all, it was an exposition largely sponsored and organized by the Popular Front government of Socialist Léon Blum. It was a celebration of the peasant and the folkloric by the French left.

Neutralizing the political image of the peasant was not easy. For much of the nineteenth century, the peasant as icon and as constituent was largely abandoned to the political right, and for cause: the left owned the towns and cities; hence, the left owned the future. As for the right, until the 1880s, many royalists firmly believed that the French heartland, *la France profonde*, was monarchist. Peasants were the privileged repositories of the values of True France. Peasants were in the majority. Thus, a truly democratic France would be monarchical. For the right, unruly Paris prevented France from being what it truly was by imposing its will through regular coups d'état, as in 1792, 1830, 1848, and 1871.

By the 1930s, where Peer's narrative picks up, the cultural function of the peasant and the provincial had changed. The peasant no longer served as the brutish point of origin in a trajectory leading from superstition and bovine backwardness to Paris and Enlightenment. Instead, *pays*, *paysan*, and *paysage* had become ways for France and the French to rethink their relationship to progress and modernity. In the aftermath of the debilitating war of 1914–1918, in the middle of the Great Depression, and faced with the outsized industrial power of the American economy, French of the left and the right drew on the folkloric and the peasant to imagine a different path to modernity. America became the metaphor for an anomic society cast free of its cultural moorings, sacrificing everything—quality, authenticity, craft—on the altar of maximized output. This caricatured America left France free to embrace its diversity, make French regions into cultural consumables for tourists; and fashion "authentic" regional products for export.

For peasants and folklore safely to be used in this way, they had first to be depoliticized and nationalized. One fascinating section of Peer's admirable book shows how Parisian committees determined canonical styles for regional artifacts, even going so far as to devise stylistically correct models to be turned over to provincial artisans for study and reproduction. Regional folkways were now recognized as important and distinct, but Paris reserved the right to show exactly how and why. Meanwhile, regionalism that threatened to diverge toward political autonomy or reaction—Corsica, Catalonia, the West—was stifled. Representation was everything in determining whether regions were an asset or a threat. Paris still knew how to govern unruly provinces.

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PABLO E. PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA. *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*. Translated by CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. PP. xi, 289. \$29.95.

This book by Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína is a fascinating account of the men and ships that plied the seas between Spain and Spanish America in the sixteenth century. It was originally published in Spanish during the quincentenary of Columbus's 1492 voyage of exploration. It now appears in an excellent English translation by Carla Rahn Phillips, whose own work in this field is well known.

In the sixteenth century, Spain's control over its overseas possessions depended on the maintenance of communications between the peninsula and Spanish America. The merchant vessels and armed ships that formed the fleets that sailed back and forth across the great trajectory called the *Carrera de Indias* represented the chain that held the empire together, and the men who manned these ships are the subject of Pérez-Mallaína's book. His sources are drawn primarily from the records of the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. The author has also made skillful use of other contemporary accounts and available secondary sources.

For the crews of the Indies fleet, the route to the New World began in the departure port of Seville. Pérez-Mallaína provides a vivid account of the urban environment of the town as it related to the seafaring population. One of their favorite haunts was the Arenal, a sandy stretch of beach between the river and the city wall that was the center of the city's port life. Triana's proximity to the river made it the favored residential quarter of the men engaged in the *Carrera de Indias*. Those who held the highest position in the maritime hierarchy—captains and ship's masters—had their own houses on the district's main street, the Calle Larga. Simple sailors, by contrast, lived in the many *corrales* or collective residences in Triana and other parts of the city.

The core of this book is an analysis of the origins and social conditions of the men who formed the crews of the *Carrera de Indias*. With the exception of the admirals and generals who commanded the fleets, they were poor men. Some had a family tradition of seafaring, but most were driven to it out of necessity. From the beginning, foreign sailors formed an important part of the Spanish armadas and fleet. According to the author, fifty percent were Portuguese, followed by the Italians, who represented twenty-five percent. An analysis of 4,839 men in different armadas and fleets in the sixteenth century produced a total of 981 foreign crewmen; that is to say, one in five crewmen was not Spanish. Many of the foreigners signed up as sailors simply as a way to emigrate to the New World. Others who were natives saw it as a opportunity for free passage.

One of the most valuable chapters deals with the

ship as a place of work. The daily routine aboard ship and the tasks assigned to each of the men are described in detail. The division of labor was clearly defined. Particularly informative is the author's discussion of salaries of the men and the ways of increasing their incomes through contraband and bribery.

Chapter four is devoted to the oppressive conditions on a cramped ship at sea. The seafarer's life was a daily struggle against seasickness, bad food, and disease, not to mention the threat of storms and pirates. The lack of living space was one of the most important factors in promoting disputes. According to Pérez-Mallaína, about half of the sailors bore the marks of wounds on their faces and hands as a result of brawls. Punishment for knife wounds, if not fatal, consisted of being hoisted up a pulley and dropped. Minor offenses were punished by a month with feet in the stocks.

The author concludes his account of the life of men in the Indies fleet with a discussion of their religious beliefs. He finds that they were rather unorthodox, a mixture of religiosity and disinterest in complying with the precepts of the Catholic Church; in other words, blasphemies were as frequent as prayers.

This book, written with wit and imagination, is a valuable contribution to Spain's maritime history and an important work in Spanish social history of the period.

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PALOMA FERNÁNDEZ PÉREZ. *El rostro familiar de la metrópoli: Redes de parentesco y lazos mercantiles en Cádiz, 1700-1812*. (Unicaja: Obra Socio Cultural.) Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España. 1997. Pp. xxi, 311.

Eighteenth-century Cádiz was an unusual place, at least by Spanish standards. This was less a question of size—by 1770, it was Spain's fourth largest city, housing some 65,000 inhabitants—than of function. Having replaced Seville as the principal conduit for the buoyant trade with the New World colonies not only brought Cádiz unprecedented prosperity but also endowed it with a large and wealthy merchant community, most of whose members initially hailed from elsewhere. Many came from the rest of Spain, particularly the Basque country and the other Cantabrian regions, Catalonia, and above all Andalusia. Yet many were born abroad, especially in France, Italy, and Ireland, or were born into foreign families recently established in the city. The result was a remarkably cosmopolitan atmosphere, one in which cultural pluralism and easygoing social attitudes helped lay the foundations for Cádiz's later prominence in the history of Spanish liberalism. A different if related set of consequences—the impact of the city's commercial vocation and spirit on the organization and character of elite merchant families—constitutes the principal theme of this study by Paloma Fernández Pérez.

Family life at these upper reaches proved distinctive

in several respects. Cádiz was a locus of mobility, both social and geographical, and marriage into local families was an important means of achieving or consolidating individual success. One relatively stable pattern of integration found established families recruiting sons-in-law from the ranks of newcomers to the city. These *yernos* were then drawn into managing roles in the family business and often into residing within the bride's household. Dowries were frequently invested back into the firm, thus mitigating the threat to the accumulation of capital posed by Castile's partible inheritance laws. (Other devices to the same end included dispatching unmarried daughters to local convents, instituting chaplaincies and other bequests favorable to members of the kin group, and using what testamentary leeway one could indirectly to favor single heirs. Formal entails, however, appear to have been created only rarely, which doubtless reflected a strong reluctance to immobilize capital needed for long-distance trade.) Many of these cheaply acquired husbands left for the New World shortly after their weddings, although the intensification of colonial trade during the second half of the century encouraged a growing number of men to marry at a later age, following rather than immediately preceding their terms as factors and agents overseas. According to Fernández, one product of these high levels of mobility and periodic male out-migration was that elite women, especially when widowed, were able to play prominent roles in family firms. They also increasingly participated in an emerging "public sphere" of sociability and cultural consumption. Another, less visible result was the younger generation's slow disengagement in the final years of the century from the patriarchal, corporate family ethos of the past, as both male and female members of the elite drifted toward modern individualism and meritocracy.

This book is clearly structured, well written, and thoroughly researched. Most of its evidence derives from notarial documents, especially testaments. The author has mined the latter for many revealing details, which she presents by scattering individual case studies throughout the text. Despite the obvious striving for synthesis, the sheer abundance of information is at times overwhelming. This is perhaps an inevitable compensation for how little is known of the particulars of the social history of early modern Spanish cities. One nevertheless regrets that the weight of detail, along with the study's relentless focus on the single theme of the changing organization of elite family life, have consigned other interesting issues—especially the transition from patriarchy to individualism and the emergence of a sociopolitical public sphere—more to the realm of allusion than to exploration in depth. These are minor problems, however, and ones that further efforts will surely dispose of. That there is much more interesting work to be done is amply borne out by the findings of this solid and engaging study, which deserves to be read by all those interested in the

links between economic change and family structures in a Spanish urban setting.

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JESUS CRUZ. *Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence among the Spanish Dominant Groups 1750–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 350. \$59.95.

This collective biographical analysis of the men of wealth and power who controlled Madrid during the crucial political transitions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries engages both general debates about European development and specific concerns of Spanish historiography. Jesus Cruz discusses these theoretical issues at some length, including ample reflection on the development of schools of historical interpretations within Spain. The text focuses, however, on the analysis of archival data concerning the investments and practices of merchants, bankers, professionals, bureaucrats, and politicians and their families across several generations. In a series of detailed chapters (supported by additional data appendixes) that will contribute to many other scholarly analyses, Cruz explores origins, investments, and the diversification of economic and social capital, sector by sector. He also follows these men and families across various constitutive networks in the transformation of the city and state. The author, moreover, consistently balances quantitative summaries with more detailed portraits of individual figures and families. Thus, he clarifies pivotal issues of recruitment, social relations, and the intersections of economic and social mobility as these new figures became integrated with each other and with older men of power.

Through this meticulous analysis, Cruz shows how the families who participated in the shift from aristocratic rule to bourgeois politics followed established patterns of geographic and social mobility that served to integrate elites rather than overthrowing older values and families. Hence, he reconsiders one of the longstanding dilemmas of Spanish development (especially in the capital): how this transition took place without a change in economic structures (industrialization) except in the periphery, especially Catalonia. Yet, at the same time, it is clear that these families nonetheless brought new knowledge and experience to forces that had already begun to reshape Spain.

The volume does have some frustrating limits. Although Cruz carefully reads and integrates studies of earlier elites, one wishes that he had incorporated them more completely into his model of evolution rather than revolution, especially insofar as we might understand their perceptions of newcomers and their own continuing roles. Cruz's very definition of the sectors of power which constituted the new elite, for example, omits the older nobility, the Catholic Church, and the military. Their perceptions and actions would

certainly amplify our understanding of power and change even as we note the recurrence of patterns of upward mobility.

One might also wish for more comparison within Spain. Cruz tends to treat Madrid and Spain interchangeably as loci for the elite, although he illuminates the flow from Northern Spain (Santander and Euzkadi) that played an important role in the emergence of this new group. Yet there were other models of development emerging in the South and in Catalonia that would add nuance to a rather teleological vision of power relations in the transformed state, especially with figures who moved among several spheres like Barcelonins Gaspar de Remisa or Erasme de Gónima. Cruz's individual cases, in fact, often suggest much more complexity than quantitative summaries evoke.

Finally, these analyses also raise questions of interdisciplinary dialogue with concerns of sociologists and anthropological historians. Terms like "random sampling," for example, have a much more concrete meaning than that which is used here. Social and cultural questions, while gamely tackled, are clearly appended rather than integrated—this is a book about men and business to which cultural features seem epiphenomenal. Women, in particular, are treated as secondary connections and mass consumers rather than agents who might have more complex roles to play in family, kinship, and the reproduction of social networks. In this regard, the absence of visual materials on life and style in the section on culture, which would bring its arguments to the level of complexity of chapters on economic and political networks, was striking. Nonetheless, Cruz's work should provide a strong foundation for scholars and debates to follow.

A final note must be made about the presentation of the book where responsibility presumably rests with the press and editor as well as the author. In such a worthwhile book, it is disturbing to see continuous flaws in writing and editing. These go beyond omissions in the bibliography; irritating errors in grammar, spelling, and accent crop up far too frequently. This editorial failing mars the reading of the book, especially since the volume demands and deserves careful attention to appreciate its data and the arguments constructed thereon.

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CHRISTIAN WINDLER. *Élites locales, señores, reformistas: Redes clientelares y Monarquía hacia finales del Antiguo Régimen*. Translated by ANTONIO SÁEZ ARANCE. (Historia y Geografía, number 18.) Seville: Universidad de Sevilla; in association with Universidad de Córdoba. 1997. Pp. 524.

This book, originally published in German, now is available in Spanish, the language of the country it studies. Christian Windler focuses on the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century strengthening of local elites, crucial in the improvement of agriculture (grain

production in particular), as population nearly trebled in Spain during the eighteenth century. Hunger was a very real problem throughout the period.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, the losers in this process—primarily the nobles, church, and monarchy—witnessed the abolition of mortmain (laws preserving church property) and the imposition of *desamortación* (disentailment of civil property) in the relatively famous Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 and later in the more mundane but longer-lasting Constitution of 1837.

In this process, middle-class control hardened after a shaky beginning that saw the mid-nineteenth-century liberal governments suffer a series of setbacks and embarrassments. In the Constitution of 1876, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo finally shifted significant political functions to a highly centralized government, while making sure that the elites who controlled the local *municipios* worked in concert with the central government in Madrid.

Politicians were encouraged (or followed their natural avarice) to develop a clientele from extended family ties in the system called *caciquismo*. The word *cacique* originally came from the Arawak word for chief, brought back to Spain early in the encounter with indigenous Americans. First applied to royal tax-collectors, it evolved into the local Spanish label for "political boss." After all, boss-style politics made sense in a society struggling to change its rural conditions. Like American urban political machines, this approach mediated change to an untutored populace.

The process of change, Windler points out, began in the late eighteenth century. Strong ducal administration by the Medinacelis, Medina Sidonia, and others improved local administration by sending technically trained administrators to their lands. Economic societies in the era of the enlightened Carlos III improved the quality of *municipio* personnel and local elite expertise. The ideas of Bernardo Ward, Don Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, and other early technocrats made a major impact and are made good use of in this monograph.

Southern Andalusia, the area of largest estates in Spain since the Reconquest gave Muslim property to the church and aristocracy, felt the impact of these changes the most, since northern Spain consists of small holdings and the central Castilian *meseta* is non-agricultural range land. Windler's research is best in discussing the Sociedad Económica organized in Seville in 1778, which tended to side with local citizens against nobles and Spaniards from other regions or to assist its members and friends to acquire property at the expense of the state or church. One can fast forward from here to Cánovas's *caciquismo*.

What is new is Windler's discussion of "social communication," a concept previously unknown to me. The quality of the book exists in its last hundred pages and in its survey of European scholarship on the changes caused by enlightened despotism. Ernst Mannheim and Jürgen Habermas have used the term "social

communication" to describe how general ideas take root and begin to create change. In part, they closely examine the language of the reformers, trying to define exactly what was meant by terms such as *diputado* and *personero del común* and whom these terms encompassed.

Exactly how social communication changes the political behavior of a society, however, is not altogether clear here, at least to me, especially as a sociopolitical theory. Nevertheless, the subtitle of this book illustrates the rapid changes that began transforming Spanish society at the end of the eighteenth century.

The monograph is illustrated and has numerous charts and graphs. Its bibliography is quite complete.

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ANTÓNIO COSTA PINTO. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Social Science Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 230. \$28.00.

António Costa Pinto has produced an excellent and much-needed comparative analysis of the Portuguese dictatorship associated with the name of António de Oliveira Salazar. The unfortunate tendency to subsume Portuguese affairs under those of Spain, or to ignore them altogether in analyses of Western or Southern European politics, has meant that until recently there was no systematic monograph available in English on the Salazar regime, although Richard Robinson's *Contemporary Portugal: A History* (1979) and Tom Gallagher's *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (1983) provided useful overviews.

Costa Pinto begins with a wide-ranging and perceptive review of the theoretical literature on fascism and authoritarianism and its application to the Portuguese case. He notes the tendency of most authors to exclude Portugal from the fascist category because of the absence of a mass fascist movement, the weak and *ex post facto* character of the official party (Salazar's National Union), and the reliance on conservative Catholic ideology. In these respects, it is often compared to the Dollfuss regime in Austria (1933–38) and with Vichy France, or with the regimes of various Eastern European countries in the interwar period. Many authors attempt to link the political characteristics of all these regimes to late industrialization and semiperipheral status and draw parallels with Latin American populism and "bureaucratic-authoritarianism." Some interpretations, however, include Portugal and the Eastern European regimes of the 1930s in a generic fascism on the grounds that they were functionally similar and part of an international antiliberal and anticommunist reaction. Costa Pinto sees the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (New State) as a conservative authoritarianism with some fascist influence, resulting from elite reaction to late industrialization and social unrest.

In Portugal in the past two decades, numerous

studies have been produced on different aspects of the *Estado Novo*, and Costa Pinto summarizes this literature in his second chapter. He stresses the importance of the Catholic Church to the regime, the conservatism of economic policy (based on an uneasy alliance of agrarian and industrial elites), and the regime's reliance on local notables to maintain order. This is perhaps Costa Pinto's most original contribution, based on his own research into patterns of recruitment into the National Union: this institution, more a bureaucratic apparatus than a political party, was not the exclusive channel of access to political office, and it was more important in local government than at the central level. The most outspoken ideological fascists, members of the National Syndicalist movement, were excluded and repressed, and most National Union members were of upper-class or professional background, in contrast to the petit-bourgeois composition of typical fascist parties.

In this reviewer's opinion, the one weakness of Costa Pinto's study is his tendency to minimize the significance of the fascist institutions created by the regime: the political police (PIDE), the Portuguese Legion, the youth organization, the state-controlled unions, etc. These organizations, in some cases copied directly from Benito Mussolini's Italy, are indicative of more genuinely fascist characteristics than Costa Pinto allows. The "limited pluralism" that the author indicates as a non-fascist characteristic of the Portuguese regime also existed in Italy, albeit to a lesser extent; the difference is one of degree rather than substance. Furthermore, Salazar's distrust of German, Italian, and Spanish expansionism, cited as evidence of a partial rejection of the fascist model, was surely no more than a rational defence of Portuguese interests.

Despite these minor criticisms, Costa Pinto's study is a very valuable contribution to the debate on fascism and authoritarianism, and it fills a major gap in the English-language literature. It is also worth noting that the publication data make no mention of a translator; the author appears to have written the book in English with only a very few minor errors, an achievement that deserves recognition.

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DON KALB. *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands, 1850–1950*. (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 339. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Don Kalb elaborates a class analysis of two sets of Dutch workers who did not organize themselves along traditional class lines. Kalb's work is based on his studies of the shoemakers in the highly industrialized North Brabant, where labor aristocrats, social priests, and entrepreneurs forged a civilizing and economic alliance, and of the quietly conforming daughters of

working families recruited by the Philips Company in Eindhoven. Kalb effectively uses these examples of social Catholicism and paternalism/deference not to undermine Marxist analysis but to rethink a complex, "relational" class analysis. His explanation of the absence of class from political consciousness and explicit discourse in these two highly industrialized regions suggests a new approach to labor history that straddles the cultural/economic divide.

Kalb sets the shoemakers' conflict of 1910 in the context of the family structures, religious institutions, and changing labor relations of the North Brabant. He questions the accepted explanation of the strike as a struggle for union recognition. He suggests instead that the strikers were motivated "by deeply felt distresses concerning their place and prospects in the social relationships of shoe production" (pp. 39–40). In this highly feminized industry, new relations engendered by mechanization kept male workers from regulating work among themselves. Kalb's analysis of "the relationships between workers' problems, class practices, and Catholic discourse" (p. 46) brings social Catholicism into the center of a labor history long dominated by studies of socialist movements.

In his second case study, Kalb seeks to explain the lack of "anomie, rootlessness, materialism, and popular disobedience" (p. 83) in the Eindhoven factories that employed almost 23,000 workers in 1929. Here he explains that "flexible familism," as he calls the "Philipsist labor practices" in Eindhoven, produced a "highly confusing and contradictory sociopolitical field blurred and crisscrossed and confused by its close links with political middle class groupings" (p. 110). In this region of small agricultural holdings, Philips began by employing whole families, relying especially on the labor of daughters. When Philips expanded production, it recruited large families with many daughters from other regions and provided them with company housing. According to Kalb, by reinventing "the family-controlled, gendered styles of obedience produced in the multiple-earner southeast Brabant working family" (p. 147), Philips was assured of a flexible, disciplined, and obedient labor force.

Kalb consciously builds his case studies on "bits of information" (p. 41). He avoids the documentation of "dominant meanings," arguing against the construction of simple, coherent narratives. Consequently, although the notes provide a treasure trove of historiographical references to recent work in labor history, they do not lead to the traditional archival dust of union papers and police reports.

Kalb has set himself the ambitious task of reconfiguring labor history. As he demonstrates the complexity of class relations through his own analysis of the two industrial sites, Kalb critiques a formidable array of European and American labor historians. He attacks linguistic as well as materialist reductionism in his call for a more anthropological understanding of working-class formation and working-class culture.

Unfortunately, the complex rhetorical structure of

the historiographical critiques at times obscures the day-to-day reality of the workers' lives. A series of family biographies in the midst of his chapter on "The Culture of Philipsism" helps to ground Kalb's study in "everyday reality," as do the tales of two workers, Maria and Piet, that illustrate the exploitation of girls in Eindhoven and the genius of "regional, male, popular wisdom" (p. 256). Further integration would have strengthened the two studies.

The glimpses provided of neighborhood, community, family, and labor relations in both of these heavily feminized work forces call out for more grounding. For example, one wonders about the assumptions that underpin Kalb's declaration that "the great care, quietness, obedience, and dexterity required by the highly subdivided and minute tasks on relatively costly and vulnerable materials performed at the Philips plant made young east Brabant females, accustomed to subservient carefulness, ideal workers" (p. 104). Labor historians such as Sonya Rose, Anna Clark, Rachel Fuchs, Joy Parr, Laura Frader, Laura Lee Downs, and Katherine Lynch, among others, all share in Kalb's project of adding the complexity of family, religion, community, and neighborhood to class analysis, but they further complicate their stories with their understanding of gender.

The theoretical debates that run through the book open significant new perspectives in labor history and class analysis. Kalb's history of Brabant shoemakers and Eindhoven electrical workers offers a window into Dutch industrial class relations as it expands our understanding of the methodology of labor history.

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THOMAS A. BRADY, JR. *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation*. (Studies in German Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1995. Pp. xix, 447. \$65.00.

Thomas A. Brady's book is one of the boldest and most innovative overviews of Reformation Germany to appear in decades. It is a product of nearly thirty years of archival research and a capstone of his work on the city of Strasbourg. Although the book is a conscious attempt to rethink the Reformation era in the wake of German reunification, its ideological origins can be traced to the beginning of this century. Since Leopold von Ranke's view of the Reformation collapsed in 1918, no broad and coherent model has emerged to help us understand the grand narrative of Germany's sixteenth century. Brady argues that once we begin to look at this period without the confessional and nationalist blinders that hampered Ranke, an entirely new vision of Reformation Germany emerges.

Brady's new interpretation relies heavily on the contributions of social historians, who have opened up important new horizons specifically in the areas of urban and rural reform. Since the 1960s, there has been a tremendous amount of research on both the

burghers of Germany's thriving cities and the restive peasantry of the countryside. Brady also owes a debt to the Austrian medievalist Otto Brunner, whose structuralist approach rejected the projection of modern historical concepts, be they Rankean nationalism or Marxist class struggle, into the premodern era. As a result, Brady views the empire on its own terms, not as a nation waiting to be born but as a complex bundle of competing and variegated political structures. To understand the Reformation, then, one must view it at a variety of layers. Affecting village, city, province, and empire, it was a dynamic that challenged authority at every level of society.

With this sophisticated interpretive framework in place, Brady goes on to tell the Reformation story in a remarkably eloquent and coherent fashion. Ironically, what holds his narrative together is biography, a genre that has not held a secure place in German historiography. Brady uses the life of the Strasbourg politician, Jacob Sturm, as a means to examine the Reformation as it unfolds on a variety of levels. The book is constructed in the form of an inverted pyramid. Following Sturm's political maneuverings, it begins locally in Strasbourg and then incrementally expands its scope to encompass Lower Alsace, the Upper Rhine, South Germany, the Schmalkaldic League, and finally the empire as a whole. The story ends where it begins: in the provincial world of Strasbourg. Despite promising beginnings, German Protestantism failed as a political movement. In the end, the particularism of the empire prevailed, and Sturm's career drew to a close back in the more provincial Alsatian context.

Sturm was a man of many faces. A student of Jacob Wimpheling, he was a child of the German Renaissance and would later continue this tradition as the principal patron of Strasbourg's famous Latin school. A convert to the evangelical movement, he was a product of Reformation piety. But, most important, he was a wily politician of the late medieval world, in the words of Miriam Chrisman "a bourgeois Henry VIII" (p. xvi). His most instructive political lesson came during the great peasant revolts of 1525. From that hot summer he learned the explosive power of popular enthusiasm, the structural weakness of the Reich, and the great strength of the empire's princes. With these lessons in mind, he embarked on a successful political career that would eventually have him rub shoulders with the likes of the imperial chancellor. Under Sturm's guidance, Strasbourg slowly moved away from the Swiss model of communal reformation to become a leading member in the Schmalkaldic League, German Protestantism's greatest political achievement. But as the League stumbled toward ultimate failure, Sturm was forced to retreat. In what may have been his greatest personal triumph but ironically the political death knell of the evangelical movement as a whole, Sturm helped negotiate Strasbourg's surrender. Through his negotiations, the city returned chastened to the imperial fold but retained many of its traditional liberties and, most important, its Protestant faith.

This is not a book about religion except as it touches the political and social narrative Brady lays out. It does not offer the same breadth of coverage as Hajo Holborn's old but standard text of the German Reformation (*A History of Modern Germany*; Vol. 1 [1959]). But in terms of interpretation, this is a significant book. Although I would not discount the ideological implications of Martin Luther's theology to the extent Brady does, his attention to the particular structural features of the empire is very keen. At the heart of the evangelical movement was a great ambiguity. The "godly polity" of the burghers' world, though viable on the local level, could not stand against the traditional liberties of the aristocracy. In the end, the German Reformation could not redirect and transform the empire's political patterns.

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SUZANNE L. MARCHAND, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 400. \$39.50.

Whatever else Western intellectual history may be about, it necessarily includes occasional reflections on the function of its manifold renaissances. Starting with the Romans under whom it took the form of "classical antiquity" or "Greco-Roman civilization," these renaissances have inevitably presupposed a philhellenism, that is, admiration, even adulation of "the Greeks" as somehow exemplary for self-formation, civic education, and philosophical inquiry. Apparently the varied manifestations of these renaissances, including the particularly prominent case of quattrocento Italy, are indispensable (at least until the mid-twentieth century) for the continued rejuvenation of something called "Western civilization."

Yet among these, the modern German version, its origins more or less coterminous with the *Goethezeit* (1770–1830), has been the most harried, not least because of its putative complicity with the ideological priorities that drove the Third Reich. It is to Suzanne L. Marchand's great credit that she has added to the discussion of this "last Hellenism" an impeccable history of German philhellenism from 1750 to 1970, insofar as it influenced German academic and research institutions, and provided a judiciously penetrating account of how these institutions adapted German philhellenism to pedagogically conservative and occasionally reactionary ends. Indeed, as a prodigious display of archival work in the disciplines of archaeology and classical philology in Germany during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Marchand's work will fascinate historians, philosophers, literary theorists, and even those odd products of philhellenism known as humanists.

Marchand uses a relatively simple chronological structure comprised of ten chapters to unfold her narrative. Beginning with an account of three major

initiators of the German philhellenist tradition—the art historian J. J. Winckelmann, the Homeric scholar F. A. Wolff, and the enlightened Prussian bureaucrat Wilhelm von Humboldt—she shows how a basic vision was soon transformed into the professional preserve of classical philologists and a state university system grounded in the classical *Gymnasien* with their monopoly over graduation certificates. Marchand then brilliantly exposes this increasing professionalization through university chairs, national archaeological institutes, and national museums during the nineteenth century. At this stage, “grand-scale archaeology” with its momentous digs in Olympia and Pergamon entered the fray as an exponent of a far more value-free and state-controlled relation to classical antiquity. Followed by the Nietzschean critique of Winckelmann’s unduly serene account of the Greeks, philologists holding to the original paradigm found themselves buffeted by new waves of interest and research on the “barbarians”—the non-Greek world surrounding antiquity—and the “orientals.” By the 1890s, they were fighting rearguard actions to preserve their professional status against calls for school reform and new concern for German and “prehistorical” themes in educational practice. Marchand rounds out their twentieth-century fate in her penetrating treatment of the variety of influences, from *Lebensphilosophie* to the ebbing of official patronage, that shaped the final rallying of the classicists around Werner Jaeger’s project of a “third humanism” aiming at a return to the primacy of Greek literature. Needless to guess, this project hardly gets off the ground before the Third Reich brings in its own priorities—withstanding Adolf Hitler’s admiration for the ancient Greek world—by favoring the German, the biological, and the prehistorical. Neohumanism, by which Marchand means primarily “a passionate, and nearly exclusive, obsession with Greek beauty” (p. 5), does survive this debacle, thanks in part to the minor role it played in the Nazi venture, but the postwar era added a new nemesis, basically an “ethnographic,” “UNESCO-friendly” or “NATO-humanism” (pp. 343, 362, 359) conducive to the kind of globalization approach, culminating in the German school and university reforms of the 1960s, that drove the final nails into the neohumanist coffin.

Marchand’s tale is all the more impressive for the immense material in the minutiae of institutionalization, from rivalries between competing groups and individuals for state patronage to the arguments and debates of her neohumanists at different stages of their struggle, that she has brought to her account and for the tight and vibrant qualities of her writing. Yet, notwithstanding her achievement, problems remain with her basic conclusion that she has effectively recorded the “decline,” or “fall,” of German philhellenism, the “principal subject” of her book (p. xxiv). The main difficulty is that Marchand confuses her own institutionalizing account of German philhellenism with its status and history as a whole. Indeed, if the

historical key to treating philhellenism from an institutionalizing perspective depends on the Humboldt generation’s adoption of classical neohumanist training for its *Gymnasien* as gateways to status and profession, then what has really changed if, as Marchand confesses in a comment that deserves something more than the footnote to which she relegates it, “the *Gymnasium* remains the gateway to membership in an ever-expanding *Bildungsbürgertum*; if some have begun to worry about the overproduction of *Akademiker*, parents are still anxious to enroll their children in the ‘classical schools’” (p. xxiv, n. 8)? Missing in Marchand’s summing-up is the prodigious effect and underlying continuity of about two centuries of such training on German economic, social, and cultural life. Either this effect owes something to German philhellenism, in which case Marchand’s particular institutions, primarily philology and archaeology, are only part of a larger story, and such equally indispensable studies as the effect of daily training in classical languages on each German generation’s grapplings with cultural, economic, social, and political reality are needed; or it does not, in which case Marchand’s conclusions and claims regarding philhellenism are unnecessarily inflated.

Two factors, at least, may help to account for the problems behind Marchand’s eventual reasoning. The first stems from her underlying advocacy, slipping into curiously tart and (occasionally) smug barbs at her protagonists and less often surfacing in its own right, on behalf of a “non-elitist humanism” (p. 304). This is an admirable standard, no doubt, but if it is to be something other than a kind of pious gesture, as empty in its own way as the rhetorical bankruptcy of the third humanism that she imputes to Jaeger, it calls for its own contextuality, one which might well help its advocate to be more understanding toward the underlying political obstacles with which Marchand’s neohumanist scholars had to deal, particularly during the twentieth century. The case of Jaeger, to whom Marchand devotes almost a full chapter, is telling in this respect. Marchand’s Jaeger seems constantly to be skirting the boundaries of collaboration with conservative and eventually fascist powers in support of his basic argument that humanism might only be recovered by concentrating on the literature of classical antiquity as a *paideia*. For all its difficulties, it is not clear that Jaeger and his followers deserve to be condemned for “moral vacuity” (p. 352), as Marchand confidently pronounces judgment. Her own facts force Marchand to admit that Jaeger and most of institutionalized philhellenism, with some exceptions, did not actively join forces with the Nazis; Jaeger himself had the good sense to leave Germany by 1936. Moreover, if Jaeger’s third humanism has its flaws, it is not clear why Marchand thinks that the alternative of “ethnographic humanism” culled from the data of “prehistory,” which she seems to favor by quoting Herbert Kühn (pp. 371–372), is any less flawed—certainly from a post-modern perspective. Humanism, after all, which is first

and foremost an affair with Greek texts, has an extensive historical record of encouraging the formation of individuals and cultures; prehistory, for the moment at least, remains one of the historicisms resulting from the kind of specializing activity that Marchand elsewhere seems to deplore.

The second factor, more substantive to the practice of intellectual history, is the methodological intention behind Marchand's project. Intellectual historians, she insists, must "connect the changing nature and function of ideas with the new tools, patrons, professional considerations, audiences, and forms of communications that enabled them to become effectual actors in the cultural realm" (pp. xxi-xxii). All this is only true if in some way work in the cultural domain turns back to illuminate the ideas themselves, which after all is what intellectual history, as contrasted to cultural history, ought to be about. Marchand shows herself to be a first-rate intellectual historian in her opening chapter on "ideals" as opposed to "institutions," but she never does return substantively to those ideas or their evolution, nor does she ever allow them to recur once she has embarked on her study of institutions. The resulting narrative is therefore predictable. Institutionalization of German philhellenism breaks down the connections between philhellenism and progressive social and political goals somewhere between the 1820s and 1840s (with a few exceptions in southwest Germany). From then on, it is a matter of increasing conservatism, even family inbreeding, by Germany's neohumanist mandarin classes to preserve their state power against new rivals from the populist, orientalist, and "prehistorical" ranks. In the meantime, the continually fresh infusions of new creative versions of philhellenism in German cultural life, with the prominent exception of Friedrich Nietzsche (who is only included for being a member of academic philology), are either barely mentioned or ignored. Not a word is brought up about the philhellenism of Karl Marx and the Young Hegelians, let alone of Georg Lukács. Nothing is said about Richard Wagner's theatrocratic attempts to renew Greek tragic culture for the nineteenth century. Stefan George is reluctantly recognized as an influence on the philologists of the 1920s (pp. 335-336), and Martin Heidegger is mentioned only in passing (p. 357). Since none of these influences can be fitted into the institutional story Marchand is telling, they are presumably without import for an understanding of the actively productive role of German philhellenism on German cultural life—as well as the continuing influence of German philhellenic ideas on American critical thought through Heidegger's students Herbert Marcuse and Hannah Arendt.

To ignore such fresh rereadings of the Greeks and their importance for German cultural renovation is to undermine the final effectiveness of Marchand's particular tallying of what she calls the "fall of German philhellenism." Her book does not record that fall; rather it provides, as she elsewhere more sensibly qualifies her project (pp. 352, 354), the definitive study

of the historical decline of German "institutional philhellenism."

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WILLIAM H. BROCK. *Justus von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 374. \$79.95.

Toward the end of the last century, a German chemist remarked that among nineteenth-century chemists only Justus von Liebig (1803-1873) was famous, but no one remembered why. William H. Brock's biography will leave no one in doubt. Liebig combined great abilities as a scientist and science writer with enormous ambition, opportunism, and a gift both for self-promotion and for promoting his discipline. Brock, a British historian of chemistry and Liebig scholar, persuasively argues that for Liebig's contributions to positioning chemistry as the central or gateway science of the modern world, crucial not only for the chemical industry but also for agriculture, medicine, nutrition, and sanitation, he deserves the title "chemical gatekeeper."

Brock's book builds on much older, mostly German biographies (especially Jacob Volhard's 1909 work, which remains useful for specialists); on many specialized studies of Liebig's teaching, research, and work in fields such as agriculture; and on a vast amount of unpublished and published correspondence, some of which Brock himself has edited. While surveying Liebig's life as the first recent biography in English, it is not exhaustive but rather emphasizes the "British connections" (p. ix). Brock begins with a relatively brief description (about ninety pages in three chapters) of Liebig's early life and career as professor of chemistry at the minor provincial Hessian university of Giessen, where Liebig gained an international reputation for teaching chemistry through practical exercises in a government-funded instructional laboratory (then relatively rare), for editing a major journal (eventually called *Liebig's Annalen*), and for many significant contributions to organic chemistry, including the combustion method of organic analysis and experimental collaborations with Friedrich Wöhler that helped to develop the radical theory. After 1840, however, Liebig disengaged from the ongoing, stormy theoretical debates in organic chemistry and moved away from laboratory work. Bright and hardworking, Liebig was also opportunistic. Born in modest circumstances, he played on his talents and good looks to hobnob with aristocrats (including an affair with a romantic poet, August Graf von Platen, whom he dropped to marry a Hessian official's daughter, and a career-promoting acquaintance with Alexander von Humboldt, who helped him gain the post in Giessen). After Liebig successfully lobbied for the Hessian title of baron, ostensibly to hold him at Giessen (1845), he left for a much more prestigious Bavarian position in Munich (1852), where he could abandon the laboratory teach-

ing that had made him famous and work instead on commercial and literary activities.

In eight chapters (220 pages), Brock describes Liebig's "gatekeeping" activities from the 1840s on, featuring a voluminous output of works on a wide variety of issues relating to chemistry and its applications, as well as his mostly unsuccessful ventures (often through British connections, to which he was drawn by British economic leadership) in medicine, fertilizers, and food chemistry. Only through the Liebig Extract of Meat Company (1865) did Liebig finally gain the commercial success he craved. Liebig was not above occasional unscrupulous business dealings or using his scientific reputation to enhance his business affairs, and at times conflicts of interest may have led him to ignore empirical results that contradicted his pet theories, such as the claim that nitrogenous fertilizers were unnecessary for agriculture. Nevertheless, he managed to maintain his reputation and the respect even of many of his most bitter rivals. Brock lauds him for promoting the idea of chemical cycles in nature and for criticizing destructive agricultural techniques, offering Liebig as a potential hero to today's recycling movement. Certainly, his positive services to the discipline of chemistry far outweighed his errors.

The latter could also be said of this book, which is not without its editorial problems: some sloppiness in German words and names (e.g. Carl Duisberg is "Druisberg" [p. 329]), in dates (e.g. a British offer of a position to Liebig is given variously as 1843 [p. vii] or 1845 [p. 105]), and in the bibliography and references (e.g. citing a 1992 work edited by Emil Heuser and Eva-Marie Felschow as a source for academic responses to Liebig's 1840 critique of Prussian chemical education [p. 69] instead of *Die streitbaren Gelehrten* [1992], edited by Heuser and Regine Zott, whose name is misspelled [p. 364]). Relatively minor errors like these occur often enough to be annoying and to mar the reading of this otherwise interesting, useful biography.

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DAVID E. BARCLAY, *Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy 1840–1861*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 335. \$55.00.

Whether in life or in posterity, King Frederick William IV of Prussia has attracted few admirers. He will always be remembered best as the reactionary arch-nemesis of the Frankfurt Assembly, whose refusal to accept a "crown from the gutter" forestalled German unification by two decades. He will never be counted among his dynasty's great statebuilders or conquering heroes, if only because he was the first Hohenzollern in three centuries not to acquire any territory (while losing Neufchâtel to Switzerland). Although he shared his line's devotion to the army, he was a poor rider, too nearsighted to inspect his troops, and so innocent of

the battlefield that he only experienced hostile fire as the target of two failed assassination attempts. Alas, Prussia's political cartoonists took deadlier aim in mercilessly lampooning his fat, balding countenance.

David E. Barclay is somewhat more sympathetic in this first English-language biography of the much-maligned monarch. He portrays his subject as a more multi-dimensional figure than the stolid reactionary of 1848. Frederick William was an intensely religious "neo-pietist" whose rejection of the Enlightenment had genuinely spiritual roots. He was also rather creative, an accomplished artist and architect, a devotee of music, literature, and antiquity, and a close confidant of the legendary naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt. But this book is primarily a political biography, the aim of which is to reevaluate and at least partially rehabilitate its subject. Barclay boldly casts Frederick William IV as Prussia's "first modern king" (p. 51), proactively confronting the challenges of the "post-revolutionary" age with his own "monarchical project." Like many contemporary sovereigns, he readily engaged in the "rituals of bourgeois life" (p. 4). Yet he also exploited frequent travel, appearances at public events, court rituals, and a much-expanded court society to create a "sacral tradition" that was based on older, pre-absolutist (and, therefore, pre-Prussian) models of monarchy. The king's "monarchical project" offered an alternative not only to the democratic forces of revolution but to the bureaucratic absolutism of two centuries of Prussian statebuilders. He articulated this vision prior to his succession by orchestrating the dismissal of his father's *Ersatzkönig*, Karl August von Hardenberg, and afterward by undermining the policies of his own chief minister, Otto von Manteuffel, and other advocates of rigorous centralization. In its place he promoted the return of the feudal *Ständestaat*, albeit one based on the concept of divine right. It was this vision that he expressed during the *Vormärz* with a "United Diet" that preempted the liberal dream of a fully representative parliament.

Less dramatic but more credible is Barclay's portrait of Frederick William as a sincere German patriot, which he manifested through a romantic vision of a postrevolutionary Holy Roman Empire led by the Austrian Habsburgs. Thus his famous refusal of an imperial crown, not only because it was a "dog collar" tied to the revolutionaries of 1848 but also because he was reluctant to preempt Austria's traditional place in Germany's old corporate order. This perspective was even evident during the subsequent confrontation with Austria over a Prussian-led *Bund*, which he visualized in the context of Austrian leadership in both Germany and Italy. Although Barclay readily concedes Frederick William's tendency toward apathy, indecision, and fatalism, he dismisses as myth the longstanding charge that the king panicked in times of crisis. Rather, he was a survivor who kept the dynasty at the center of Prussian politics by temporizing and occasionally accommodating constitutional compromise until the time came to entrust the Hohenzollern patrimony to a

more competent and heroic stewardship. With this book, the author has filled an obvious gap in the English-language literature. The text is well-written and informed by extensive research both in published sources and a host of archives drawn from all over Germany.

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BENJAMIN ZIEMANN, *Front und Heimat: Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914–1923*. Edited by KLAUS TENFELDE. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts zur Erforschung der europäischen Arbeiterbewegung, Schriftenreihe A: Darstellungen, number 8.) Essen, Germany: Klartext. 1997. Pp. 510. DM 84.

The complexity of World War I poses formidable analytical challenges. The great variety of experiences in this conflict, both at home and on the fighting fronts, discomfits efforts to generalize. In the German historiography, this truth has encouraged analytical discrimination and has produced welcome results. It has, for example, dismantled the easy generalizations that earlier attached to the “spirit of 1914,” the mood of elated unanimity once thought to have reigned in Germany at the beginning of the war. That circumstances of class, gender, age, and locale all colored Germans’ experiences of the war’s first moments has been amply documented in a series of recent monographs.

Benjamin Ziemann’s book carries on this careful attention to diversity, but its object is far more ambitious. It seeks to capture the full range of experiences—on the homefront as well as in the army—that the war imposed on selected peasant communities. The basis of the study is the area in southern Bavaria encompassed by the military district (*Wehrkreis*) of the First Bavarian Army Corps. Ziemann has mined an enormous fund of sources from both military and civilian agencies, including documents from the office of this army corps’ deputy commanding general, reports of district offices of the Bavarian government, the files of the bishopric of Passau, and thousands of letters that passed in both directions between home and the fighting front. A sensitive reading of these sources allows Ziemann not only to reconstruct the experience of war in its two geographically separate sectors but also to document the massive reciprocal bonds that subverted this separation.

The heart of the analysis is devoted to the encounter of Catholic peasants with military life at the front and behind the lines. The emphasis falls here on the sources of discipline and cohesion in the army, as well as on the breakdown of morale in the later stages of the conflict. Ziemann demonstrates that among the factors that governed the vacillation of morale, the most consistently ineffective were the army’s own attempts to promote enthusiasm for the cause among the foot soldiers by means of indoctrination or “patri-

otic instruction.” Far more important were the basic rhythms of military life, the infrequency of intense military engagement, and the alternating periods of front-line service and relief. Central in this regimen were the furloughs home, to which the demands of agricultural production allowed peasants frequent access. The deterioration of morale grew nonetheless apace with the prolongation of the war; it was fed by mounting material shortages, the foot soldiers’ resentments of the privileges enjoyed by their officers, and concerns, which were fueled by furloughs and a torrent of written correspondence from home, over the plight of loved ones behind the lines. In these circumstances, Catholicism, like patriotic rhetoric, ceased to provide emotional or intellectual bearings amid the growing privation. Among these Catholic peasant contingents, whose cultural traditions had not encouraged abstract or systematic thinking, the accumulation of resentment and discontent undermined intuitive loyalties to the Wittelsbach monarchy as it fed hopes for almost any kind of peace; but it failed to breed much politicization, let alone revolutionary sentiment.

The account of life in the Bavarian contingents is followed by two shorter essays. The first traces vagaries of life in the agricultural communities in Bavaria that were home to the soldiers. It is largely the story of women who had to cope with the absence of male relatives and spouses. This account, too, effectively invokes the letters to and from the front as it documents the war’s material and emotional burdens, as well as the mounting difficulties of making sense of them. The portrait of civilian life in the countryside is nonetheless flatter, for the varieties of village life are difficult to capture in a regional survey. In both this and the following chapter, Ziemann also examines the immediate postwar era: the peasants’ continuing bouts with economic controls, the return of the soldiers, their reintegration into civilian life, the largely unsuccessful efforts of veterans’ associations to organize them politically, and the campaign to memorialize the conflict.

Extending the account beyond the armistice speaks to the lingering legacy of the war, but it lends a certain diffusiveness to the study. This is, however, a minor blemish in a major scholarly achievement. Ziemann has provided the most compelling analysis to date of the vast reciprocal dependencies between the home and fighting fronts. The core of the account presents, in addition, the most thorough, nuanced, and gripping analysis of life in the German army during this war.

ROGER CHICKERING
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JONATHAN FRIEDMAN, *The Lion and the Star: Gentile-Jewish Relations in Three Hessian Communities, 1919–1945*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. 292. \$34.95.

Bad Holocaust history has perpetuated stereotypes of self-delusional German Jews and murderously anti-

Semitic "ordinary Germans" before and during the Nazi years. Jonathan Friedman takes aim at these stereotypes in his fine study of everyday relations between Jews and gentiles in three Hessian municipalities: the great metropolis of Frankfurt am Main, the much smaller university city of Giessen, and the minor Rheingau town of Geisenheim. His research in local archives, interviews, and memoirs shows that the Jews in these localities were integrated into the larger society and realistically engaged in self-defense and the cultivation of their own communities. It also reveals that few Germans ever considered the elusive "Jewish problem" a major issue.

In chapters devoted to the Weimar years, Friedman emphasizes the Jews' personal and institutional interactions with their gentile neighbors, advancing solid evidence of Jewish involvement at many levels. Ludwig Landmann, Frankfurt's long-term Jewish lord mayor (1924–1933), may be considered emblematic of the openness of that commercial city. Social relations between Jews and gentiles of the same class were more common than interclass contacts within either group. The increase in mixed marriages highlighted yet another aspect of assimilation. Naturally, these trends were limited by anti-Jewish prejudice and continuing Jewish communal consciousness. The picture that Friedman sketches is anything but uniform, revealing that many interethnic contacts in the three communities were superficial and fraught with ambivalence. And yet, many others were authentic, demonstrating an imperfect but vital German-Jewish symbiosis in Weimar Germany. Friedman attributes the rapid rise of Nazism in Hesse to economic desperation rather than to dysfunctional Jewish integration. Although quicker than some other authors of local and regional studies to concede the attractions of anti-Semitism to peasants, students, and shopkeepers, he argues that most Hessians who voted for Adolf Hitler thought little about the Jews.

Friedman is equally nuanced in his examination of pre-Nazi Jewish intracommunal relations in Frankfurt and Giessen. (There were too few Jews in Geisenheim to sustain communal life there, and its Jews participated in the affairs of the nearby Rüdesheim community, which might have been a better choice for this study.) The liberal Jewish model, challenged by Orthodox Judaism, Zionism, and fringe groups on the political extremes, held up rather well in the two Hessian cities in part because its practitioners were prepared to make judicious compromises. The numbers of Zionists and potentially troublesome Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe were fairly small in Hesse, engendering more amicable conditions than those that prevailed in many other German Jewish communities. Relations between the large separatist Orthodox communities and the main Jewish communities in Frankfurt and Giessen evidently improved during the Weimar years. In both cities, impressive networks of Jewish institutions served and defended the communities while fostering German-Jewish identities. Unfortunately the

intracommunal dimension is less well developed for the Nazi years, leaving unanswered questions about institutional responses to state-sponsored anti-Semitism and the dynamics of deciding to stay, move within Germany, or emigrate.

Whereas the chapters on the Weimar years approach interethnic relations primarily from the Jewish perspective, subsequent chapters on the Nazi period emphasize the German people's reactions to anti-Jewish persecution. Friedman's findings confirm those of previous scholars, albeit with a few interesting local twists. Hessians resembled Germans as a whole in accepting legal discrimination against the Jews while showing little enthusiasm for acts of racist violence, the minority of Nazi party activists always excepted. Spotty evidence that ordinary citizens of Frankfurt and Giessen denounced Jews and their helpers for violating various laws parallels Robert Gellately's arguments about the situation in Würzburg and Lower Franconia (*The Gestapo and German Society* [1990]). Other studies have argued that many Germans evinced opposition to official anti-Semitism by defying anti-Jewish boycotts and expressing disgust over the Crystal Night pogrom, but Friedman has found little evidence of such behavior in his three communities. A few brave individuals assisted Jewish friends and neighbors, but their numbers seem to have been smaller than those of the active anti-Semites. Both minorities increased in size during the war years, a finding that roughly parallels Sarah Gordon's description of developments in Düsseldorf. But the great majority of Hessian gentiles was indifferent to the fate of the doomed minority. Friedman's conclusion is sober and astute: most Germans had no interest in tormenting Jews, but the "moderate" forms of Judeophobia that had helped make Hitler acceptable to them in the first place also opened them to complicity in genocide as the Nazi leaders eliminated one option after another.

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NICHOLAS GOODRICK-CLARKE. *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 269. \$24.95.

Major debates continue to rage among historians and political scientists about the nature of fascist ideology. Some historians still refuse to identify a "generic" fascism, but even among those who accept the existence of such a beast there are major differences of interpretation. Arguably the most common view has been to see fascism as an "anti-ideology," the celebration of activism over reason—at best a rag-bag of contradictory ideas. There have always been some, however, who have stressed the way in which fascism's roots lay deep within major strands in European thought. Recently, there has been a growing tendency to stress the way in which fascism attracted major intellectuals, such as Giovanni Gentile and Roberto

Michels in Italy, or Carl Schmitt and Martin Heidegger in Germany, who sought to challenge major tenets of the Enlightenment and to define a nationalist, radical third way (between capitalism and communism).

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke does not fit neatly into what might be termed the "irrationalist" or the "anti-rationalist" interpretation of fascist ideology. He is the author of *The Occult Roots of Nazism* (1985), a work that stresses the influence of Ariosophy, which sought to combine German *völkisch* nationalism and racism with occult notions borrowed from the theosophy of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. In the work reviewed here, Goodrick-Clarke turns to the postwar world, seeking this time to demonstrate the influence of Hindu-Aryan myth on neo-Nazism. The central figure is Maximiani Portas, who was born in France in 1905 of Greek-English background. Fascinated by classical Greek culture, she adopted Greek citizenship in her twenties. During the same period, she became an admirer of Hitler's rising National Socialism. Impressed by its racial theory and hierarchy, she emigrated to India to study firsthand what she saw as the cradle of the Aryan race. A well-educated woman who had studied both philosophy and psychology—and helped by her Brahmin husband—she went on to develop a synthesis of Hindu religion and Nordic racial ideology. In 1936, she adopted the Hindu name Savitri Devi, in honor of the female solar deity.

Bitterly disappointed by the defeat of Nazism, Devi returned to Europe, where she befriended many Nazis, including the air ace, Hans-Ulrich Rudel, and Waffen SS commando Otto Skorzeny—both of whom were active in various neo-Nazi groups in the postwar era, including the ODESSA escape network. During the 1960s, she befriended a variety of new activists, including Colin Jordan and John Tyndall in Britain and George Lincoln Rockwell in the USA. Her works first gained distribution in the English language through Rockwell's journal, *National Socialist World* (which was edited by William Turner, the man who was later to write the *Turner Diaries*, which some have seen as the blueprint for the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing). Following her death in 1982, Ernst Zündel, a German Canadian who leapt to notoriety in the 1970s after publishing a Holocaust denial tract, sold her books and tapes.

This book demonstrates the often-neglected appeal of aspects of Asian thought to Europeans (like Friedrich Nietzsche, who influenced Devi). It shows that even after the horrors of World War II, hierarchical racist thinking could remain at the heart of many unrepentant Nazis—and of new converts too. It charts a fascinating esoteric tale about Devi, which has not been told before. In many ways, however, Goodrick-Clarke's work is notably flawed. Devi's views are described rather than probed seriously: it is not clear whether she has claims to being an original thinker, or whether she was more a middle-class dilettante. In order to answer this question, more serious attention needs to be paid to others in India who were seeking

similar forms of synthesis. Moreover, the clear implication of the work is that she was a major influence on neo-Nazism. In truth, many of her key ideas—such as the need for social rebirth—were vague, and it is hard to believe she exerted any specific appeal outside a New Age-fascist fringe. The book exhibits little broad knowledge of the literature on neo-Nazism and ignores clearer influences, including the so-called "left" Strasserism, the writings of the Italian Nazi admirer Julius Evola, or the more subtle "Gramscism of the right" found in the *Nouvelle Droite/Neue Rechte* movements. These omissions are all the more surprising as the author has space at times to indulge in mini-travelogues, or expositions of basic history. This is a work for specialists, although even these will find themselves flicking through pages at times.

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PAOLO PRODI and LORENZO PAOLINI, editors. *Storia della chiesa di Bologna*. In two volumes. (Istituto per la storia della chiesa di Bologna.) Paolo: Bolis. 1997. Pp. xii, 402; 670. L. 240,000.

This two-volume ecclesiastical history of Bologna provides a useful overview of its subject. Scholars whose work concerns the city will find it valuable for its citations to key sources, its summary of ecclesiastical conditions, and its descriptive appendices. This is, however, believer's history: its intended audience is primarily Bolognese Catholics, and it operates with certain assumptions (e.g. that in the fourth century, the bishop of Rome was invested with primacy over all Christendom [p. 9]) that historians with a critical perspective will find problematic. More a celebration of tradition than a critical appraisal of it, the work tends to avoid extensive discussion or analysis of sensitive subjects (e.g. the church's relation to fascism). These characteristics are much more prominent in the first volume than the second.

Volume one provides a chronological history of the Bolognese church in four parts. Amedeo Benati traces ecclesiastical development from the fourth century into the early twelfth; Augusto Vasina covers the period from the rise of the commune to the fifteenth century; Umberto Mazzone carries the narrative through the Napoleonic domination; and Giuseppe Battelli describes the nineteenth and twentieth-century church. In a traditional fashion, all of these narratives emphasize the role of the city's bishops and archbishops, the conditions of the local church revealed through visitations, and the local resonance of larger political and social movements. Only Benati's contribution on the early Middle Ages includes direct discussion of historiographical shifts, but all the contributors do provide good succinct analyses of the key changes in the Bolognese church in their period. The annotation is substantial and provides an excellent guide to the most important primary sources illuminating ecclesiastical development. Useful secondary

literature also appears in the annotation, but the volume lacks the kind of topical bibliography for each period that would profit scholars and students alike. Probably most useful for scholars, particularly those engaged in archival research in Bolognese sources, is Mario Fanti's appendix on the history of the diocese's administrative apparatus: it summarizes notarial practices, bureaucratic organization, and official competencies from the Middle Ages to the present.

The second volume contains essays on specific topics. Paolo Golinelli and Gabriella Zarri provide excellent overviews of hagiographical sources and the development of saints' cults in the city and territory from the Middle Ages into the modern era. Less useful are the two contributions (by Giampaolo Ropa and Enzo Lodi) on liturgy: each mentions sources but does not discuss them in great enough depth to orient scholars. Fanti traces the history of hospitals and charitable institutions in the diocese through the Napoleonic era, and Giampaolo Venturi treats changes in the church's involvement in poor relief in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Scholars interested in the history of universities will find Carlo Dolcini's and Gian Paolo Brizzi's contributions on the relationship between church and *studium* useful, particularly Dolcini's summary of debates over the significance of the twelfth-century glossator Pepo. The overviews of sacred art and music are excellent. Anna Maria Matteucci's essay on church architecture is particularly engaging and includes not only a critical appraisal of the city's contribution to Baroque style but also a good survey of the modern architecture of suburban churches built in the 1950s–1970s. Paola Foschi's and Alfeo Giacomelli's contributions on religious orders provide a catalog-like overview of institutions within the Bolognese diocese, with good maps and valuable bibliographical references for each house. The three essays on preaching and pastoral initiatives (Giandomenico Gordini's on the Middle Ages, Samuele Giombi's on Trent and after, and Maurizio Tagliaferri's on the modern era) are similarly comprehensive and provide a good guide to the conciliar sources and sermon collections surviving for the diocese.

Donatella Biagi Maino's contribution, "Forme del sacro storia dell'arte e storia moderna: Intersezioni e confronti," deserves to be singled out for special praise. While most of the essays in the second volume follow a familiar and useful model (the comprehensive chronological survey), Maino offers a thoughtful series of methodological and historiographical observations on sacred art, particularly in the Tridentine era. Her discussion of images as catechism in Capuchin churches is quite stimulating, as is her appraisal of the effects of emphasis in the modern era on conservation, rather than creation, of religious art.

In addition to providing a useful overview of the history of the church and ecclesiastical life in Bologna, these two volumes offer an introduction and guide to a new generation of ecclesiastical historians. As Robert Brentano noted over a decade ago ("Italian Ecclesias-

tical History: The Sambin Revolution," *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 14 (1986): 189–97), there has been a felicitous revival of institutionally focused religious history in Italy. Although Bologna is probably better known in this country for the study of *mentalité* and popular religiosity fostered by Carlo Ginzburg, these volumes demonstrate that substantial work on ecclesiastical institutions has been accomplished over the last two decades. This will come as no surprise to historians of the "Catholic Reformation" who know Paolo Prodi's magisterial study of archbishop Gabrielle Paleotti (1522–1597). Prodi, co-editor of these volumes with Lorenzo Paolini and Ginzburg's colleague on the history faculty at the University of Bologna, has clearly inspired a new generation of young scholars to dedicate themselves to institutional history. This history of the church in Bologna showcases the work of these scholars and constitutes a useful research tool for its continuation.

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JON ARRIZABALAGA, JOHN HENDERSON, and ROGER FRENCH. *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 352. \$35.00.

Despite its title, this book is not a general history of the French disease in Renaissance Europe but a valuable series of linked essays focusing on responses to the epidemic in late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy. These essays fall into two main groups. One concerns Italian lay accounts and learned medical interpretations of the disease in the 1490s, supplemented by a chapter on Germany. The other treats Italian hospitals for "incurables" from 1496 through the late sixteenth century. These two sections are framed by several more general chapters on the nature of disease and disease categories in Renaissance medical writing and in recent historiography on the French disease.

On this last point, the authors contrast their own approach to that of Claude Quézel in *Le mal de Naples: Histoire de la syphilis* (1986), published in English translation in 1990. They reject Quézel's presentist framework, which does not acknowledge disease categories as socially constructed but assumes an identity between the French disease—so called by Renaissance Italians because of its association with the invading French army in 1494—and twentieth-century syphilis. Rather, they correctly note, the dramatic difference in ideas of disease causality between the two periods means that the two entities are historically incommensurable; to project the modern notion of specific infectious diseases onto a culture that saw diseases as the labile products of multiple, complexly layered causes, natural and supernatural, is to give up any hope of understanding earlier responses.

In place of Quézel's linear and synthetic survey, this volume is sometimes disconcerting in its specificity,

complexity, and detail. Although it offers sections of more general narrative, its heart lies in its case studies: meticulous analyses of medical controversies between learned physicians at the University of Leipzig and the courts of Rome and Ferrara, as well as a detailed examination of late sixteenth-century patient registers of the Roman hospital of San Giacomo. Useful in their own right—this is particularly true of the material on incurables hospitals, which fills an important lacuna in hospital history—these case studies also contribute to a set of more general themes that bind the study together.

In particular, the authors emphasize that it is impossible to speak of a single Renaissance response to the emergent epidemic; different social groups experienced the disease differently, depending on their particular circumstances and interests. To learned physicians, the epidemic directly challenged their intellectual authority, while to empirics and unofficial practitioners, it represented a golden opportunity to advance their own remedies and careers. Where public health officials saw it as a social crisis manifested in hordes of disabled indigents, pious laypeople and religious reformers treated it as an opportunity for exercises in charity and moral missions to the sick and poor. Yet the interests of disparate groups could converge, to powerful effect, as in the creation of urban hospitals for incurables; these not only took in poor sufferers from a range of disabling illnesses but periodically offered full courses of the “wood treatment”—an elaborate medical regimen involving sweating, semi-fasting, and internal and external administration of guaiacum—to thousands of locals afflicted by the French disease.

In addition to this broader argument, the authors make a number of more specific points that engage various facets of medical historiography. First, at least in Italy, the French disease was seen as physically loathsome, but the stigmatizing reactions of later centuries were relatively rare, in part because the disease was thought to have multiple avenues of transmission: intimate physical contact and corrupt air and food, in addition to coitus. It was often moralized in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but so were other epidemics such as plague. Second, the advent of the French disease caught the learned medical community at a sensitive moment in the 1490s, split by emergent debates between traditional Arabizing theory and practice and nascent hellenist and humanist approaches. As a result, medical disputants found themselves at odds with one another and particularly vulnerable both to lay scepticism about their competence and to lay interest in non (or even anti-) Galenic specifics such as guaiac wood, initially promoted by empirical practitioners. Finally, the spread of the hospitals for incurables was not the exclusive work of the reforming Companies of Divine Love, as is often suggested, but depended on the efforts of various magistracies and citizen groups.

The diversity of these points reflects the richness

and diversity of this important, if somewhat miscellaneous, book. Indeed, its very emphasis on specific and local histories suggests that the historiography of the French disease is beginning to acquire the precision of the historiography of that other great Renaissance epidemic, plague. Much work remains to be done on other cities and other countries, on private medical practice (as opposed to theory), and above all on empirical and vernacular treatments of the pox, which appear here only as a ghostly foil to the work of learned physicians. But in its scholarship and its attention to local detail, this book sets a high standard for future studies of the French disease.

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PETER GODMAN. *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. Pp. xiv, 366. \$49.50.

Peter Godman's book examines the relationship between politics and culture in Florence from the 1480s to the 1520s, a period spanning the later Laurentian age and the Medici exile and restoration. Analyzing intellectuals in the institutional contexts of the chancery and the university, he shows how political vicissitudes affected the pursuits of professors and chancellors (and ex-chancellors) in this turbulent period. His two principal goals are to examine the changing nature of humanism from Angelo Poliziano to Marcello Virgilio Adriani (Poliziano's successor in the Studio) and to consider the impact of Adriani's humanism on Niccolò Machiavelli (his colleague in the chancery).

In examining Poliziano from the time of his appointment to the Studio in 1480 until his death in 1494, Godman finds a professor whose works (e.g. the *Nutricia* and *Miscellanea*) reveal a rejection of Ciceronian purism for a wider antiquarian “pluralism” aspiring to embrace a true *enkyklios paideia*. Poliziano's intellectual pretensions and pursuits would come to be challenged not only by the scientific world (in the figure of Nicolò Leoniceo) but also by the more practical-minded humanist chancellor Bartolomeo Scala, who saw in Poliziano's preoccupation over the proper spelling of “Vergil” an irrelevant pedantry. Protégé of Lorenzo the Magnificent and tutor to Piero, Poliziano epitomized a rarified philological humanism that faced an even graver crisis of relevance after the expulsion of the Medici in 1494.

Succeeding Poliziano as professor (in 1494) and Scala as first chancellor (in 1498), Adriani was the first to combine these roles in Florence since Carlo Marsuppini. His skill in gaining and maintaining both positions was a testimony to his political acumen. Aware that Poliziano was viewed as a Medici appendage, he distanced himself from him, and in his inaugural lectures at the Studio he scorned pedantry and promoted instead a relevant political education more in keeping with the sensibilities of post-1494 Florence. In affirmations of republican rhetoric, in commending

a reading of the *Aeneid* for political lessons, Adriani resonated the earlier "civic humanism" of Leonardo Bruni. With the return of the Medici in 1512, however, he remarkably survived (partly because he had been less close to Pier Soderini than had Machiavelli), and from this point on he retreated from his republican themes—a point Godman intriguingly illustrates by examining his post-restoration excision of republican comments from a 1498 inaugural lecture on Statius. Returning to more academic efforts akin to those of Poliziano, Adriani completed a translation and commentary on Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, a project that, uniting philology and medicine, attempted to succeed where Poliziano's scholarship had fallen short.

For Godman, Adriani was a skillful "Machiavellian" survivor, adjusting his humanism to the changes in power. Ironically, Machiavelli, the second chancellor, was less deft, and because of his ties to Soderini suffered exile with the Medici restoration. For scholars of Machiavelli, the most engaging part of the book now begins with a reading of Machiavelli's writings as reactions to Adriani's deficient or flawed humanism and especially to his renunciation of republican themes after 1512. Thus, the *Discourses* represent the completion of a project faintly adumbrated by Adriani (in his 1498 inaugural lecture) to provide a politically relevant reading of Livy; the *Arte della guerra*, a response to Adriani's refusal to address this issue as First Chancellor in a Latin oration of 1515 on the investment of Lorenzo de' Medici (duke of Urbino) with military authority; the realistic treatment of Ferdinand of Aragon in *The Prince*, a counterpart to Adriani's idealistic praise of him in a prefatory lecture on Horace's satires; the praise of action over meaningless rhetoric in the *Vita di Castruccio Castracani*, a rejection of Machiavelli's blowhard humanist colleague in the chancery; even the portrait of the charlatan physician in the comic *Mandragola*, a derision of Adriani's foray into medicine in his commentary on Dioscorides. Machiavelli's own fortunes finally began to improve as those of Adriani worsened. Finding Adriani too closely associated with the memory of an autocratic Lorenzo de' Medici, who died in 1519, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici promoted Machiavelli's partial comeback, delivering to him the commission from the Studio to write the *Istorie fiorentine*. In fact, Giulio is the consummate Machiavellian prince of Godman's study, especially and ironically in his promoting Agostino Nifo to repackaging Machiavelli's *Prince* as a *De regnandi peritia* for dedication to Charles V (whose support Giulio sought).

Godman's book is an impressive piece of scholarship that combines a classicist's eye for the subtleties of Renaissance philology with a historian's interest in the politics of culture. His study incorporates numerous other figures—including Pico della Mirandola, Ermolao Barbaro, Pandolfo Collenuccio, and Girolamo Savonarola—and explores countless byways including, in the appendix, an account of the censorship of Machiavelli's writings. That very devotion to detail is,

however, also partly responsible for the book's tendency to meander. Often, the direction of the argument is unclear, and even by the close of the book, a somewhat muddy conclusion fails to state clearly a unifying thesis. The writing, moreover, is very dense and in many places is so ambiguous as to threaten clarity.

Nonetheless, this book offers an engaging and comprehensive portrait of Adriani based on his largely unpublished writings, and it ventures intriguing speculations as to Machiavelli's intellectual relationship to him. In the latter regard, however, the revisionist thesis overreaches, as Godman would attribute almost all of Machiavelli's veiled criticism of humanism (e.g. florid style and moral idealism) as being directed to Adriani alone, when there is in fact little evidence—aside from Paolo Giovio's assertion that Machiavelli drew Greek and Latin *flores* from him (p. 149)—that Machiavelli truly had even secondhand knowledge of Adriani's lectures or fully engaged any of his works. In some cases, the connections are far too tenuous: it did not require the foil of Adriani for the former overseer of the Florentine militia to decide to compose a treatise on the art of war, nor did Adriani's example necessarily play any role in prompting a commentary on Livy from one whose father had indexed and bound a copy of the *Decades* (p. 145). Still, in all, Godman's study provides a thorough analysis of the political context of late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento Florentine humanism, and, conversely, it suggestively explores an immediate (anti-)humanist context for that period's most important political theory.

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JOHN M. HEADLEY. *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xxv, 399. \$55.00.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were a liberating period. Emerging from the Renaissance, with its reliance on ancient texts and religious authorities, men like Francis Bacon, Giordano Bruno, Tommaso Campanella, and Galileo Galilei began the liberation of the human imagination that marked the post-Renaissance period. Only one of these men, Galileo, truly freed the human mind and readied it to be rechained, this time to the universal laws of nature of the Newtonian synthesis.

But this is not a review of a book on Galileo or on the later Newtonianism but of a book on Campanella, a failed prophet of millenarian change. Campanella, like Bruno, was a Dominican from the Neapolitan kingdom. Again like Bruno, he was an anti-Aristotelian. Where Bruno had been a pre-Galilean Copernican, Campanella defended Galileo and applauded Galilean empiricism without understanding its mathematical basis. Like the more famous Bacon, Campanella believed in observing nature "directly" rather than relying on the written texts and shibboleths of the past.

Whereas the Inquisition condemned Bruno to die as a heretic in 1600, Campanella survived two inquisitorial imprisonments. He lived his last years in Paris. The watchful eyes of the pope and his nuncio still saw him as a "heresiarch requiring due vigilance." Cardinal Richelieu used Campanella, and the latter's posthumously published Eclogue prophesied the dauphin, *portentose puer*, as the future Sun King of a society whose type he had described in *La città del sole* (1602). As John M. Headley says, however, Campanella was a "faded prophet" whose cosmic messianism was at that very moment being destroyed by the apostles of the new dispensation of science, Galileo and René Descartes.

Nonetheless, Headley argues that Campanella's "raw vision" of nature and the world was important because it marked the end of the Renaissance period with its imitative fashions and "prettification" of poetry and story. As Headley shows, Campanella was no Ariosto or Tasso. He was Campanella, whose views of the world, nature, and poetry were unique and largely unstructured. Headley's book, however, contains the structure and cadence that the end-of-the-Renaissance Campanella lacked. As the table of contents indicates, the author divides the book into two parts (the first, three chapters on "the biographical context" [Toward the Making of a Prophet; The Prophet Bound; The Celebrity Faded], and the other, a five-chapter sequence "engaging the five major issues of the emerging modern world" [The Controversy with Machiavelli: On the Rearming of Heaven; Universal Monarch: On Identifying The Arm of God; Universal Theocracy and the Ecclesiastical State: The Figure of Melchisedech; and Naturalistic Religion, America, and World Evangelization]). Headley prefaces these two parts with a prologue (Naples and Europe in 1601), separates them with an *Intermezzo*, and concludes them with an epilogue (Campanella and the end of the Renaissance).

The coarse, rough-hewn thought and language of the Neapolitan friar are presented and discussed in Headley's own sometimes complex language and thought structure. For example, Headley tells us that the book presents a "symbiotic contextualization" that is "not argued for any specific progression in Campanella's intellectual development but rather . . . to reveal his very peculiar total involvement by the mind's thrust, in these issues despite his own physical remove" (p. 339). Does Headley mean that Campanella was a postmodern "absent presence" in the seventeenth century? No, but the absent-present idiom works perfectly to summarize Campanella's role in the early seventeenth-century world when the Renaissance gave way to the modern world.

Headley's book is a carefully hewn intellectual history of the late Renaissance and of Campanella. This work also offers a major historiographical analysis of the meaning of the Renaissance and of its end as it merged into baroque, mannerist, and classical periods. We have long needed a detailed study of Campanella and his works set within the context of his time, as well

as of an analysis of how the Renaissance ended, equal to the works by Hans Baron and Paul Oskar Kristeller on how it began. Headley's book goes well beyond the chapter on Campanella in Frances Yates's *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), and it brings together many of Headley's articles published in various journals. We have here the expected anti-Aristotelian Campanella, but, with Headley, we now also realize both that Campanella was a critic of Niccolò Machiavelli's and Bruno's anti-Christian politics and the preacher of a worldwide Evangel following Christopher Columbus's discovery. Campanella cited Columbus throughout his writings because he saw the discovery of the New World as an example of that kind of naturalism or "direct experience" that he felt confuted Lactantius, Augustine, and the other authorities of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance who had held the human mind in thrall. He did not realize how utterly the discovery of other geographic and scientific worlds would transform the Hermetic world in which he himself lived with its dreams of magical, encyclopedic knowledge.

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LORENZO BIANCONI and GIORGIO PESTELLI, editors. *The History of Italian Opera. Part 2, Systems; Volume 4, Opera Production and Its Resources*. Translated by LYDIA G. COCHRANE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Pp. xviii, 440. \$50.00.

The present work is a translation of volume four of the six-volume series, *Storia dell'opera italiana* (published in two parts of three volumes each: part two, "Systems," has been the first to appear). The series has justifiably received high praise since it began publication in Italian in 1987, and its availability in English is most welcome. Part one surveys the works of Italian opera over its four centuries of existence, and the fortunes of those works both on the Italian peninsula and across Europe. The other volumes of part two treat such topics as the use of theatrical space, the role of dance, the history of theoretical writing about opera, and the literary contexts of libretti and librettists. This volume focuses on the social and economic issues in the history of operatic production and on three personnel roles crucial to that production: the librettist, the composer, and the singer. Most sections end with a bibliographic note covering both research sources and modern scholarship, updated in some cases to include works published after 1987.

Editors Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli note in their preface that these volumes constitute the first full history of Italian opera. The difficulties that confronted them in this undertaking extend beyond the mere breadth of the subject or difficulties with sources. The musicological tradition of operatic history that had its origins in German idealism was strongly normative and teleological, favoring the unified music

drama of Richard Wagner. It disparaged theatricality or "spectacle" and those aspects of opera not easily analyzed in musical and literary terms. In proposing new approaches to the subject, the editors have not only turned to literary criticism, notably reception theory, but they have redefined the subject of their study as "a cultural product made not primarily of texts but of events—esthetic events," whose history in Italy should be understood as "the history of a dynamic system of intertwined relations" (p. xiv). The resulting work is indeed a series of intertwined historical narratives, one that allows for analyses that most historians should find sensible and useful as well as innovative in the findings each author presents.

The history of opera production is divided into three chronological segments: the first from the origins of opera to 1780, the next covering the years 1780–1880, and the last from the era of Italian unification to the present. In the first, Franco Piperno traces several themes. One is the development of different organizational bases for operatic performances, beginning with the court sponsorship that marked opera's earliest days, through the rise of the individual impresario as well as the formation of municipal opera houses managed by committees. Another is the rise of distinct patterns in the hiring and organization of personnel. Itinerant companies marked an early point in the development of commercial opera by the seventeenth century, to be replaced gradually by more specialized professionals hired on an open market. Management remained, not surprisingly, more attached to a single venue, coping in each particular place with the considerable financial risks and organizational problems of assembling personnel, handling subscriptions and ticket sales, managing publicity, and producing the actual performances. Piperno also discusses the distinct fortunes of serious and comic opera, as well as the growing importance of operatic ballet. John Rosselli takes these developments through the nineteenth century, when both political interests and commercial concerns loomed ever larger, in a discussion that builds on his earlier study of the opera industry and the impresarial system. Opera became a business of considerable economic significance. At the same time, it remained closely linked with political hierarchy both public and private, with its state subsidies, private subscribers, and programming boards. Fiamma Nicolodi follows these developments from Italian unification, through the fascist era, to postwar and recent trends and tendencies. The narrative divides its attention among government involvements and interventions, the opera industry itself, and the audience.

The roles of librettist, composer, and singer developed out of the early modern Italian court life in which opera first took shape. Fabrizio Della Seta, Elvidio Surian, and Sergio Durante survey the histories of these three "principal contributors" to the production of opera. Unsurprisingly, late humanist culture gave pride of place to the librettist as man of letters. From this early high point, his status steadily eroded until

the later nineteenth century. His loss was the gain of the composer, who came gradually to enjoy better pay and recognition, greater agency and authority in his work, and a longer repertory life for the fruits of his labors. Singers also rose from their early standing as court hirelings to the largest budget item in a production and the top line in publicity. Each scholar manages to balance the difficult tasks of discussing the developments in training and education, employment patterns, work methods, and critical traditions, while treating technical matters so as to inform rather than overwhelm the narrative.

This volume will remain the definitive work in the field for some time to come. It should also serve as a valuable basis for further historical research on this complex cultural product.

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ROLAND SARTI. *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1997. Pp. x, 249. \$59.95.

Even by the standards of the nineteenth century, Giuseppe Mazzini's life is remarkably well documented, yet few have chosen to write his political biography. Mazzini's brand of democratic republicanism has not made him an easy hero for either liberals or socialists, but the deeper problem lies in the contradictions in his ideas and career. Mazzini was the great prophet of Italian unification, yet until his death he remained by choice an outlaw in the country he devoted his life to create. Mazzini was a democrat who quarreled with virtually every other Italian democrat and conducted endless spats with French utopian socialists and, predictably, with Karl Marx. Although involved in constant insurrectionary activities from a distance—for which others paid with their lives—Mazzini established no unified political movement or easily identified political program. He denounced the pope and the church hierarchy yet saw nationalism as the means to achieve the religious regeneration of Europe.

Roland Sarti's new biography nicely complements Denis Mack Smith's *Mazzini* (1994) as only the second biography published in English for sixty years. Sarti offers greater detail on Mazzini's early life, on his relations with his family (especially the mother who supported him throughout his long exiles), but above all emphasizes the centrality of Mazzini's religious convictions. Gaetano Salvemini focused on the same theme in his biography written at the turn of the century, but mainly to show that had it not been for his religious mysticism Mazzini might have been a good socialist. By contrast, Sarti depicts Mazzini as a man of his own time whose desire to achieve a more just and harmonious society was driven by Romantic notions of agency and deep religious conviction.

Religious conviction also helped Mazzini survive an unending sequence of public and private disasters. The

failures were evident on every side: the failure to communicate his ideas clearly, the failure to establish a united movement or following, the repeated and costly failures of the insurrections that Mazzini tirelessly helped to organize. But religious conviction also set Mazzini apart both from the coarse anticlericalism that Garibaldi was always willing to endorse and from the tradition of anticlerical freemasonry that Antonio Gramsci later claimed to be the true heart of Italian liberalism. It meant, too, that Mazzini was often closer to his conservative enemies than to the democrats and revolutionaries in whose company he spent most of his life.

So what was Mazzini's legacy? Mazzini's greatest political skill seems to have been his ability to divide his allies. No one understood that better than Camillo Cavour, who never missed an opportunity to exaggerate the threat posed by Mazzini, knowing that there was no better way of winning moderate opinion to his own platform. There can be no doubt that Mazzini's unsuccessful revolutionary tactics played straight into Cavour's hands, but Sarti shows that many other groups (including his coterie of well-to-do English women admirers) were busy appropriating Mazzini for their own. After his death, republicans, nationalists, irredentists, socialists, anticlerical liberals and liberal Catholics could all hail Mazzini as their master, while until the end of the century the majority of labor associations remained Mazzinian rather than socialist in inspiration. Later, of course, Benito Mussolini's fascists would also claim Mazzini as their founder, although his commitment to democratic values proved a problem for even the regime's most skilled ideologues.

More clearly than any previous biographer, Sarti confronts the contradictions that lay at the heart of the man and his ideas, which ultimately explain why Mazzini's image remained more powerful in death than in life and left so many different legacies.

JOHN A. DAVIS
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OLIVIER FARON. *La ville des destins croisés: Recherches sur la société milanaise du XIX^e siècle (1811–1860)*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 297.) Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997. Pp. x, 603.

Olivier Faron adapts his title from Italo Calvino; his intellectual and methodological commitment is to demographic history and the "serial history" so well practiced by the *Annalistes*, and the city he studies is Milan, from the late eighteenth century to the unification of 1860. His work is not simply demographic history, for in the research process he opened and explored new perspectives as well. What makes this study exceptional, and exceptionally rich in insights, is the source on which Faron draws so effectively: the *anagrafe* or population register. Initiated during the period of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1811–

1814), the record was continued under the Austrians when they returned to govern Lombardy and the Veneto until their expulsion the 1860s, and later in the unified kingdom of Italy. The *anagrafe* started with a complete census of individuals living in Milan in 1811, recorded on forms that listed the address, all individuals in the household, date of arrival of its head in Milan if born elsewhere, occupations of family members as of opening date, other details, and its changing composition. Moves within the city and births, marriages, and deaths were to be registered when they occurred and added to the household folder. The folders of the original households of 1811, or the first household of a continuing family line, have been and continue to be updated as long as members of that line are still in the city. In unified Italy, the *anagrafe* was checked against the decennial censuses, and they continue to be active records to this day. In the period studied by Faron, the agents of the *anagrafe* sought to differentiate residents (temporary) from citizens (established residents) with jobs and families who intended to continue to live in Milan.

Other historians of Italy (in particular Andrea Schiaffino and David Kertzer, who worked on Bologna in the later nineteenth century) paved the way in using the *anagrafe*, and Faron received permission to sample files covering households in the city in the first half of the nineteenth century. He began extracting information by hand, but before he completed the work four years later—having examined 9,000 folders—he had switched to direct entry by computer. No contemporary historian can consider a document like this without reference to Michel Foucault's theory linking the state's search for knowledge about its subjects and its power. Faron argues instead that since the French Revolution, it has been a duty of citizens to make themselves known to the state in the *anagrafe*, censuses, and other forms of registration, in return for which they are granted certain rights. Thus the link is interactive, joining individual and administration in reciprocal dependence, not a one-way relation imposed from above. He differentiates his view of the link from that of Foucault, referring instead to the communicative theory of Jürgen Habermas. Individuals no longer had a fixed place in the social hierarchy as aristocrat, bourgeois, or member of the "people"; instead, one's place was linked to the possession or nonpossession of property, the latter being strictly related, for all but those possessing property, to the need to labor.

Faron sampled one out of ten family folders containing individuals who lived in Milan between 1811 and 1860, or the next folder with such a record, yielding almost 9,000 families and 49,000 individuals to work with. This sample (E-1) was supplemented by 800 police reports (E-2), 6,000 family folders from the 1811 census (E-3), two sets (1808–1809 and 1810–1811) of cadastral acts regarding transactions affecting property (E-4 and E-5), and a set of individuals who lived in the city from 1821–1853 (E-6). Although there was con-

siderable underregistration, in particular of children who died soon after birth, various experimental analyses established that the quality of information in the family folders was otherwise excellent. Using the various samples, Faron's long descriptive chapters discuss structural aspects of the city—its economic actors (occupations and their characteristics) in the late eighteenth century, the changing spatial location of productive work, and demographic transformations—and offer a more dynamic analysis of new urban behaviors or social relations (based on police records).

Given the amount of effort that went into the production of statistical evidence, one hesitates to carp about the analysis. Faron overwhelms us with evidence, and many of his original findings press far beyond those in other demographic studies, but he seems less informed about previous studies of occupational structure and economic change than one might expect. His examination of women's place in the preindustrial labor market is rather naïve, and his assumptions about industrialization as a clearly defined moment after which the economy is fully transformed are unwarranted. Nevertheless, this study is an impressive accomplishment; Faron's work belongs in the ranks of the great theses of the *Annales* school and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

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ANTHONY L. CARDOZA. *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy: The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 248. \$59.95.

Piedmont's aristocrats were a cold, humorless lot, sorely lacking the graceful charm and sensuous elegance of their compatriots further south. But for firm-handedness in clutching power they were second to none in the young Italian state, managing to keep intact their wealth and status into the first decades of the twentieth century.

To determine definitively just how they did so, Anthony L. Cardoza spent much hard time in the damp archives of Turin, gathering data for thirty-two variables from about 30,000 probate records dated 1862–1885 and 1901–1912 (the intervening years having been destroyed or lost at some point) and another 4,250 from 1922–1923. Mixed in helter-skelter with these records were an uneven but rich trove of wills, marriage contracts, leases, and other residues of economic activity. From these Cardoza traced the fortunes of some 837 individual titled nobles and, as a sort of control group, another 125 super-wealthy non-nobles. All this he presents in thirty-three tables and a careful text that assesses thoroughly the significance of lineage, gender, initial wealth, primogeniture, endogamy, and much more.

Blue-bloods constituted about two-thirds of Piedmont's wealthiest people in 1862, a proportion that dropped to slightly less than one-third by 1912. Against

this apparent decline, however, we are reminded that in Paris and Naples at the turn of the century, less than one percent of the very richest were titled nobles. The old thoroughbreds—and the older the lineage the better—kept nearly three-fourths of their wealth in real property, more in countryside than city, whereas non-nobles held the majority of their assets in personal property, especially stocks, bonds, and credit instruments.

Piedmontese nobility maximized economic exploitation of their estates with intensive management techniques, thereby mirroring their rapacious English counterparts much more closely than their Italian cousins in Lazio and Sicily. To know where the money came from, think about rice workers toiling in the soggy plains of Novara and Vercelli, not about gentlemen sniffing exquisite Barolo wines on the hillsides. Also like the English nobility, titled men took deep satisfaction in living on their property for several months each year, enjoying exclusive fishing and hunting rights by day, gazing upon their coats-of-arms and family portraits by night, peacefully secure in the knowledge that a big, steady income from holdings leased to grain producers for cash in advance would support their elegant lifestyles. And when they died, the marquises and counts chose burial on the estate.

Noble women also had opportunities. With the Napoleonic Code and its guarantees that all legitimate heirs would share in the legacy, over forty percent of titled women in probate had personal fortunes placing them among the top 1.5 percent of Turin's wealth holders. Usually they had to outlive a husband to have much control over money, since daughters, wives, and sisters often were no more than "legal conduits of wealth within the family" (p. 99) and occasionally even illegal agents, as in the case of the spinster who fronted for her brother's tax evasion schemes while he actually controlled everything. Still, marriage "remained the quickest and most important means employed by the nobility to amass great wealth" (p. 116).

Piedmont's noble families did not experience the greater intimacy and informality that became fashionable among late nineteenth-century aristocrats elsewhere in Europe, nor did they tolerate eccentricity. Early training by domestic priests and stern nannies was followed for boys by the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* curriculum at the Royal Military Academy or the Royal Carlo Alberto College. The education of girls was left to their mothers at home. For the men with a truly lengthy pedigree, an invitation to join the Società del Whist for a lifetime of nostalgic uselessness might follow. For the women, there was private charitable activity.

Eventually the fast racing cars produced by upstart Fiat held some appeal, but not enough to lure blue-bloods into serving on the company's corporate board. After the Great War, the nobility with quiet dignity engaged in limited diversification. Returns from rents were low, and the peasantry seemed entirely less deferential, so a gradual blending with the untitled

wealthy made sense. They never did so, however, with the avidity of their brethren in Florence, Genoa, and Rome.

Cardoza tells the story of Piedmont's aristocrats with admirable subtlety, judiciously chosen examples, persuasive statistical documentation, and a controlled but firm sense of ethical judgment. The result is a fine piece of scholarship.

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ALEXANDER NÜTZENADEL. *Landwirtschaft, Staat und Autarkie: Agrarpolitik im faschistischen Italien (1922–1943)*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 86.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1997. Pp. xiv, DM 138.00.

This is a comprehensive and well-researched study of political and institutional aspects of Italian agriculture in the fascist period and of social and economic consequences of fascist agricultural policies. The volume begins with an historical survey of agriculture in the pre-fascist decades. It continues by following developments over the trends and cycles of the fascist period: years of liberal policy and growth (1922–1925); years of protection, stabilization, and revaluation of the lira (1927); agricultural depression (1929–1934); and autarchy and war (1934–1943).

In the interwar years, Europe was faced with an excess of cheap food from overseas. European states threatened with a deterioration in their standard of living responded with protective tariffs and self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Italy introduced a new tariff on wheat, among other measures, but nationalistic policies failed to restore prosperity.

The rise of fascism coincided with a structural crisis that had roots in the nineteenth century. Italy was a country with pronounced regional differences in income and wealth, excessive fragmentation of land, and growing poverty and overpopulation that obstructed modernization, particularly in the south. Widespread social unrest in agricultural regions after World War I contributed to the political destabilization of liberal Italy and the success of the fascist revolution.

Alexander Nützenadel argues that there was little planning in agriculture. Fascism adopted a conservative agrarian ideology and followed a neo-mercantilist policy of state regulation of the economy. Agriculture was based on wheat cultivation. Price supports were linked to import duties, which guaranteed producers a profitable price. Italy was tied to the Gold Bloc, which ruled out anticyclical monetary policy or Keynesian growth theory as a means of combating depression and unemployment. Social and economic objectives in agricultural policy were sacrificed to political expediency because of scarce financial resources.

The strongest supporters of fascism were the urban middle class and rural upper classes. Fascism presented itself as a protector of public order and property rights and was popular with rural elites and a

broad strata of the peasant population. Nützenadel argues that there was never real consensus among agricultural workers regarding fascism but rather a passive integration of the rural masses into the organizational structure of the state through a highly effective propaganda apparatus.

The greatest beneficiaries of fascist policies were large-scale agricultural producers. Fascism gained control of the labor force with the liquidation of the socialist unions in 1926. Labor markets were regulated by the state, while agricultural wages were kept low. Benito Mussolini had only rhetorical interest in land redistribution, which was strongly opposed by southern landowners. Mussolini's promise of peasant ownership through expropriation of estates in 1922 was still only a promise in 1937. Fascism favored the system of small holders and the expansion of the *mezzadria* system (sharecropping) to protect land owners and to "deproletarianize" farm laborers who threatened the stability of the regime.

The book covers the "battle of wheat," land reclamation and improvement projects, the agricultural crisis of the 1930s, and the disastrous effects of autarchy on the economy of the south and sheds light on the role of fascist corporations and agricultural syndicates. The Italian economy did not deviate significantly from its long-term growth rate under fascism; agriculture, however, was a lagging economic sector. Nützenadel shows that agricultural policies after 1925 were seriously flawed. Overvaluation of the lira depressed wages and prices and was responsible for the deterioration in Italy's international accounts. It also led to unfavorable terms of trade for agricultural products through a lower ratio of agricultural to industrial prices. The campaign to increase wheat production ("battle of wheat") had only a modest effect on output. It delayed the introduction of more specialized crops in place of wheat and of structural reform in agriculture for decades. Land reclamation projects, half of which were not completed, favored disproportionately the large landowners in the north. Internal colonization projects to relieve rural population pressure affected only a relatively small number of the population. These projects designed to reduce rural overpopulation and unemployment were underfunded and had little effect on incomes and employment. In the depression of the 1930s, fascism gave far more economic support to industrial and financial sectors of the economy by making huge public investments in the restructuring of big industry and banks to avert economic collapse.

Agriculture, Nützenadel concludes, did not have a high economic priority under fascism. In the final analysis, fascist policy, like its rural rhetoric, was *aria fritta*. Its greatest originality lay in its ability to control wages through political coercion.

The study skillfully assimilates the revisionist historiography of fascism that has been produced in Italy since the 1970s. It makes a noteworthy contribution to

our understanding of agriculture and adds new material to the continuing debate on the fascist economy.

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MARLA SUSAN STONE. *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 334. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

That fascism sought to "aestheticize politics" is an idea more frequently asserted than investigated. The great merit of Marla Susan Stone's illuminating and copiously documented study is that she has pursued Walter Benjamin's idea into the interstices of the Italian fascist regime, tracing the evolution of its policies and institutional initiatives toward art and culture with a sure hand for their many complexities. The result is an important contribution to the recent literature on Italian fascism. Although her book does not fundamentally reshape our understanding of the regime, it certainly deepens it and, in doing so, raises a number of intriguing questions that will help guide further research.

Stone's thesis, evident in her title, is that Italian fascism's aesthetic politics—in sharp contrast to Nazism's—were never a matter of promoting a monolithic art of the state but were, rather, about serving as patron over a variety of competing artistic movements and visions, some traditionalist, others modernist, and still others hard-line efforts to define a univocal fascist aesthetic. Fascist bureaucrats charged with cultural policy even exalted difference and conflict, and Stone sees regime policy as essentially one of "aesthetic pluralism."

Already in the 1920s, the regime had made efforts to gain control of the organization and administration of artistic display. From 1931 to 1936, which Stone treats as a second, mature phase of regime policy, aesthetic pluralism triumphed. The regime now had a truly national, government-funded system of cultural display that operated both through effective control of longstanding institutions such as the Venice Biennale and through sponsoring its own extravaganzas, such as the Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista of 1932. Still, "the regime had no master plan" (p. 32) and, although it encouraged the search for a specifically fascist art, no consensus about such an art ever emerged. Rather, the "cultural bureaucracies of the government and the party 'agreed to disagree'" (p. 43). Then, in the darker environment that emerged with the Ethiopian War, the Spanish Civil War, and the alliance with Nazi Germany, a "culture war" exploded in which fascist hardliners like Roberto Farinacci and Giuseppe Pensabene sought to discredit pluralism and forge a unitary, antimodernist, and pro-Nazi fascist aesthetic. Yet, even in this third phase, the effort to stifle pluralism ultimately failed. Stone is at her best in her chapter on this phase, which offers careful assessments of the many camps in the battle and their various, partial triumphs.

Why did the Italian regime decline to pursue a more aggressive, state-imposed cultural vision? Stone is convincing in her careful analysis of this question, which touches on the regime's need for popular consent, its recognition that an imposed art would be a non-art, and its effort to bring intellectual resources into the regime rather than risk the development of an active underground. She supplements the argument with an equally convincing perspective from the side of the artist-producers, which shows that their motives in participating in the culture of the regime cannot be captured in the simple dichotomy of collaboration vs. coercion that until recently characterized the study of fascist culture.

Less certain, however, are Stone's answers to other major questions the study raises. Was "aesthetic pluralism" truly a policy of the regime, or was it rather indicative of a failed search for an affirmative strategy or even of the lack of any coordinated policy? To the extent that it was a real policy, was it successful in its second phase, as Renzo De Felice's concept of that period as the "years of consensus" might suggest? Stone's sensitivity to the many complexities of fascist cultural politics prevents her from presenting any firm answers to these important questions. Finally, if fascist cultural politics were fundamentally about aesthetic pluralism, how can fascist cultural politics be distinguished from those of liberal democracy? Stone's answer—that fascist pluralism was state-sponsored while liberal pluralism is market-driven—is belied by her many suggestive analyses of the way Americanist motifs pervaded fascist cultural spectacles, from the "Hollywood-style" (p. 95) of the 1932 Venice Film Festival to the "American World's Fair" atmosphere (p. 243) that overlay the contemporaneous fascist exhibitions of the late 1930s.

Although it is surprising that Stone makes no effort to situate her history in relation to the critical discourse of Americanism that so pervaded European intellectual life during these years, the omission does not critically affect the significance of her carefully crafted institutional approach to the cultural politics of Italian fascism. It is and will likely remain essential reading for all students of fascist culture.

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IGNÁC ROMSICS. *István Bethlen: A Great Conservative Statesman of Hungary, 1874–1946*. Translated by MARIO D. FENYO. (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, number 82; East European Monographs, number 424.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs and Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, N.J.; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1995. Pp. x, 491. \$56.00.

The volume under review is a welcome contribution to the monograph series, which has enriched American historiography in the areas of Central and Eastern Europe since 1971 with well over 400 titles under the

imaginative leadership of its editor-publisher, Stephen A. Fischer-Galati. Together with *Count István Tisza* by Gabor Vermes (1985), and Thomas Sakmyster's biography of Miklós Horthy (*Hungary's Admiral on Horseback* [1994]), both of which appeared in the same series, plus the older magisterial work by C. A. Macartney on interwar Hungary (*October Fifteenth*, 2 vols. [1957]), Ignác Romsics's biography of István Bethlen completes an impressive English-language history of Hungary in the first half of the twentieth century, as mirrored in the country's traditional conservative statecraft.

Scion of an ancient Transylvanian family, whose members included Counts Bethlen on the paternal and Counts Teleki on the maternal side, Count István Bethlen was the third-born child of his father, who died in 1876, when his son was only two years old. Unlike his two older sisters, the boy's education continued far away from the modest family estate in the heartland of Transylvania, at the Vienna Theresianum, in accord with his father's will. At this exclusive educational institute of the Habsburg monarchy, in addition to Greek and Latin, compulsory subjects included modern languages and literatures such as German, English, and French, and the discipline was strict. The ten years he spent at the Theresianum proved to be character forming and provided Bethlen with social contacts both at home and abroad.

Arguably, Bethlen was the political architect of Admiral Horthy's twenty-five-year-long counterrevolutionary regime, which spanned the period between the ends of the first and second world wars (1919–1944). As Hungary's prime minister from 1921 to 1931, Bethlen remained a significant political factor behind the scenes after his fall from power, due to his influence with Regent Horthy. This ended with the country's military occupation by Soviet Russia in the last phase of World War II. Deported to Moscow's Butirskaia prison in early April of 1945, Bethlen was kept incommunicado, according to our recent knowledge, until his death in October 1946.

Balanced and well-researched, Romsics's book opens with an examination of Bethlen's family background and education, including his university years first at the law faculty at Budapest and later at the agronomical institute in Mosonmagyaróvár. While he neglected his law studies, he showed more interest in agronomical sciences as a preparatory step in managing his estates in Transylvania where he returned in June 1900. A year later he married a distant cousin, the Countess Margit Bethlen, who had literary and bohemian inclinations. Together, the couple travelled in the southern peninsulas of Europe and visited Turkey, Germany, England, and Scandinavia, also spending three weeks in the United States to study farming and agricultural machinery before World War I.

A member of the social and political elite of Hungarian Transylvania and a lay leader of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, Bethlen was elected without opposition to the parliament in Budapest early in his

public career in 1901. Officially, he ran on the program of the ruling Liberal Party of the Tiszas. But a model landowner himself, he was much closer to the Hungarian agrarians, taking frequent public stands against "foreign hands" in commerce and industry and the spirit of unlimited competition and supporting state assistance for agriculture and self-defense for farmers, especially in the Székely Region, against Romanian competition. It is at this point that Bethlen's independent stand as a politician becomes clear. Although he never denounced the Compromise of 1867 in view of the limitations of Hungarian national resources, he joined the Oppositional United Forty-Eight Party during the constitutional crisis of 1905–1906 and opposed Tisza's efforts to reach an agreement with the Romanians on the eve of World War I. Bethlen stood for unqualified Hungarian supremacy in Transylvania, opposed the extension of the suffrage and land reform, and wrote articles for an anti-Semitic periodical.

Consecutive major sections of the book analyze Bethlen's transformation from a conservative landowner-politician with Transylvanian interests into a national politician with a broader perspective and greater sensitivity to liberal ideas. Following the collapse of the monarchy, and in part thanks to his contacts with representatives of the Entente missions, Bethlen gradually assumed the role of a leader of the counterrevolution, first during the regime of Count Mihály Károlyi and later in Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic. Yet it was only after the protracted political crises that followed the communists in Hungary and the failed attempts of Emperor-King Charles IV to reclaim his crown that Bethlen got his chance as prime minister to consolidate the country's political life and revive its shaken economy.

In the most sophisticated part of his work, Romsics describes the series of compromises on which Bethlen's counterrevolutionary consolidation rested in the late 1920s. From a social point of view, these included compromises among landowners, the *haute bourgeoisie*, and the upper ranks of the military and the civil service (p. 216). Pointing out the common antidemocratic interests of this "peculiar alliance," which excluded poor and landless peasants and offered only limited opportunities to landed peasants, workers, and the petty bourgeoisie, Romsics correctly stresses that "the form of government under Bethlen was limited parliamentarism . . . Opposition parties could operate legally, be they extreme right, liberal democratic, or Social Democratic, and they were able to express their opinion in Parliament and the newspaper reading public" (p. 216). Due to its built-in safeguard, Bethlen's, and by extension Horthy's, counterrevolutionary regime could afford to be "a combination of liberal parliamentarian and autocratic elements," not least because by the end of the 1920s, Hungary's economy recovered with the help of a League of Nations loan. In spite of the devastating years of the Depression that hit the still overwhelmingly agricultural country during the 1930s, Hungary was able to

avoid the ending of political pluralism, the domination of one major mass party, and a state ideology controlling the lives of all citizens, as well as other features of fascism that had begun to penetrate Central Europe. For this, Bethlen deserves considerable credit, although, or perhaps because, he was not in power during Adolf Hitler's rise. Thus his influence on the regent remained and became critically important, especially after Prime Minister Paul Teleki's suicide in 1941 and following Miklós Kállay's appointment as prime minister.

Unfortunately, space does not allow me to elaborate on the years 1931–1944, when, in the author's words, Bethlen became the "Grand Old Man" of Hungarian politics because of his anti-Nazi and pro-British stands. He also grew as a human being, as shown by his repudiation of racist attitudes during Hungary's worsening anti-Jewish measures and the horrors committed by the Hungarian military against Jews and Serbs in the area they occupied in 1941 after the fall of Yugoslavia. Romsics takes proper note of Bethlen's growth during the last dozen years of his public life. His critical reliance on foreign diplomatic reports on Hungary and Bethlen lends special value to his presentation, the importance of which is further enhanced by the endeavor not to conceal Bethlen's shortcomings and human frailties, such as his refusal to give up his revisionist ideas regarding the recovery of Hungary's "thousand-year old" borders and his inability to attain a compromise with the Romanians in the matter of Transylvania. These were two of the blind spots all Hungarian politicians of the pre-World War II generation shared. Whether greater readiness for cooperation and a sense of responsibility among leaders of the small nations between the German and Russian juggernauts would have changed their fate once the latter were rearmed again and ready to go to war, no one can tell.

During the Nazi occupation of Hungary, Bethlen was underground, helping Horthy whenever possible to make contact with the advancing Allies and avoid ultimate disaster, a task that proved impossible. Real tragedy struck when the Soviet Union kidnapped this belated brave fighter against German expansion and held him in total isolation from his family and the rest of the world until his premature death in 1946. A few weeks before Bethlen's deportation, the Soviets also abducted from Budapest the Swedish diplomat-humanitarian Raoul Wallenberg, and two representatives of neutral Switzerland, Harald Feller and Max Meier. Only the Swiss diplomats survived their detention in Russia.

Bethlen's scholarly biography by Romsics greatly benefits from Mario D. Fenyo's fine translation.

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PAUL E. MICHELSON. *Romanian Politics 1859–1871: From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol*. Portland, Ore.: Center for Romanian Studies. 1998. Pp. 344. \$50.00.

In this handsome monograph, we find political groups and their machinations at a critical moment when Danubian Romanians passed from being governed by a native prince to a foreign one. Paul E. Michelson fastens far less on the princes, Alexandru Ion Cuza and Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, than on Romanians in key cabinet posts, particularly prime ministers and interior ministers, and to a more curtailed extent on the role of deputies and senators in the legislature. The author modestly admits that his "political-history-as-narrative . . . is not the only history nor even the most important kind of history," yet he claims that it "provides a necessary foundation" and a basic framework for "the orderly and coherent doing of other types of history" (p. 15).

This volume parallels Michelson's prior book, *Conflict and Crisis: Romanian Political Development, 1861–1871* (1987). As he points out, "the scope of the present work is both wider and narrower" than the 1987 tome: wider in covering "a longer period" and in being "concerned with political life as such," but narrower in being "much less preoccupied with development *per se*," being "intentionally less analytical" with "less on the theory, the processes, and related economic and other concerns," and "more descriptive, concentrating on the story of 1859–1871" (pp. 18–19). Moreover, in a footnote, he clarifies that his 1998 monograph draws "extensively on the research and analysis" in the preceding one, but "the focus of the two studies and a decade of additional study and research . . . make them different works." And he affirms that "the sections on Cuza . . . are either new or extensively rewritten . . . [while the] sections on Carol . . . have been recast and somewhat simplified in places, but rest largely on the previous study" (p. 19, n. 22).

This is indeed a broadly revised account of domestic affairs in the autonomous Danubian principalities of Moldova [Moldavia] and Muntenia [Wallachia] under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and the protection of Europe's great powers. Chapter two sketches the epoch following the Congress of Paris in 1856 and the 1858 Paris convention until the double election of a Moldovan soldier, Cuza, to rule both principalities in 1859. Chapter three deals with subsequent political problems to the definitive Moldo-Muntenian union in 1861, an era missing in the 1987 edition. The next chapters are redrafts of the 1987 book. That is, chapter four is on reforms that triggered a palace revolt in 1866, forcing Cuza to abdicate; chapter five is on the circumstances concomitant with Carol's ascending the throne; and chapter six is on squabbles and riots leading to Carol's contemplated relinquishing the crown in 1871.

Each chapter contains a medley of political topics that beg explanations as to origins and consequences.

In the reworked second chapter, Michelson offers concepts deserving brief clarification, such as "the Metternich System" (p. 28) and the "Organic Regulations system" (p. 37). In the new third chapter, he proffers little or no elucidation of such mysteries as Ion Ghica's switching from his premiership of Moldova to that of Muntenia in 1859 (pp. 62, 78). By contrast, the author effectively describes the organization and functioning of the cumbersome Central Commission, which had been projected by the powers in 1858, consisting of Romanians who met at Focșani to treat matters of common concern to both principalities from 1860 to 1862 (pp. 29, 35–37, 82–83, 101–102, 109).

This book seemingly lacks the author's own proofreading or that of a skillful copyeditor, for we encounter many miscues in English grammar, usage, and spelling. Also, the "irredenta" is vaguely alluded to (pp. 41, 42, 132), although defined in the 1987 edition as involving Romanians in Austria's Transylvania and Russia's Bessarabia (pp. 44–45). And loaded phrases, like "the Brătianu-Rosetti group had 'won' the elections [of 1867 by the] use of pressure, violence, and fraud" (p. 224), need some supporting evidence.

Outstanding are the rich bibliographical citations—especially works in Romanian, English, French, and German—in chapter one, which deals with recent historiography, and in a lengthy concluding essay that includes the author's archival sources in Romania and England along with published primary materials. The index excludes subjects but contains the tome's proper names as well as authorities mentioned in the text and bibliography.

FREDERICK KELLOGG
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PERITI LUNTINEN, *The Imperial Russian Army and Navy in Finland 1808–1918*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1997. Pp. 486.

This volume is a useful overview of the Russian military presence in Finland. Russia annexed Finland from Sweden during the Napoleonic wars, and for the next 110 years the northern country, as the Grand Duchy of Finland, formed an important part of Russian defenses, covering as it did the approaches to the old capital, St. Petersburg. Pertti Luntinen outlines the development of the forces in the Grand Duchy, both land and naval forces and those manned by Russians and Finns. Making extensive use of documents from archives located in modern Finland and in Russia (the latter now more accessible than before), Luntinen shows how the region fit into the Russian military structure and war plans. Inevitably, the story also involves the issue of Finnish autonomy. The author's approach is agreeably dispassionate, pointing out that the Russian army was at no time an oppressive army of occupation. The loyalty of the Finnish population to the Russians up to the 1890s—including the participation of Finnish troops in the suppression of Polish

rebels—is noted. Although relations with St. Petersburg became strained at the end of the century, this was more a product of social, educational, and economic change in the Grand Duchy than a reaction to the presence of Russian forces. The police authorities latterly exaggerated the danger of a militant Finnish nationalist underground, but Russian policy was generally rational. It is difficult to see what other course the Russians could have followed—certainly in terms of their military policy—that would have led to a more satisfactory outcome for them.

For much of the period covered, Finland was a backwater in military terms, although in the inaccurately described "Crimean War" it was in the front line. Even in the quiet times, however, the military preparations made give insight into some of the imperial government's security concerns. It was, in fact, only during World War I that Finland had real military significance. Here it was the naval dimension that was more important, in terms both of the elaborate coastal defense system that was constructed and of the involvement of the Baltic Fleet in the 1917 revolution.

Although Luntinen is not writing in his own language, the book is completely fluent and clear, with an admixture of droll wit. The relevant passages from Finnish fiction are a nice touch. The author is self-consciously cavalier with standardization, although this is nothing more than an annoyance. The emphasis, as Luntinen makes clear in his introduction, is more on description than analysis. For those without a clear prior understanding of the relations between the imperial government and its Finnish subjects, there is a sufficient degree of background. If anything, Luntinen sometimes strays, in what is already a long book, into a general treatment of Finnish history readily available elsewhere. Usually, however, he gets the balance right. This will be the basic work—certainly in English—for anyone interested in this significant aspect of Finnish, and Russian, history.

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AILEEN M. KELLY, *Toward Another Shore: Russian Thinkers between Necessity and Chance*. (Russian Literature and Thought.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. 400. \$35.00.

This book is a collection of essays and book review-articles on the history of Russian thought written by Aileen M. Kelly over the last twenty-odd years. Some (most?) were previously published in such diverse venues as the *New York Review of Books*, *Russian Review*, and *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*. The dating and publishing status of several of the pieces are obscure, because the author (or was it the publisher?) avoided attaching the usual information to each piece, providing only a non-inclusive list of permissions at the back of the book. This is an unsatisfactory situation that an academic press should not have permitted. The

book also lacks an index, another omission that one does not expect from a publisher of scholarly books.

Being a collection of essays written at various times, there is a great deal of repetition in the text. By the end of it, the reader has gone through so many explications of Aleksandr Herzen's worldview as laid out in his remarkable articles of 1847–1849, *From the Other Shore*, that one risks forgetting the book deals with anything else. The last two pieces, "Herzen versus Schopenhauer" and "The Divine Inventor, Chance," essentially paraphrase each other. So Herzen is the author's hero, and in her assessment of Herzen's thought and his place in Russian letters she very closely follows in the footsteps of her mentor, the late Isaiah Berlin.

But the book is in fact about a great deal more than Herzen. The pieces range eruditely over the landscape of modern Russian intellectual history from the imperial 1840s to the Soviet 1920s. They deal with the thought of such diverse figures as the revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, the philosophers Boris Chicherin, Petr Struve, Nikolay Berdyayev, and the writers Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Lev Tolstoy in addition to Herzen, although they are all seen to be engaged, directly or indirectly, in a dialogue with him. The result, despite the annoying features mentioned above, is a stimulating *tour de force* through the history of Russian thought, decorated with many incisive analyses and unexpected juxtapositions, all tied together by a common theme, "the struggle between ideological faith and nihilistic doubt expressed . . . by some of Russia's most outstanding writers and intellectuals" (p. 3) and, one might add, with the aim of demonstrating that a good deal of Russian thought was far more subtle and varied than much of the literature, focused as it was on the intellectual origins of Bolshevism, would lead one to believe. By the same token, Kelly repeatedly suggests that the ruminations of these Russian thinkers over the "accursed questions" of chance vs. necessity, progress, historical inevitability, and so on are very much relevant to our contemporary "postmodern" situation.

On the whole, it seems to this reviewer that the author's revisionist perspective is persuasive, although at times she seems gratuitously to set up straw men to knock down with her own interpretations. I will cite just one case in point: In arguing (p. 310) that Herzen's view of man's existentialist plight in *From the Other Shore* was one of optimistic contingency rather than pessimism, she cites the well-known work of Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism, 1812–1855* (1961), as an example of the view that Herzen's stance—optimism vs. pessimism—was ambivalent. In fact, on the page following those cited by Kelly, Malia writes of Herzen, "Nevertheless, his new philosophy did not end in despair . . . [I]f anarchy were the law of the universe, then man was also limitlessly free . . . Herzen had abandoned the consolations of inevitability, but had made up for their loss by a more extreme affirmation of individual dignity

and freedom and a new, though more circumspect 'hope in the future'" (p. 381). I fail to see a significant difference between Malia's and Kelly's interpretation of Herzen's position.

Particularly noteworthy, it seems to me, are Kelly's treatments, in several pieces, of Dostoevsky's internal struggles; of the diverse perspectives contained in the famous *Vekhi* (Landmarks) collection of 1909, which was aimed at the ethical and spiritual shortcomings of the intelligentsia (although I would take issue with her tendency to minimize its significance); and her demolition of the myth of Bolshevik libertarianism in the 1920s. There is one figure whose views, in my judgment, are seriously misrepresented in this book to the point of caricature: the Hegelian philosopher Chicherin (1828–1904), who is made out to be a fundamentally conservative rationalist doctrinaire, rather than the cautious liberal and profound scholar of modern political and social institutions that he was. (The latter view is upheld by the most recent scholarship on Chicherin; see Andrzej Walicki, *Legal Philosophies of Russian Liberalism* [1987]; G. M. Hamburg, *Boris Chicherin and Early Russian Liberalism* [1992]; and *Liberty, Equality, and the Market: Essays by B. N. Chicherin*, edited and translated by G. M. Hamburg [1998].) One can perhaps attribute this reading of Chicherin to the latter's break with and violent criticism of the author's hero in the late 1850s over what Chicherin considered Herzen's irresponsible journalism in a time of political uncertainties. Kelly is undoubtedly correct to argue that Dostoevsky's assertion that Herzen was "always and everywhere a poet above all else" (p. 324) belittles Herzen's significance as a thinker, and he was no doubt a more empathetic personality than his opponent, but can he stand comparison to Chicherin in his grasp of the political and social dynamics of the modern world?

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DANIEL PERIS. *Storming the Heavens: The Soviet League of the Militant Godless*. Ithaca: Cornell University press. 1998. Pp. xii, 237. \$39.95.

In late 1922, the Communist Party's Central Committee created a national newspaper, *Bezbozhnik* (The Godless), which two years later organized its own Society of Friends. In 1925, that society became the All-Union League of the Godless, formally a voluntary organization but in reality part of what Daniel Peris labels a "mock civil society" (p. 67) controlled and led by the Communist Party. This book is a history of that League's activity until its demise in 1941. In addition to the League's published materials, Peris ably uses its records and those of the Communist Party and Young Communist League located in Moscow's central archives. He adds a valuable regional and local perspective through creative use of items in the party and state archives of two provincial outposts, Pskov and Yaroslavl.

By 1929, when the League added "militant" to its title, it boasted 700,000 members; three years later its ranks had swollen to five million. By 1935, however, its membership had declined to only several thousand. A recovery beginning in 1937 peaked two years later with a membership of three million. However, Peris's two major theses have little to do with the cyclical nature of the League's apparent effectiveness and popularity. First, he maintains that, throughout its history, the League suffered from an inactive nominal membership that often failed to pay dues, irregular support of the Communist Party, and open hostility of the Young Communist League, labor unions, and educational authorities reluctant to fund or support antireligious propaganda. Thus the League of the Militant Godless was never in a position to storm the citadels of religious belief. "Defined as a cultural transformation," Peris concludes, "Soviet atheism was a stunning failure" (p. 97).

Second, Peris vigorously argues that the League of Militant Godless defined its mission by the pomp and circumstance of its conferences and propaganda rather than by any measure of the effectiveness of an assault on religion. "Almost an exclusively administrative affair" (p. 209), the League privileged "form over function" (p. 151). In this respect, Peris avoids focusing on atheism, religious belief, popular resistance to antireligious propaganda, or possible secularization of Soviet society. Rather, his book emerges as an institutional history that demonstrates that the League's very existence became the objective of a campaign that only rhetorically sought social transformation. Peris perceptively suggests that this "problem of bureaucracy . . . stood at the very center of Bolshevik political culture" (p. 228) and helps account for a bureaucratization or "statization" of Soviet society irrespective of any intended change in popular attitudes. In the period of its greatest activity and membership, therefore, the League celebrated the nonrevolutionary virtues of hierarchy and order, glorified the state, and promoted collectivization and the sale of government bonds while it reduced its intermittent attacks on religion to rituals of declaration.

Peris's research is thorough and his interpretations insightful. This book presents a strong case for continuity in Bolshevik religious policy and practice during the 1920s and 1930s. Peris's perspective on the League as an institution that "favored process over product" (p. 151) is especially provocative and should serve as a springboard for an examination of other agencies supposedly responsible for modifying popular culture. In so saying, I am not suggesting that historians jettison study of the response of discrete groups to initiatives from above. In the realm of religion in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s, recent monographs by Arto Luukkanen and especially by Glennys Young do precisely that and serve as excellent companions to Peris's study.

Readers will appreciate the presence of footnotes, but they will grow weary of the author's habit of

providing multiple references for items generally known or not directly pertinent to the subject at hand. It would have been helpful if the bibliography included at least an abbreviated list of the most important secondary works.

In sum, this is an excellent study of a bureaucratic agency and a Bolshevik political culture that defined their goals in a narrowly institutionalized, self-serving, and ultimately self-defeating way.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JAN ASSMANN. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 276. \$29.95.

Ours is an age of revisionism. With each new scholarly study, it seems a new iconoclasm is proposed. One might be forgiven the suspicion that such exercises now constitute a cultural trope whose prominence future intellectual historians will themselves assay. But Jan Assmann's work rises above this convention; even if it fits the genre, its scholarly depth lends legitimacy to its revisionist claim. Neither is it designed to ignite controversy in the culture wars—something that cannot be said for some other efforts in the field. This deep seriousness alone is sufficient to recommend Assmann's study.

Assmann tells several interlocking stories. His primary narrative line is the memory of Egypt in the European scholarly imagination. Here he attempts—with considerable success—to move beyond a conventional history of scholarship. This project is dubbed by Assmann "mnemohistory," that is, the story of our collective memory—in this case of Egypt. As he describes it: "Unlike history proper, mnemohistory is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered" (p. 9). Assmann moves beyond cultural history to something more subtle: the complex transmission of ideas which are sometimes recorded, sometimes recessive, sometimes almost forgotten. What is striking is not only Assmann's account of the written record of the Moses and Egypt story but his recovery of the reasons for its historical retention. The notion of culturally repressed concepts, and their subsequent but often haphazard reemergence, is especially noteworthy. At the same time, this approach invites further scrutiny, since Assmann is not entirely clear about the causes for the repression and recovery of these ideas, nor about the means of their transmission. No doubt Assmann's method is nicely adapted to the material that he is studying; yet one wonders about its transference to other subjects less murky and masonic.

Assmann is also doing history of religion, as his subtitle suggests. Here he is less successful than as a "mnemohistorian." His core claim is that the monotheism of Judaism (and later Christianity and Islam)

constitutes a "counter-religion" whose roots go back to the radical monotheism of Akhenaton, Pharaoh Amenophis IV, from the middle of the fourteenth century B.C./B.C.E. Akhenaton's royal prescription of universal monotheism "was not only the first but also the most radical and violent eruption of a counter-religion in the history of humankind" (p. 25). For Assmann, a "counter-religion" is a cluster of practices and beliefs that repudiates antecedent ones. On his account, the established and underlying religion of antiquity was "cosmotheism," the worship of nature and the many gods of the cosmos, which together form a single whole. The lines of contrast are clear. Ancient Egyptian religion (and its Greco-Roman successor) was founded in nature and offered religious and cultural translatability to its adherents, since the gods were recognized cross-culturally. All national pantheons were intertranslatable, grounded in the forces of the cosmos, and ultimately connected to the whole, the "One and All" (*Hen kai Pan*). Over against this religion was the radical and dangerous project of Akhenatenite and Mosaic monotheism, which denied the genial logic of polytheism and grounded its exclusive claims in revelation.

Although there is considerable intuitive plausibility in this picture, there are also many problems left unresolved. At times Assmann speaks in the universal voice of the religious comparativist, confident, for example, that monotheism "always appears as a counter-religion" (p. 7). That might be true for the material he studies, but scholarly modesty is in order whenever such universal generalizations are proposed. It is difficult at times to determine whether Assmann's categorical scheme is meant as a theory of religion, or only as a heuristic device to sort out the texts and memories of his period. This raises a further point about cosmotheism, the ancient belief in *deus sive natura*, to use Baruch Spinoza's term. Assmann neglects the powerful tradition within Hellenic theology that described the divine One as transcendent of the cosmos. This conception is found clearly within Neopythagoreanism, Middle Platonism, and Neoplatonism. While accepting the cultic translatability of polytheism, it also endorsed a first principle beyond the cosmos. Despite Assmann's theoretical insistence to the contrary (p. 7), this pagan monotheism evolved out of reverence for the natural cosmos but without any basis in revelation. None of this fits Assmann's taxonomy nor the main lines of his mnemohistory.

Despite these shortcomings, Assmann has produced a learned study whose theses will themselves endure in the scholarly memory.

JOHN PETER KENNEY
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PETER W. EDBURY. *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1997. Pp. x, 222. \$71.00.

From its beginnings, the Ibelin family was distinguished from the rest of the great lords of the Crusaders' states by its uninterrupted line of ambitious and capable members, continuous presence and involvement in the events of the Holy Land and later in Cyprus, and successful political role. In his new book, Peter W. Edbury has carefully reconstructed the family configuration in three chronological periods: the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1115–1193), Jerusalem and Cyprus (1193–1236), and John of Jaffa's period (*ca.* 1216–1266). Using a wide range of primary and secondary sources that record their marriages, holdings, military exploits, and, especially, their role in political life, he provides a minute, sometimes year by year account of the events that shaped the Ibelins' fortunes, carefully delineating the ambitions and maneuvering skills that catapulted family members of every generation into prominent positions. The first section, a narrative account of the Ibelin family's record in the annals of the twelfth and thirteenth-century kingdoms of Jerusalem and in Cyprus, provides background for the second section, a commentary, textual substantiation, and analysis of three chapters in John of Jaffa's *Livre des assises*, in an attempt to provide new insights into the judicial structures, military obligations, status of the baronies, and the church's positions and holdings in the kingdom.

John's lists of military units, order of vassalage, feudal duties, number of knights to be provided, identity of the great lords, ranking order and military duties of the church's holdings, and identification of which lordships had the right to what court and other lordly rights are among the more fundamental texts used in reconstructing the Crusaders' state structures, even though they were written well after the middle of the thirteenth century. Because of their primordial historiographic standing, the significance of these three chapters, and whether they actually reflect the realities in the kingdom, have been debated many times. Going back to the previous debates, in some of which he himself took part, Edbury has enlarged the scope of the investigation by incorporating evidence from previously unused manuscripts. This enables him to differentiate between what might have been John's authentic contribution and what he simply retained despite its historical inaccuracies. The reasons attributed to John's historiographical decisions are customarily linked to the traditional position of the Ibelins as opponents of Hohenstaufen rule over the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Certainly John's standing on the favored position of the four great baronies bears evidence of this. In John's presentation of the list of lordships, Edbury successfully shows that the goal was not to establish a feudal hierarchy or list of individual holdings but rather to produce a muster roll for the army, by noting the number of knights owed by each holding and an indication of the geographical location for the muster.

Not all the questions raised by this book are answered equally, notably the one regarding the fate of

the burgess courts in lordships taken over by the military orders. Yet, even if not resolved, raising such questions yet again has its own merit. Edbury's revisitation of the three famous chapters of John's *Livre* dealing with the feudal, military, and religious charges of the kingdom is quite compelling, and the arguments he offers to the study of the Crusaders' institutions are equally exciting.

It is not immediately obvious why such a detailed history of the entire Ibelin family over such an extensive chronological period is required to reinforce the arguments put forward in the second part of the book, and some general observations are needed to make the transition between them. An argument can be made for linking the two by the insights and points of reference derived from the Ibelins' historical experience in the political life of the kingdom and the content of John's book. Although some incursions into general history do take place, the reader is more frequently left to look beyond the narrative of events found in the book in an attempt to draw the necessary historical conclusions from the Ibelins' work. This section may later serve on its own merits as the foundation for a comprehensive history of the family within the full social, economic, military, and political context of the Crusaders' history.

MAYA SHATZMILLER

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HASAN KAYALI. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$18.00.

Historians writing on the origin of Arab nationalism in the late Ottoman period tend to fall into two camps. One view maintains that Arab nationalism appeared during the second constitutional period (1908–1914) as a reaction to attempts to “turkify” the empire’s non-Turkish population. An opposing view argues that Arab nationalism, as a movement for Arab independence, did not exist before World War I, but that a tendency, termed “Arabism,” did promote Arab interests. A corollary of this view is that there was no turkification policy. Hasan Kayali’s monograph extends the second view by asserting that the Arabist tendency was defused by Istanbul’s articulation of an “Islamist” policy that emphasized the religious bonds of Turks and Arabs. He uses Ottoman government documents, parliamentary records, Istanbul newspapers, and European diplomatic reports to examine Ottoman policy toward Arab provinces.

Kayali finds few traces of Arab separatism during the era of bureaucratic reform (1839–1876) and the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909). Arab deputies to the Ottoman parliaments of 1877 and 1878 were loyal to the empire. Arab participants in the Young Turk movement of the 1890s and early 1900s, which sought to restore the 1876 Constitution, cooperated with Turks, Albanians, and Armenians in a

common endeavor. Not long after the constitutional restoration of 1908, however, the Committee of Union and Progress, the leading organization in the constitutional movement, began to alienate Arab supporters. Kayali denies that this schism arose because of a drive to turkify the empire’s diverse population. Instead, he argues that the committee dismissed Arabs from administrative positions in order to get rid of incompetent officials and supporters of the previous regime, and he maintains that the implementation of long-neglected legislation stipulating the use of Turkish in courts was not an attack on Arabic but an effort to establish uniform judicial procedures. Kayali proposes that disgruntled Arab leaders invented the notion of a turkification policy as a rhetorical weapon in their contest for influence with the committee. One weakness in the author’s case is the perfectly clear evidence for Turkish chauvinism and anti-Arab prejudice expressed in private correspondence of committee leaders, as reported by M. Sukru Hanioglu (see “The Young Turks and the Arabs before the Revolution of 1908,” in Rashid Khalidi *et al.*, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* [1991]). Moreover, it is not clear why Arab officials should have suffered dismissals at a higher rate than others if the only considerations were competence and loyalty. One could argue that Kayali has accepted at face value the committee’s own explanations of its actions.

Kayali describes how Arab efforts to establish a decentralized imperial structure briefly threatened the committee’s centralist policy. He writes that the committee overcame the decentralist movement with its January 1913 coup d’état, concessions to Arab political leaders, and Islamist policy. An excellent chapter on policy toward Hijaz between 1908 and 1914 vividly describes political rivalry among Mecca’s Sharif Husayn, Ottoman governors in Medina, and various Arabian potentates. Kayali’s findings reinforce the view that, before World War I, Husayn strove to secure his position in the Hijaz; he was not an Arab nationalist. The discussion of the Arab provinces during World War I is too brief to do justice to that period’s complex developments. Kayali closes with an important point of departure for future studies when he suggests that Arabist politics embodied an emergent Syrian political identity. The implication might be that Arabism did not represent the first glimmers of Arab nationalism but a strand of incipient Syrian nationalism.

Kayali’s book is a significant contribution to studies of Ottoman provincial policy. Furthermore, it is commendable for bringing new evidence to bear on old arguments, but it will not be the last word. His explanations of actions and policies undertaken by the Committee of Union and Progress occasionally verge on apologia. The evidence for an Islamist policy could use bolstering: many Arab Muslims considered the committee’s turn to Islam to be purely opportunistic. While this book assumes too much familiarity with

Ottoman history for the general reader, it is recommended for Middle East specialists.

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ZEYNEP ÇELİK. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 236. \$40.00.

Zeynep Çelik positions this analysis of the architecture of colonial Algiers within the genre of studies on colonial urbanism undertaken by Paul Rabinow and Gwendolyn Wright. Çelik portrays French authorities in Algiers as providing a trial and error case of urban planning that was used to avoid or mitigate mistakes in other colonies and metropolitan France. Because the book focuses on urban structures, readers will find little on the parks and botanical gardens that were used as buffer zones to segregate Europeans from Algerians. Also excluded is the history of the building and improvement of the port.

The history of building activities in colonial Algiers divides into three eras. Metropolitan control of Algerian affairs was weak and fragmented from 1830 to the centennial celebrations in 1930. *Ad hoc* growth characterized the period. In the early decades, military motives rather than commercial intentions inspired construction. The French built fortifications and were mainly concerned with invasion by other European powers rather than with attacks from Algerians. Activity focused first on the Marine Quarter near the port and secondarily on the commercial district of the lower Casbah, where most Europeans lived. The upper Casbah, peopled mainly by Algerians, was left alone. This last circumstance was due more to neglect than to the principles of "respect" for local culture enunciated by Napoleon III and reiterated by Hubert Lyautey. From the 1880s onward, French ethnographers investigated the Algerian house and family. These studies informed construction of a "traditional" Algerian house built for the 1930 Centennial. The era closed without a single housing project being built for Algerians. Europeans fared marginally better, and by 1933, seven complexes had been built in response to their perceived housing needs.

Typical of the second era, from 1930 to the end of World War II, was the master plan of 1931 by Henri Prost. During this period, the French built three projects for the Algerian population. Prost, an apostle of rational planning with experience in Morocco, envisioned an orderly and modern city divided into industrial, commercial, and residential zones. His ambitious plan, which called for demolishing the Marine Quarter and building tunnels, resembled Baron Haussmann's vision for Paris. Many criticized the master plan, notably Le Corbusier, who hoped to win a commission to revise it. Like Prost, and after the fashion of Lyautey's Morocco, Le Corbusier's various plans envisioned a segregated city with communities of

Europeans and Algerians living in residences separated by parks and greenbelts. The residences that were built displayed an associationist philosophy of architecture that emphasized the cultural differences between European and Algerians. Çelik astutely reconstructs Le Corbusier's self-serving rhetoric and elucidates how his own proposals, which ranged from the fantastic to the slightly more realistic, were similar to schemes offered by proponents of the new urbanism. Economic crises in the 1930s and the outbreak of war prevented implementation of the Prost plan.

In the third era, from the end of World War II to the war of decolonization, the French gathered the resources and resolve to undertake numerous large-scale housing projects. The indigenous house, once seen as an enclosed and largely feminized space that provided a buffer from colonial society, was now seen as a tool for assisting some Algerians to assimilate to European habits of diet, hygiene, and civilization. Çelik doubts the sincerity of the French civilizing mission and concludes that housing built for indigenous peoples had fewer comforts of cleanliness than structures built for Europeans.

The emergence of the *bidonvilles*, large shanty towns on the outskirts of Algiers, posed the major housing challenge of the third era. The *bidonvilles*, peopled largely by migrants from rural Algeria, were a natural response to the extreme density of population in Algiers. In the 1950s, the French built several large apartment complexes in the hope that better housing would stave off political revolt. A new plan for urban renewal, the Plan de Constantine of 1957, mirrored Charles de Gaulle's vision of bringing modern French civilization to Algeria and mandated massive redevelopment projects in the Casbah. Once again, of course, circumstances prevented the French from completing their plans, and the large complexes that were built became breeding grounds for revolutionary activity.

The book engages only weakly with the most recent studies on coloniality. But specialists in architectural history and urbanism will appreciate how the author has connected the vagaries of colonial policy with instances of material culture. The book is somewhat frustrating in that so many of the architectural plans described by the author remained just that—plans. Assisting the reader are more than one hundred illustrations that document the imagined and the built of the colonial encounter.

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GABRIEL SHEFFER. *Moshe Sharett: Biography of a Political Moderate*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 1065. \$120.00.

Over the past decade, academic studies emerging from Israel have increasingly challenged the prevailing Israeli "myths" as to how the state came into existence and consolidated itself. Much of this literature has

been called revisionist and has been criticized by a largely expatriate Zionist establishment. Gabriel Sheffer classes his vividly written, extensively researched, and engaging biography of one of the moderate founders of the Israeli state and its first minister of foreign affairs, and second prime minister, Moshe Sharett (Shertok), as belonging to the revisionist school. Not only does this political biography use newly available primary sources, but at a time of the emerging "peace process" it seeks to redress the balance of a prevailing literature that has enhanced the reputation of the first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, with his activist policies, to legendary proportions. Such writing has largely eclipsed the reputation and contribution of Ben-Gurion's bitter enemy, Sharett, a Zionist leader who promoted Jewish immigration and fought the 1939 British White Paper that restricted it; masterminded the political campaign in the United States and the United Nations in 1947, which led to the unexpected vote for the "partition" of the Palestine mandate and in effect the establishment of the Zionist state; and secured Israel's position in the international arena.

This is not just a history of a single political figure but of his times, and it offers a detailed and fascinating analysis (based not only on the most recently published literature but also on the newly released material in the Central Zionist Archives) of the foundation and first two decades of the Israeli state. Sheffer points to the difference in policy advocated by Sharett and Ben-Gurion at the time of the London Conference that led to the May 1939 White Paper: Ben-Gurion favored "fighting Zionism" and the activist approach, whereas Sharett opposed this envisaged "Jewish revolt" (p. 94). As the Zionists shifted their focus from Britain to the United States as the country best able to secure the Zionist state, Sharett acted on the invitation of William Bullitt, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal envoy in the Middle East, to increase the Zionist presence and activities in Washington. When he arrived in the United States, Sharett found "that American Jews evinced widespread apathy and lack of interest, not only in the Yishuv, but even in the Holocaust" (p. 140). Sharett was a devotee of Chaim Weizmann and his policy of "gradualism." Understanding President Harry S. Truman's regard for Weizmann, Sharett was instrumental in ensuring that Weizmann went as the Zionist's emissary to Truman at the time of the United Nations partition vote. Possibly Sheffer could have discussed more extensively how this vote was secured in the United Nations and balanced his account of Sharett's role with that of the American citizens who, through blackmail, managed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority, something the British delegation, given the makeup of the General Assembly, had regarded as impossible. Sheffer observes that the debate "over the relative importance of Shertok's [Sharett's] role in the political and diplomatic struggle for the establishment of the Jewish state versus Ben-Gurion's role in the ensuing War of Inde-

pendence [First Arab-Israeli War], will probably never be resolved" (p. 267).

As foreign minister, Sharett initiated the Franco-Israeli alliance in the spring of 1951 at a time of France's deteriorating position in North Africa. To support Israel's economy, Sharett also resorted to the "secret weapon," Israel's supporters among the American Jewish community. Sharett secured the premiership through coalition politics, but the failure of his party in the polls meant the return of Ben-Gurion. Sharett stayed on in government, and Sheffer speculates on the motives of a man whom he describes as "vain but deeply frustrated" (p. 822). He was ousted as foreign minister by Ben-Gurion, who maneuvered Golda Meir, an "equally vain politician" (p. 870), into his place—a move that allowed Ben-Gurion to pursue his plans for a preventive war in 1956. From this war, Sheffer asserts, Israel obtained only limited goals and became more dependent on outside powers. In February 1965, Sharett's attack on Ben-Gurion over the Lavon affair of July 1954 (in which, possibly at Ben-Gurion's instigation, a group of rather amateur Israeli agents had tried to sabotage British and American property in Egypt) resulted in Ben-Gurion's political demise.

This is an outstanding narrative history, based on a careful scrutiny of primary and secondary sources, which should help to redress many of the prevailing accounts of Israeli political history.

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RAANAN REIN, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition: Israel's Relations with Francoist Spain*. Translated by MARTHA GRENZEBACK. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1997. Pp. 278. \$42.50.

This book deals with Israel's relations with Spain from May 1948 to January 1986, when the two countries finally exchanged ambassadors and recognized each other *de jure*. Raanan Rein handles the archives of Britain, Israel, Spain, and the United States with ease. Throughout the book, he uses Spanish and Israeli press accounts to fill the lacunae in available archives. This work is an impressive sequel to his first book, *The Franco-Peron Alliance: Relations Between Spain and Argentina, 1946–1955* (1993).

The incredibly long delay in formal relations resulted at first from the legacy of the 1930s. Under the British mandate of Palestine, many Jews in the dominant Socialist Party had opposed General Francisco Franco's Nationalists and favored the Spanish Republic and the Comintern during the Spanish Civil War. Rein cites an Israeli source that 4,000 to 8,000 Jewish volunteers served in the International Brigades (p. 65), figures that seem rather low to him. Many Jews would overlook neither Franco's friendship with the Axis, nor the pro-fascist rhetoric of his Falange Party, nor his aid to Adolf Hitler in attacking the USSR in June 1941.

When Israel obtained its independence in May 1948, the isolated Spanish dictator Franco would have gladly granted recognition, but Israel was not ready to ask. With sharp memories of the fascist era, Israel did not even seek recognition from Spain until late 1955, not long before the 1956 Suez crisis. By then, Franco rejected the Israeli request.

The Spanish dictator had a long-standing pro-Arab and relatively liberal colonial policy, which dated from his years of service in Spanish Morocco and use of Moroccans to help win the Civil War. After 1947, Franco pursued a pro-Islamic policy aimed at persuading France to admit him back into the family of nations. In general, the Arab states had been the first group (except for the Latin American states) to ignore Spain's pariah status as a one-time Axis ally.

The Arab-Israeli wars, especially Suez in 1956, repelled Francoist Spain. The Falangist press welcomed Egyptian Gamal Abdel Nasser's Middle East ambitions. Franco's Foreign Minister Gregorio López Bravo (1970–1973) later improved relations with Moscow and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, but not with Israel.

Despite the strong anti-fascist opinions in Israel, the realistic Rein sympathizes with those Israeli foreign ministry officials who favored an early exchange of ambassadors between Madrid and Tel Aviv. Support for Spanish-Israeli ties was strong among Sephardic Jews who spoke a form of Spanish known as Ladino since 1492, when the Inquisition expelled Jews from Spain. The Franco-assisted Sephardim were more willing to reopen negotiations with the reactionary Spanish government than the East European Jews. In 1950, 2,500 Jews lived in Spain, which by Franco's death in 1975 had increased to 11,000 (pp. 204, 209). This statistic shows defection from the Zionist program to encourage all Jews to emigrate to the land of Israel.

The death of Franco in November 1975 did not lessen Spain's tension with the Israeli government, which had conquered Palestinian territories and East Jerusalem in 1967. The new democratic but conservative Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez was the first European statesman to invite Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to visit Spain officially, in 1979. Next, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 ended lengthy informal talks with Spain about mutual normalization of relations. After joining the European Community (EC) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1986, however, Spain could no longer delay full diplomatic *de jure* recognition of Israel. Spanish Socialist Prime Minister Felipe González made the final decision to establish ties over objections from Arab states.

The one weakness of Rein's work is its length. This book could have been shortened by cutting some details of the years of internal debate within the Israeli Foreign Ministry over how to approach Spain informally. The pros and cons of delaying or speeding up

mutual recognition seem less relevant in light of the friendly relations the two countries enjoy today.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

FRANÇOIS MANCHUELLE. *Willing Migrants: Soninke Labor Diasporas, 1848–1960*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 371. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$24.95.

This book by François Manchuelle is an original and provocative contribution to the study of indigenous migrations in nineteenth and twentieth-century West Africa. It challenges the oft-articulated view that African labor migrations were the result of European colonial policies (taxation and coercion) that forced young males from rural populations to migrate and work as temporary wage laborers at new jobs in the colonial economy. Manchuelle uses the history of Soninke migrants, members of an ethnic group from the upper Senegal River valley, to argue that young men willingly sought wage employment opportunities to accumulate wealth for reinvestment in their local economies. Manchuelle's study is based on careful research in French colonial documents and presents its arguments in seven chronological chapters.

Manchuelle's introduction and first four chapters concern the nineteenth century. He notes at the outset that the hypothesis of colonial coercion as the principal stimulus for twentieth-century African migrations is based in an assumption that African societies were sheltered from market forces in the precolonial era. Manchuelle draws on recent studies in the historical literature to underscore his view that many nineteenth-century Soninke households combined itinerant trade with slave-based agricultural production to reap the commercial benefits of living along an ecological boarder between the Sahara desert and the West African savanna. Manchuelle then traces the beginnings of what he calls "modern migrations," or movements to work as temporary wage laborers, to the mid-nineteenth century, before French colonial rule had been established outside the coastal port of Saint Louis at the mouth of the Senegal River. He demonstrates convincingly that Soninke commoners worked as *navetanes* or seasonal workers in the peanut-growing areas of coastal Senegambia and that Soninke aristocrats monopolized salaried positions as *laptots* or sailors in the French navy as it began operations in the Senegal valley. Manchuelle makes insightful connections between the earlier commercial movements and these initial "modern" migrations in numerous ways: for example, Soninke merchants were the ones who circulated information about wage labor opportunities, and migrants often followed the accumulation strategies of traders and invested their wages in slave-based agricultural production.

Manchuelle discusses the developments of the twentieth century in three chapters, noting that a larger

number as well as a broader range of Soninke social groups participated in labor migrations during this period. Prominent in the ranks of new seasonal agricultural migrant laborers were former slaves who gained freedom of movement after the French abolition of slavery. Manchuelle notes that abolition had another significant effect: it eroded the economic power and authority of senior men, the principal slave-owners in Soninke society, and paved the way for younger males (sons and nephews of the slave masters) to accumulate wealth and establish households on their own. These young men were rebels but not revolutionaries: Manchuelle documents how most returned to the Senegal valley with their wealth to become senior men in their own right. The growth of the colonial capital at Dakar, far from the upper Senegal valley, altered what had been seasonal trips: Manchuelle reveals how Soninke labor migrations led to extended residences away from home and ultimately to the creation of Soninke communities in Dakar's neighborhoods. Opportunities to migrate to France presented themselves in the late 1950s, and Soninke dominated the ranks of these workers, beginning a pattern that would explode into a much larger migration after 1960 (and outside the scope of Manchuelle's work).

Manchuelle's insistence that Soninke migrations were voluntary will stimulate debate about West African migrations. Manchuelle assembles compelling evidence for an enduring pattern of Soninke circular migrations over the years and adds details, such as aristocratic participation, that erode the conventional view that migrants were the poor or "uprooted." He adds force to his conclusions by drawing on historical studies of labor migrations in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Manchuelle's arguments, however, lose some of their persuasiveness for the twentieth century. Although he acknowledges almost in passing that the Soninke regions of the upper Senegal valley suffered economically in the twentieth century due to ecological deterioration, commercial decline, French taxation, and other social forces, Manchuelle does not investigate whether the cumulative impact of these changes encouraged families to send reluctant men and women out of the upper Senegal valley to diversify household economies. Importantly, interviews with Soninke informants are not a significant source of information for this study, opening the possibility that some of Manchuelle's reconstructions of the past, especially for the recent decades, may be modified by a subsequent study based on oral data. Nevertheless, this book will stand as a significant contribution both to Senegalese historiography and to African migration studies.

Manchuelle was one of the many passengers who died off the coast of Long Island in the crash of TWA Flight 800 from New York to Paris in 1996. I personally will miss the stimulating conversations that I had with him over the years, but more importantly, as

revealed in this book, the profession has lost an original thinker and a thoughtful historian.

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WILLIAM KELLEHER STOREY, *Science and Power in Colonial Mauritius*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1997. Pp. ix, 238.

This thoroughly researched and lucidly written monograph focuses on the ways in which a number of key global processes were played out in a very small place, the island of Mauritius in the southwestern corner of the Indian Ocean. William Kelleher Storey's narrative is largely confined to the intersections between sugar cane production for export and the social history of the island over roughly the past two centuries. But his exploration of their evolving convergence elucidates patterns of relevance to historians of colonialism and the global economy, of science and technology, and of agriculture and the environment. His carefully constructed account of the vagaries of sugar cultivation on Mauritius frequently provides the basis for broader discussions of topics ranging from the institutionalization of colonial science, shifts in global markets for agrarian commodities, and the agency exerted by colonized social groups in determining the allocation of resources and the formulation of policy in imperial contexts.

Throughout the study, Storey's analysis of these patterns is centered on the interaction among a tiny cadre of British officials serving on the island or seeking to influence events from the metropole, the Franco-Mauritian estate-owning elite, and the Indo-Mauritian and Creole smallholder sugar growers. As he convincingly demonstrates, each of these groups has entered again and again over the past two centuries into often bitterly contested struggles to shape the nature of scientific research on the island. Early in the British colonial period, the estate owners emerged as the dominant force in these contests, proving able to control research agendas and, concomitantly, economic policy for the island as a whole. Their near-monopolization of representation in the Chamber of Agriculture insured that they usually got the upper hand in dealings with transient British governors and the heads of a succession of botanical research stations, which were increasingly oriented to improving the sugar-producing cultivars on whom both the estate-owning elite's prosperity and much of the economy of Mauritius depended. Although the smallholders contributed to the financing of the botanical gardens and research laboratories, they benefitted only belatedly and marginally. This situation fed growing social tensions that led to open, sometimes violent, protest in the 1930s and ultimately had major effects on the nature of the political system of independent Mauritius.

Although Storey's handling of the social and institutional dimensions of these interactions is difficult to fault, the ethnic and cultural differences between the major contending groups are never fully developed. Nor, with the exception of his superb opening survey of the early history of the island, are these contests fully contextualized in terms of the larger island society, economy, and culture. As a consequence, we are left to infer that tourism and other sectors gained in importance, as is suggested by Storey's mention that only thirty percent of the workforce was in the sugar-producing sectors by the 1960s (p. 168).

Beyond historians interested in Mauritian and Indian Ocean history or the global sugar cane industry, this fine monograph will be of interest mainly to a growing number of scholars engaged in the study of the impact of Western science on colonized societies. Some of Storey's most significant contributions to the ongoing debates that have developed regarding these processes are his repeated demonstrations of the considerable agency exerted both by local elite groups and resident scientific researchers through much of the colonial era. In addition to tracing these groups' influence regarding an evolving research agenda and

the structure and procedures of the research institutions established, Storey shows that scientists stationed in colonies like Mauritius could and did make original contributions to scientific research. His findings also support those who have argued for the primacy of applied scientific research in colonial settings, despite the theoretical preferences of some of the researchers he discusses. Storey traces the cross-colony networks that were vital to advances in understanding and improving sugar cane propagation and yields, and he shows that these exchanges often ignored otherwise more restrictive boundaries between the colonial enclaves of the different European imperial powers. Through its insightful and well-contextualized explorations of these and other questions regarding the nature and impact of the global dissemination of Western scientific epistemologies, procedures and institutional frameworks, Storey's monograph provides a valuable addition to the growing literature on processes central to the making of the modern world.

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Film Reviews

UNDERGROUND [*Podzemlje*]. Produced by Pierre Spengler; directed by Emir Kusturica; screenplay by Dušan Kovačević and Emir Kusturica. 1995; color; 167 minutes. Serbo-Croatian with English subtitles. Distributor: New Yorker Films/CIBY.

In the closing moments of Emir Kusturica's chaotic *Underground*, Marko tells his wife Natalija that "war is not war until a brother kills his brother." In a film packed with scenes that compete to define Yugoslavia's fate under communism, and more specifically the Serbian vision of that fate, none strike closer to the goal than Marko's evocation of fratricide.

Marko and Blackie are small-time Belgrade hoodlums when World War II comes to Serbia. Having fortuitously joined the Communist Party in the wee hours of April 6, 1941, they are well placed to continue their life of crime following the bombardment of Belgrade later that morning. As suppliers of arms to the Communist Partisans, they are motivated more by the search for women and drink than they are by the struggle against the enemy, whom Blackie noisily and repeatedly labels "fucking fascist motherfuckers." When Blackie is grievously, but not fatally, wounded by a hand grenade that explodes in the trunk in which he is hiding from those fascists, he and the rest of his gang go permanently "underground," into a basement, where they ride out the war while continuing their patriotic gun-running.

For Blackie and the gang, however, the war never ends. They are kept in the dark by Marko and his girlfriend Natalija, who continue their above-ground activity until the real war ends. At that point, Marko and Natalija emerge as heroes of the Communist revolution, close allies of comrade and new leader Tito (Josip Broz, 1892–1980), and part of the elite of the new Yugoslavia. For another twenty years, Blackie, believing (thanks to the conniving Marko and Natalija) the war still on, continues to live in the cellar and to produce weapons, which Marko then loads onto trucks and sells to the highest bidder, enriching himself thanks to the labors of Blackie's deceived but loyal band of resistance fighters. When, by stroke of circumstance, Blackie and his crew emerge from the basement, they prove incapable of orienting to the new

conditions, thanks, of course, to the conscious manipulation of their reality by Marko and Natalija.

In this film, obviously, Marko and Natalija stand in for the Communist Party and the Tito regime, while Blackie and the others represent Serbian society under communism. Kusturica's film, adapted from the book *There Once Was a Country* (*Bila jednom jedna zemlja*) by Dušan Kovačević, who coauthored this script, falls in neatly with the most broadly accepted Serbian interpretation of their communist past: communism represented a conscious manipulation of Serbian reality and, as it slowly lost its legitimacy, Serbs were unable to orient themselves to new conditions. Blackie's son Jovan, upon emerging from the cellar, looks at the moon and declares it the sun; when Blackie finds himself at the head of a militia in war-torn Croatia in 1991, he captures Ustaše (Croatian fascists), Četniks (Serbian nationalists), and blue-helmeted United Nations peacekeepers, but "fucking fascist motherfuckers" are "nowhere to be found."

When Natalija begins to question Marko's manipulations, Marko asks her "what is missing" in their life; "the truth," she answers. In the final scenes depicting war in Croatia, the viewer is left to conclude that Tito, the grandest manipulator of them all, is somehow responsible for the violence, which by definition has no meaning, being the product of the skewed reality in which Serbs lived. When Marko's own brother, the stuttering halfwit Ivan, attempts to kill him, we discover the real lesson of communism in Yugoslavia: through its deceit, brother is set against brother.

Underground provoked controversy when first released in 1995. According to many critics outside of Serbia, it embodied the Serbian tendency to blame others for their actions. Critics also pointed to scenes depicting crowds welcoming the German conquerors into Maribor (Slovenia) and Zagreb (Croatia) as particularly gratuitous and insulting, especially so given Serbia's own collaborationist past. But those criticisms seem gratuitous given the film's sordid—if somewhat slapstick—rendering of Belgrade under German occupation, a city in which spineless Serbs proved willing to entertain rather than heroically resist the invader. Ultimately, the jabs at Croatian and Slovenian collaboration during World War II are of peripheral importance. *Underground* attempts to rip the mask off of

communist duplicity, which makes it a natural follow-up to Kusturica's *When Father Was Away on Business* (1985). The film nicely sums up the general Serbian interpretation of communism's role in Serbian society and history.

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THE TRUCE [*La Tregua*]. Produced by Leo Pescarolo and Guido De Laurentis; directed by Francesco Rosi; screenplay by Francesco Rosi, Stefano Rulli, and Sandro Petraglia. 1996; color; 126 minutes. Italy. Italian (dubbed into English in U.S. release). Distributor: Miramax.

In the final stages of the European phase of World War II, as Allied troops advanced into enemy-held territory, they stumbled upon concentration camps, the concrete evidence of Adolf Hitler's Final Solution. Given the chaotic circumstances and the fact that the troops arrived at places not even shown on their maps, the history of these events is still only partially known. But certainly the course of events varied from camp to camp, depending, for example, on which troops arrived at the scene, what kind of camp they found, and what the German camp commanders had or had not done immediately prior to the Allied forces' arrival.

The word "liberation" is commonly used to describe these incredible encounters. Scholars such as Martin Gilbert (*Auschwitz and the Allies* [1990]) and Henry Huttenbach (*The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Worms, 1933-1945* [1982]), among others, have acknowledged the inappropriateness of the term, conveying as it does celebratory images of "jubilant, freed victims, embracing smiling, benevolent liberators" (the words are those of a recent contributor to an H-Net List). In fact, liberators were not always benevolent (some Soviet soldiers raped women prisoners), victims were more often uncomprehending than jubilant, and inmates were freed only in the most limited, physical sense (and not even that when General George Patton kept them under guard, behind barbed wire, with little or no change in their living conditions). Nonetheless, the term "liberation" persists. It is, after all, a comforting term, and there is no simple way to sum up the human complexities of the events themselves and their variations from camp to camp.

The Truce is Italian director Francesco Rosi's feature film about the liberation of survivors at one camp, Auschwitz-Monowitz, and their experiences during the months following their release. The film focuses on the observations and experiences of one Jewish survivor, Primo Levi (1919-1987). At the time of his release, Levi was twenty-nine years old, a chemist by training who had not yet begun to write; he died in 1987, apparently a suicide. Rosi has described his own approach to film-making as being "not a *documentary* way of making films but a *documented* way, because I believe that the truth very often contains much more imagination than fiction" (*Cineaste* 7 [1978]: 8; italics

in original). *The Truce* is based on Levi's famous autobiographical memoir (*La Tregua* [1963]), although in a few places Rosi uses material from Levi's earlier account of his captivity in Auschwitz-Monowitz, *Survival in Auschwitz* (1947). Like the documentary material it is based on, the film attempts to convey both the hazardous external circumstances and the interior terrors confronting survivors in the aftermath of their release.

The external circumstances are vividly represented. The thread of the film is the odyssey of Levi's homeward journey as he and a number of compatriots return to Italy. The narrative begins in January 1945, when the retreating Germans abandon the camp, and concludes in October of the same year, when Levi finally reaches Italy and his family in Turin.

Punctuated by lengthy delays and following the enforced meanderings of a circuitous route, the journey takes the returning survivors through wartime landscapes of Poland, Russia, Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Germany before they finally arrive in Italy. Sustaining the narrative is a series of vignettes set in chaotic transit camps, on intermittently arranged truck and train transports, and in the alien countryside and towns through which the survivors trek on foot, surrounded by swarms of the displaced and the wounded. The encounters and events taking place during these episodes, as well as the overall confusion, provide a graphic representation of the often threatening environment that the "liberated" had to contend with as they attempted to return home.

By contrast, interior threats and uncertainties are less adequately conveyed. As Levi and the other survivors traveled, they also began a psychological journey back to some semblance of "normality." The film employs a few voice-over sentences from Levi's writings to convey his thoughts and emotions, but these are only fragments of Levi's profound, insightful account and they provide little more than contrived and inadequate glimpses of his extraordinary mind at work.

There is one particular sequence in the movie that it would be inappropriate not to mention here. It constitutes a blatantly counterfactual reading of Levi's text by Rosi, a distortion that will puzzle those who know the text and mislead those who do not. Just before crossing into Italy, the train carrying Levi and his fellow survivors pulls into the station in Munich. As he steps on German soil for the first time, he sees a group of Germans. One of them, recognizing the camp uniform Levi is dressed in, kneels down in front of him, wordlessly begging for forgiveness. But in Levi's actual text there is, pointedly, no acknowledgement by the German, let alone an expression of repentance. Rosi has defended his deliberate alteration of the text by asserting: "I want to believe that at least one German would have made this kind of gesture" (*New York Times*, April 19, 1998). Some viewers have seen in the alteration evidence of Rosi's own faith and belief in redemption. Others have been more cynical, regarding

it as a bit of manipulative "pure tele-drama rhetoric" (*Variety*, February 24–March 2, 1997). In any event, the scene is difficult to reconcile with Rosi's proclaimed insistence that his films are "documented."

The task of making a movie out of any autobiographical memoir is always a difficult challenge. With Levi's writings, the task is especially formidable, if only because so much of the value of the text resides in what is essentially a monologue delivered by a singularly reflective and introspective writer. The film may preserve the memory of the writer, and it may have been intended as homage to his work, but in some ways it diminishes both.

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EAST SIDE STORY. Produced by Andrew Horton; directed by Dana Ranga; written by Dana Ranga and Andrew Horton. 1997; color and black & white; 78 minutes. Germany. German with English subtitles. Distributor: Kino International.

Genuinely popular Stalinist culture? Communist Americanization? Light-hearted entertainment behind the Iron Curtain? *East Side Story* documents an aspect of Communist culture that at first glance appears so, well, bourgeois: the musical. Through interviews with filmmakers and audience members and numerous film clips, the film charts the history of this unusual genre, from its birth in Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union to its final development in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Director Dana Ranga seems to be satisfied simply to reveal that such films existed and, because they have remained largely unknown in the West, this is a worthy, if limited, goal. As the singing collective farm workers and the hep young Communists zooming around on motor scooters make clear, life under socialism was not just toil and trouble and party slogans; it also included, in the words of the narrator, "escape, hope, and hit songs." For cultures all too often depicted as monolithic, always serious, and entirely unpopular, this is a useful correction.

The film is most effective in portraying the manifold difficulties filmmakers faced in creating these films, including ideological suspicion, bureaucratic rigidity, power shortages, tight budgets, and the periodic opposition of the party. How could directors make films so obviously modeled on Western patterns in cultures that mistrusted escapist entertainment? How could musicals conform to the needs of ideology and propaganda? How could they exist at all?

East Side Story is to be commended for asking such questions. The answers it provides, however, are only partially satisfactory. For one, it does not adequately place these films in historical or cultural contexts. One gets the impression that such musicals were the only genuinely popular entertainment in the Eastern bloc. The film is correct to begin the history of the genre with Grigorii Alexandrov's *The Jolly Fellows* (1934; I

prefer Richard Stites's translation, *The Happy-Go-Lucky Guys*), but that does not mean, as the film states, that there were no entertaining films before this in the Soviet Union. The most popular Soviet films of the 1920s were comedies and adventure films largely derivative from Hollywood formulas. Also, the musical comedies of DEFA studio (GDR) did not exist in a vacuum, as the film implies. Equally notorious and popular were their "sauerkraut Westerns." And all of these countries had a distinguished history of popular costume dramas and historical spectacles. The choice, then, was not between grey propaganda films and musicals, but between unpopular and genuinely popular cinema, the latter of which ranged over a variety of genres and stretched over a long period of time.

Secondly, the depiction of this genre as simply providing comforting illusions is one-sided. Of course socialist musicals, like their Western counterparts, did not depict reality. But there was a certain truth to these films that made them resonate, as indicated by an East German audience member interviewed in the film. Alexandrov's *The Bright Path* (1940), for example, was at one level a fairy tale. The story of a provincial charwoman who moves to Moscow, becomes a textile worker, sets a labor record, becomes a national heroine, and eventually is chosen as deputy to the Supreme Soviet is a Cinderella fantasy complete with a fairy godmother, a magic mirror, and a flying car. But it was a fantasy with a fair amount of credibility. Most Soviet workers never rode in a terrestrial car, much less a flying one, but they did elevate themselves with truly miraculous speed. This was a period of thunderous upward mobility: from 1928 to 1932, some ten million Soviet workers left agriculture and became wage earners. Stalinist musicals, which often depicted humble people going to Moscow and making good, in a way told their stories. They also masked the brutal reality of famine, labor camps, and millions of deaths, as *East Side Story* makes clear.

Similarly, the film could have done a better job linking the postwar social transformations in East Germany with the content of its musicals. The focus on women in the work force in films such as *My Wife Wants to Sing* (1958) and the great popularity of women stars as role models—in the Soviet Union also—would have been more comprehensible had we learned about the rate and nature of female labor.

Finally, the documentary—so enraptured with the existence of these films—does not know how to give them up. *East Side Story* ends rather abruptly, concluding that such films existed during periods of optimism; when hope failed, the musicals died also. But, just as Western musicals overstayed their welcome in the late 1960s before reinventing themselves as youth music films, the socialist musical may simply have reached the limits of the genre. As we see from the numerous clips from GDR and other East European films of the late 1960s and early 1970s, these musicals became inundated with images of Western-style consumerism, fashion, sports cars, motorcycles, hot tourist spots,

pop and rock music, and Westernized youth culture. The last socialist musical, according to the film, was DEFA's *No Cheating Darling* (1973), which featured Frank Schöbel, "the Elvis of the East," renowned for such songs as "Lucky Lucky" and "Party Twist." How could they continue to incorporate all of this and remain socialist? Capitalist in form, socialist in content? As *East Side Story* convincingly shows, the wonder is that they lasted as long as they did.

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THE THIN RED LINE. Produced by Robert Michael Geisler, John Roberdeau, and Grant Hill; written by Terrence Malick based on the novel by James Jones; directed by Terrence Malick. 1998; color; 170 minutes. Distributor: Twentieth Century Fox.

In the *Saturday Evening Post* of March 30, 1963—the same year his novel, *The Thin Red Line*, was published—combat veteran James Jones launched a stinging attack on Hollywood's portrayal of war: "If our war films are any indication of our social maturity in an age when we have the capacity of destroying ourselves, there is little hope for us." The contemporary presentation of World War II in American film does not compel revision of Jones's estimation. The "Good War" remains a site for celebrating the certainties of national identity and the historical mission of the United States. Yet Terrence Malick's film adaptation of Jones's novel emphatically challenges the entrenched conventions of the Hollywood war film and offers a radically different view of conflict. The result is an overwhelming piece of cinema for the mind and eyes: it is as though the standard combat film has been rewritten by James Joyce with art direction by Paul Gauguin.

Malick's film focuses on the fortunes of C for Charlie Company, a rifle platoon of U.S. army regulars during the battle for Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. The novel's title made a double allusion: to the exploited British soldiers of Rudyard Kipling's poetry, and to a midwestern saying that "There's only a thin red line between the sane and the mad." Malick adds a third, unstated visual meaning: a thin, futile trail of human blood through the all-pervading jungle green of the South Pacific of 1942. Whereas in Jones's novel, the unseen bureaucratic force of the army is the dominant character, here it is the island. The images of the film, underlined through voice-over soliloquies, stress the enduring power of nature, beside which a world war is but a passing expression of some of the

planet's nastier creatures, like the glint in the eye of the crocodile that surfaces in the film's opening shot.

Individual stories emerge as the film cuts between the experiences of selected members of the platoon. Private Witt (James Caviezel) longs for the idyll he found among Melanesian villagers while AWOL; Private Bell (Ben Chaplin) yearns for his wife. Sergeant Welsh (Sean Penn) maintains a cynical detachment; the war, he says, is "all for property." The bookish Greek-American, Captain Staros (Elias Koteas), challenges an aging Colonel Tall (Nick Nolte), who squanders the lives of his men in the hope of professional advancement. These fragments of story prevent the viewer from reading a single (let alone a reassuring) meaning into the battle for Guadalcanal. By remaining fragments, they defy the usual trajectory of a war film toward a grand fusion of men and purpose: propaganda for the next war. Here, individuals are as alienated from each other as from the enemy. Death and life, honor and ignominy are apportioned at random, with no regard to a character's moral worth or military prowess. Malick's vision offers a realism more profound than the pyrotechnics of Stephen Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1998).

The screenplay is generally faithful to its source, although the emphasis on the collision of the natural and man-made worlds is Malick's. Jones's novel takes pains to show the brutalizing effects of war on men, and accordingly Malick presents scenes in which American soldiers slaughter wounded Japanese as they surrender and pry gold teeth from Japanese corpses. This said, Malick also chooses to sidestep some issues raised by Jones. In the novel, the captain is Jewish rather than Greek, raising the specter of anti-Semitism in the wartime U.S. army. Similarly, some of Jones's soldiers find solace through sex with each other while maintaining a rigidly homophobic rhetoric, but the issues of masculinity and the nature of sexual identity raised by such scenes are not part of the film.

Perhaps the most haunting images are those of the defeated Japanese enemy. The emaciated, disease-ridden figures discovered as C for Charlie overruns a Japanese fortification are a world away from the usual Hollywood Japanese fanatics (and their first cousins, the Hollywood Viet Cong). Malick's compassionate depiction reveals the longevity of propaganda stereotypes in the work of others. There may be no hope for the soldiers in *The Thin Red Line* but, in Jones's terms, there is profound hope in Malick's assault on the clichés of the war film and in the existence of a work of art such as this.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

THOMAS SANDERS, editor. *Historiography of Imperial Russia: The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1999. Pp. xiv, 521. \$97.95.

THOMAS SANDERS, "A Most Narrow Present." CYNTHIA HYLAWHITTAKER, The Idea of Autocracy Among Eighteenth-Century Russian Historians. ALLISON Y. KATSEV, In the Forge of Criticism: M. T. Kachenovskii and Professional Autonomy in Pre-Reform Russia. THOMAS SANDERS, The Third Opponent: Dissertation Defenses and the Public Profile of Academic History in Late Imperial Russia. GARY M. HAMBURG, Inventing the "State School" of Historians, 1840-1995. TERENCE EMMONS, Kliuchevskii's Pupils. BORIS ANAN'ICH and VIKTOR PANELIAKH, The St. Petersburg School of History and Its Fate. TERENCE EMMONS, On the Problem of Russia's "Separate Path" in Late Imperial Historiography. MARC RAEFF, Remembrance of Things Past: Historians and History in Russia Abroad. ANA SILIAK, Christianity, Science, and Progress in Sergei M. Solov'ev's *History of Russia*. ROBERT F. BYRNES, Kliuchevskii's View of the Flow of Russian History. MELISSA K. STOCKDALE, The Idea of Development in Miliukov's Historical Thought. MARGARITA GEORGIEVNA VANDALKOVSKAIA, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kizevvetter. ALEKSEI NIKOLAEVICH TSAMUTALI, Sergei Federovich Platonov (1860-1933): A Life for Russia. THOMAS PRYMAK, Mykola Kostomarov as a Historian. FRANK E. SYSEN, Introduction to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. BOHDAN KLID, Volodymyr Antonovych: Ukrainian Populist Historiography and the Cultural Politics of Nation Building. BENJAMIN NATHANS, On Russian-Jewish Historiography. ADEEB KHALID, The Emergence of a Modern Central Asian Historical Consciousness. ZENON E. KOHUT, The Development of a Ukrainian National Historiography in Imperial Russia. MARC RAEFF, Toward a New Paradigm? MANFRED HILDERMEIER, Russian History at a Turning Point: Notes from a Benevolent Distance.

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FRANCA IACOVETTA and WENDY MITCHINSON, Social History and Case Files Research. CAROLYN STRANGE, Stories of Their Lives: The Historian and the Capital Case File. ERIC W. SAGER, Employment Contracts in Merchant Shipping: An Argument for Social Science History. STEVEN MAYNARD, On the Case of the Case: The Emergence of the Homosexual as a Case History in Early-Twentieth-Century Ontario. GREGORY S. KEALEY, Filing and Defiling: The Organization of the State Security Archives in the Interwar Years. LYNNE MARKS, Christian Harmony: Family, Neighbours, and Community in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records. BETTINA BRADBURY, Elderly Inmates and Caregiving Sisters: Catholic Institutions for the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Montreal. ANGUS McLAREN, Males, Migrants, and Murder in British Columbia, 1900-1923. ROBIN BROWNLIE, Work Hard and Be Grateful: Native Soldier Settlers in Ontario after the First World War. JAMES W. ST. G. WALKER, A Case for Morality: The Quong Wing Files. MARGARET HILLYARD LITTLE, Ontario Mothers' Allowance Case Files as a Site of Contestation. LYKKE DE LA COUR and GEOFFREY REAUME, Patient Perspectives in Psychiatric Case Files. WENDY MITCHINSON, Problematic Bodies and Agency: Women Patients in Canada, 1900-1950. ANNALEE GOLZ, Uncovering and Reconstructing Family Violence: Ontario Criminal Case Files. FRANCA IACOVETTA, Parents, Daughters, and Family Court Intrusions into Working-Class Life. MARLENE EPP, The "Grab Bag" Mennonite Refugee Family in Post-War Canada. KAREN DUBINSKY, Telling Stories about Dead People.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DOV-BER KERLER, editor. *The Politics of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Literature, and Society*. (Winter Studies in Yiddish, number 4.) Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press. 1998. Pp. 213. Cloth \$49.00, paper \$24.95.

DOV-BER KERLER, On the "Politics of Yiddish." EMANUEL S. GOLDSMITH, Yiddishism and Judaism. AVRAAM GREENBAUM, Yiddish Language Politics in the Ukraine (1930-1936). CHRISTOPHER HUTTON, What was Going On at the 1935 Yivo Conference? ROBERT D. KING, The Czernowitz Conference in Retrospect. HOLGER NATH, The First International Conference of the Catalan Language in Barcelona (1906): A Spiritual Precursor to Czernowitz (1908)? RAKHMIEL PELTZ, The Politics of Research on Spoken Yiddish. MILTON DOROSHKIN, Yiddish Socialist Press in New York, 1880s-1920s. MIRIAM ISAACS, Yiddish in Orthodox Communities of Jerusalem. JOSEF KERLER, Shloyme Mikhoeles and His Theatre. HANNAH KLIGER, Writers Must Eat: The New York City Yiddish

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

With the convergence of history and fiction now upon us (*AHR Forum: Histories and Historical Fictions* [*AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1502–29]), perhaps it is time to change the title of the *AHR* to reflect this momentous development. The contribution of Margaret Atwood to the intersection of history and literature could be reflected in the journal's new name: *Alias History*. Or could the convergence of history and fiction be itself a fiction—another postmodernist construct—with no claim to objective reality?

The editor of the *AHR* and the respondents to Atwood's essay are unable to distinguish between fiction and history, fictional narrative and historical narrative, and literary imagination and historical imagination. The epigraph of *The Blue Flower* by the acclaimed novelist Penelope Fitzgerald may help to clarify matters: "Novels arise out of the shortcomings of history" (Friedrich von Hardenberg [1772–1801]). The blurring of boundaries between fiction and history embraced by the *AHR* and the *Forum* respondents arises out of the shortcomings of historians.

Lynn Hunt should not assign meaning to the ignorance of students. If students are unable to draw a distinction between history and fiction, it is the responsibility of the teacher to explain the difference between writing history and writing fiction. Student ignorance need not "reveal something fundamental about our supposedly postmodern age," a.k.a. "self-styled postmodern age" and "streetwise postmodern consciousness" (pp. 1517, 1502, 1507).

Jonathan D. Spence describes the historian's task as a "search for knowledge about the past" in which the historian throws his or her "whole energy into the quest for interpretation and modes of recording that are as true as one can get to the spirit and contingencies of the past." Once this explanatory and narrative quest has been achieved, "the historian earns the right to bear a kind of witness, to speak with greater authority than others about what might have been and what could not have been" (p. 1524).

Spence's description of the practice of history fosters the production of fiction. History is not about what might have been or what could not have been; it is about what has been. Fiction deals with the "might-have-beens" and the "could-not-have-beens"; history deals with what actually happened in the past.

Spence endorses the use of fictional conversations of historical figures to enhance historical reconstruction. Although such a narrative device may indeed "sharpen the interactions between the principal figures and lure the readers deeper into their minds" (p. 1524), any use of invented dialogue runs the risk of distorting history by anachronism.

John Demos encourages "a semi-novelistic brand of history," which claims to wrestle with the minutiae of historical evidence and to engage "the foundations of (dare we say) the human condition" (pp. 1528–29). Demos has in the past been an advocate and practitioner of history as a process for achieving "personal closure—even perhaps of exorcism"—for the past deeds of his family (John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* [1982], p. x).

The personal agenda that Demos has brought to his historical work has led him to distort documentary evidence. He has tailored his evidence to fit explanatory models borrowed from the social sciences, and he has neglected human agency as a causal factor. (For an analysis of Demos's historical methodology, see my article, "Ushering in the Millennium; Or, How an American City Reversed the Past and Single-Handedly Inaugurated the End-Time," *Prospects* 22 [1997]: 35–67.) Having once regarded history as a form of therapy, Demos now views it as semi-fiction. His preoccupation with social science paradigms and fictional

narration has obviated any need to wrestle with the minutiae of historical evidence.

For historians interested in wrestling with the minutiae of historical evidence, there is more than enough material to go around and a great deal of research begging to be done on documentary sources, as Brian Tierney points out in his letter to the editor (*AHR* 103 [December 1998]: 1758–59). Before the *AHR* considers turning to fiction, it might give history another try.

The *AHR* might also consider establishing a genuine forum for the discussion of topics of interest to its readership—one that dares to present different points of view or discourses. In the “self-styled postmodern age,” local narratives or counter-narratives within the historical profession should not be suppressed. If a forum can be provided in the *AHR* for Holocaust denial, lending legitimacy and stature to an anti-rational ideology (*AHR* 103 [December 1998]: 1760–61), why can’t responsible historiography be given a forum as well?

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Los Angeles

JONATHAN SPENCE REPLIES:

In response to the trenchant comments by Paul Chevedden, allow me to clarify one point. My purpose was not to “endorse” the use of fictional conversation as such but to point out that certain very great historians of the past did frequently create such conversations in their masterworks, as a functional and deliberate part of their historical analysis. I was thinking specifically of the Chinese historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–85 BCE), who is, I believe, still regarded by most Chinese scholars as the finest historian China has ever produced. A similar technique for recapturing the past was practiced by Herodotus and to some extent by Thucydides.

JONATHAN SPENCE
Yale University

LYNN HUNT REPLIES:

An *AHR Forum* is designed to provoke controversy, so I suppose that I should be happy to have been part of one that has succeeded in its mission. Unfortunately, the letter by Paul Chevedden does not raise any interesting issues. I respond only to avoid giving the impression that sloppiness of argument, willful misreading, distortion of the evidence, and superficiality do not matter to me. Chevedden claims that the participants in the *Forum* “Histories and Historical Fictions” “are unable to distinguish between fiction and history, fictional narrative and historical narrative, and literary imagination and historical imagination.” Careful reading of the pieces would show, on the contrary, that each participant’s argument is founded precisely on the distinction between fiction and history. I wrote, for instance, that “[Atwood] takes more or less

for granted the difference between history and fiction, and so, I will argue, should historians” (p. 1517). John Demos wrote, “writing history and writing fiction, I learned the hard way, are very different things” (p. 1528). “Historians interested in wrestling with the minutiae of historical evidence,” as Chevedden claims to be, might verify this evidence for themselves.

Distortions of evidence are not all that uncommon in the midst of adversarial polemics, but Chevedden’s own list given above points to a more serious intellectual failing. While everyone involved in the *Forum* granted the difference between history and fiction, we each in our own way put greater pressure on the distinctions, as Chevedden phrases them, between “fictional narrative and historical narrative, and literary imagination and historical imagination.” Here, the differences are not nearly as clear-cut as Chevedden’s lumping together would suggest. Indeed, this was precisely the point of the exchange, apparently one that Chevedden missed altogether. Atwood explored her own interest—as a novelist—in historical veracity, that is, the similarities between fictional and historical narrative. Why do novelists even care about verisimilitude? I tried to suggest that history and fiction had common sources in modern notions of temporality, that is, I argued that literary and historical imagination both depended on certain notions of the experience of time. Does anyone argue that historical imagination has nothing at all in common with its literary counterpart? Does their similarity or even convergence mean that they are exactly the same thing? Hardly. Chevedden proclaims, “History is not about what might have been or what could not have been.” But this is a typically—for him—literal-minded reduction of a very complicated issue. Anyone who has seriously wrestled with historical evidence would reject this claim. How could a historian possibly know “what has been” without systemically considering what might have been or what could not have been? Few documents provide minute-by-minute transcriptions of the historical past; reconstruction of any event always involves some operation of imagination, of filling in. “Responsible” imagining is based on consideration of the horizon of possible explanations and the elimination of those that fit least well with the evidence.

On one thing, I completely agree with Chevedden. I am all in favor of “responsible historiography.” Responsible historiography requires careful presentation of the evidence, clear and coherent argument based on the evidence, and an effort to win disputes by the strength of an argument itself rather than specious references to Holocaust denials. I urge interested readers to go back and read the *Forum* and decide who in this instance is writing history and who is writing fiction.

LYNN HUNT
University of California,
Los Angeles

John Demos does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Keith L. Bryant's review of my book, *Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829–1929* [AHR 104 (February 1999): 195], revives many of the antagonisms, old and new, that attended the history of the American railroad. Those who focus on the social impact of the railroads, whether populists, social historians, or eyewitnesses, have long raised the ire of those who focus on the business of railroading. Yes, it is a controversial issue. But no, it does not negate the points I have made in my book, and should not be used as the basis for doing so.

Let me say first that my book is a social history on the impact of the railroads. It delves into business matters only occasionally, and in the most straightforward ways, such as quoting annual report statistics on passenger traffic revenue versus freight revenue. I want to correct the impression Bryant leaves that I take on economic issues without proper grounding. Where he says I should have quoted Maury Klein instead of John Leeds Kerr, I would like to amend this by saying that references to the *Louisville & Nashville* are minimal and basically matters of easily verifiable historical fact, not issues of economic interpretation. While I am flattered by the interest economic and business historians have taken in my book, I would like it to be known that most of the references to business are simply matters of historical fact, not interpretation.

Let me say second that I take serious issue with Bryant's assertion that the societal alterations I describe are "absolute negatives." While the book is critical, it nowhere states, for example, that "The railroads systematically destroyed small-town America," or that it allowed "the rape of the land," or that "Grangers, Populists, and Progressives were absolutely correct," or that "owners and managers of the carriers were predators feeding on consumers." The intentions of the railroad company owners and their political opponents are not the focus of the book at all. After reading this litany, I had to return to the book to remind myself that it discusses such things as tourism, new forms of social interaction, reactions against slavery, the design of luggage, the rise of souvenirs, literature, and songs about railroading.

Let me also address his mention of errors and wrong terminology. Errors that I have been able to verify as such, including, of course, the passage on Grover Cleveland, were corrected in the paperback edition of the book, which appeared last August. Incorrect terminology, however, is a more complex issue than he

implies it is, for two reasons. The names of railroads changed many times over the course of time. These differences show up even from year to year in company annual reports. This applies to station names as well. Working largely from documents of the time, I may well have used names that are inconsistent or wrong from a modern perspective. But, still allowing for the possibility of error, I have used the names that applied at the time. I probably should have realized the sensitivity of this issue, and indicated in an author's note the exact course of action I took. This also applies to place names, which were variously recorded in different sources from the same time period. I did not, it is true, adopt a modern uniform standard, which would be very difficult to do when quoting historical material.

I would also like to respond to his statement that I have ignored railroad scholarship of the last fifty years. Aside from the fact that he himself acknowledges my acquaintance with Stilgoe, Martin, and others, he should be aware, if he is not, that the study of social change brought on by the industrial revolution is a field that had its origins in the work of the Hammonds in England and the members of the *Annales* in France, was extended by such historians as Philippe Ariès, and continues with dozens of recent books on the railroads and orphans, railroads and song, railroads and design, many of which are in the bibliography or footnotes. If he wants a business bibliography, he should read a business history, not my social history.

SARAH H. GORDON
Quinnipiac College

Keith L. Bryant does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

After slogging through the usual collection of safe, carefully "balanced" book reviews ("despite these concerns, it remains a solid contribution to the ever-expanding field of . . ."), how delightful to read the splendidly savage exchange between Daryl Baswick, David Leeson, and Dominick LaCapra regarding Keith Windschuttle's *The Killing of History!* [AHR 104 (April 1999): 709–11.]

Anger, passion, sarcasm, personal attacks—everything a reader longs for! How refreshing to see some vitriol, some intellectual warfare in the section usually devoted to debate over whether an author overlooked an archive or misspelled a name.

I encouraged the AHR to promote more combat to enliven both the journal and our mundane academic lives!

TOM NOER
Carthage College

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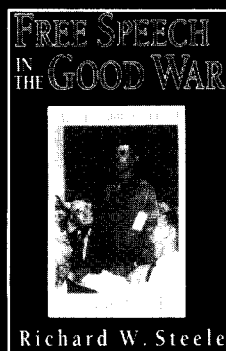
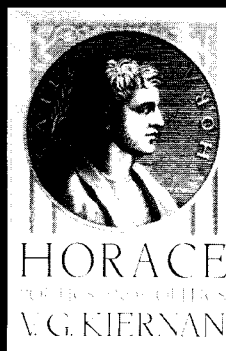
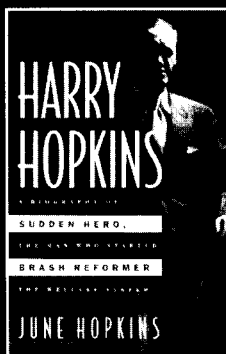
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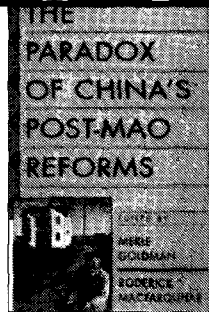
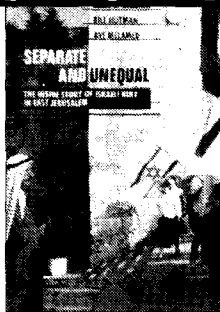
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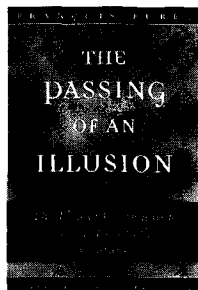
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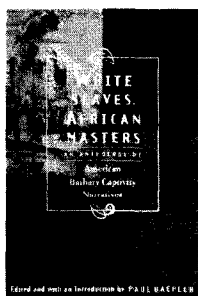
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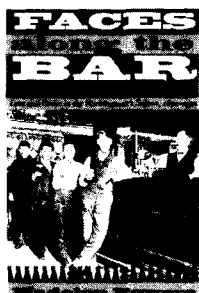
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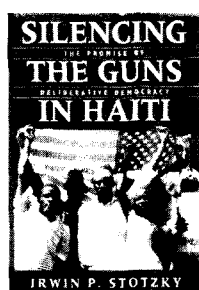
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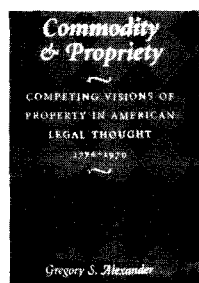
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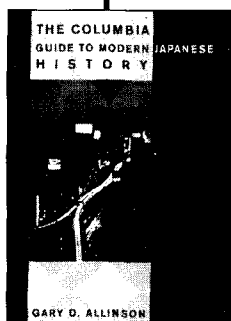
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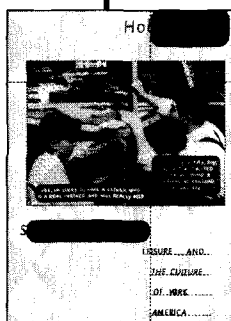
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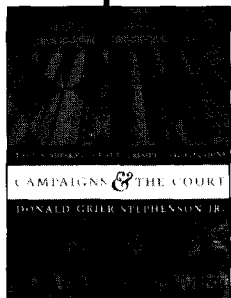
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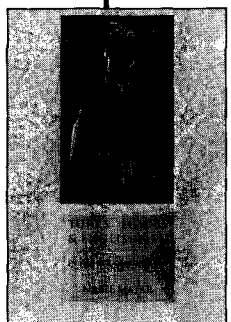
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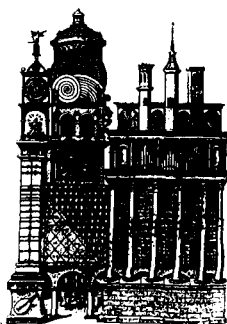
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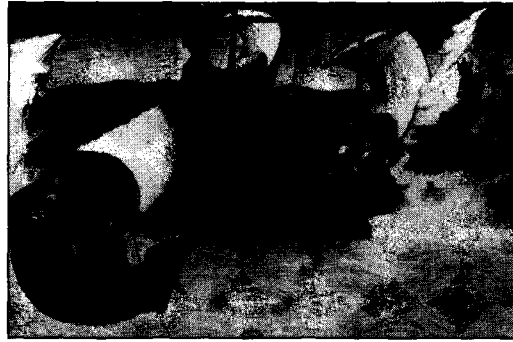
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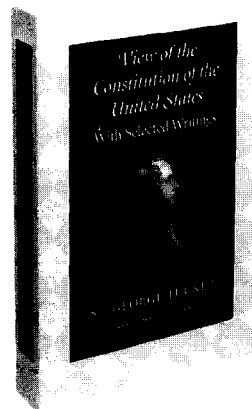
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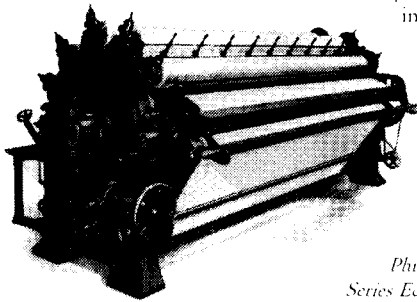
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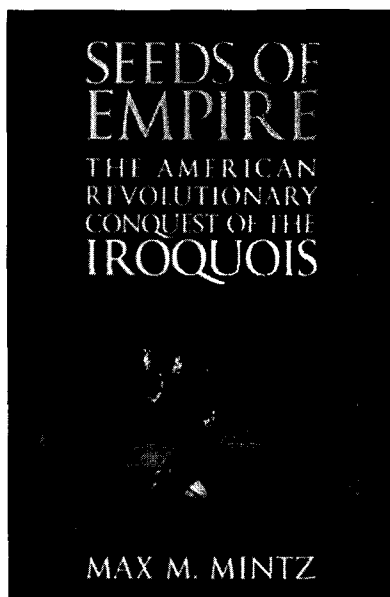
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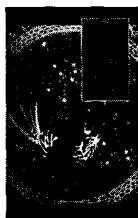
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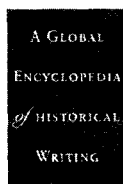


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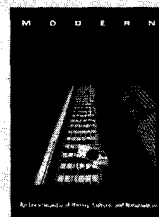
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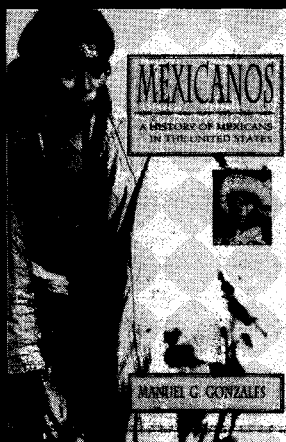
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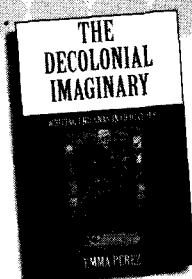
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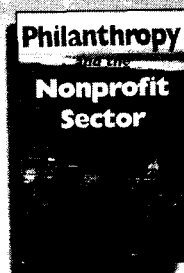
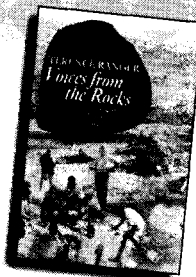
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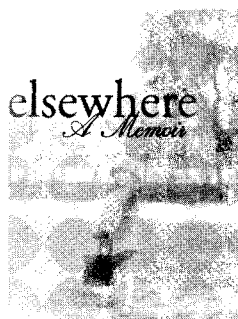
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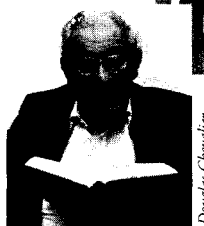
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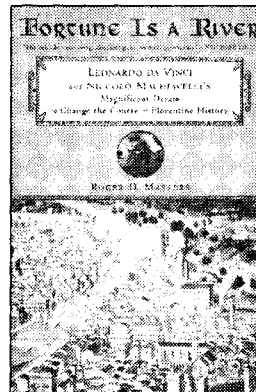
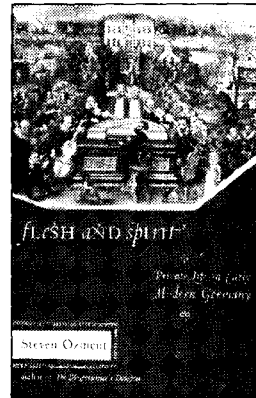
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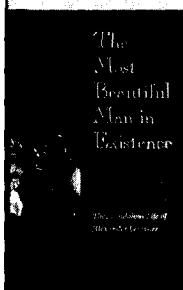
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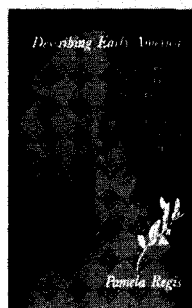
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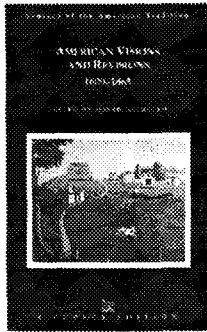
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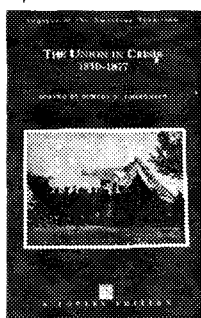
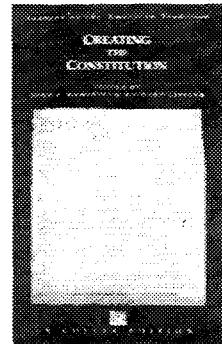
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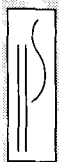


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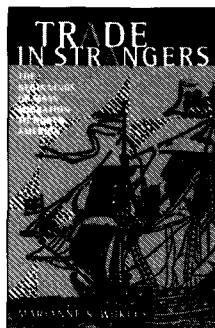
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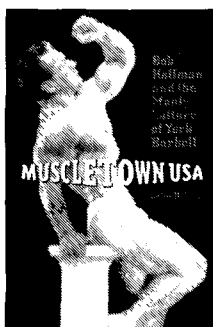
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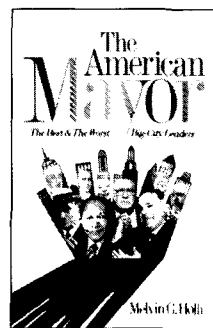
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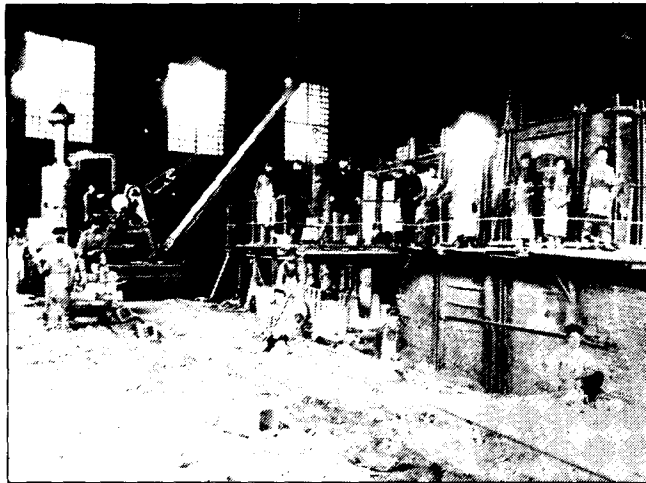


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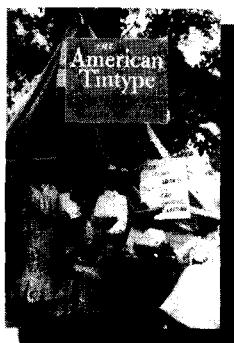
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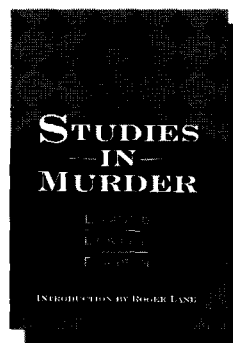
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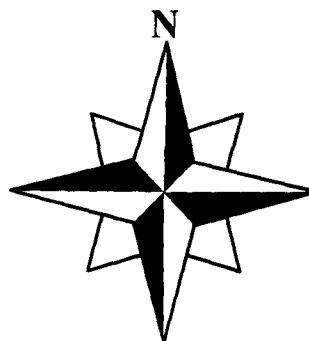
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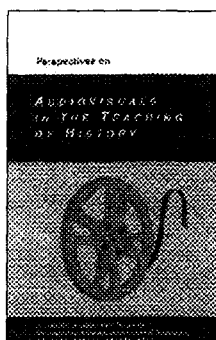
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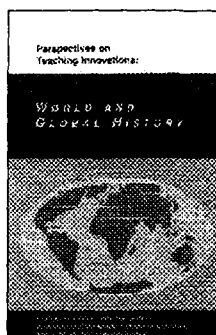
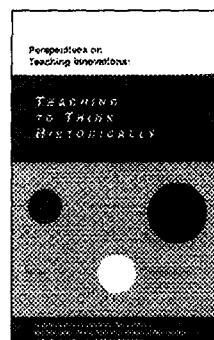
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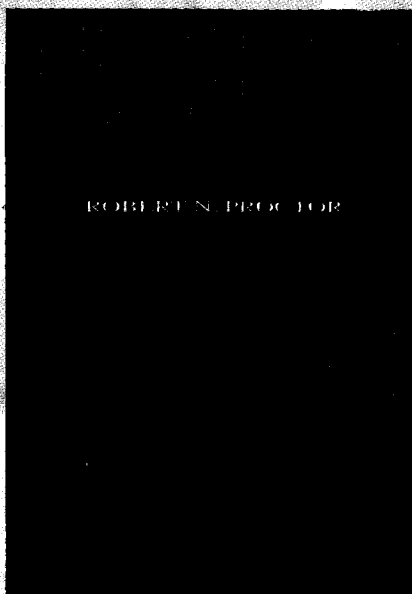
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